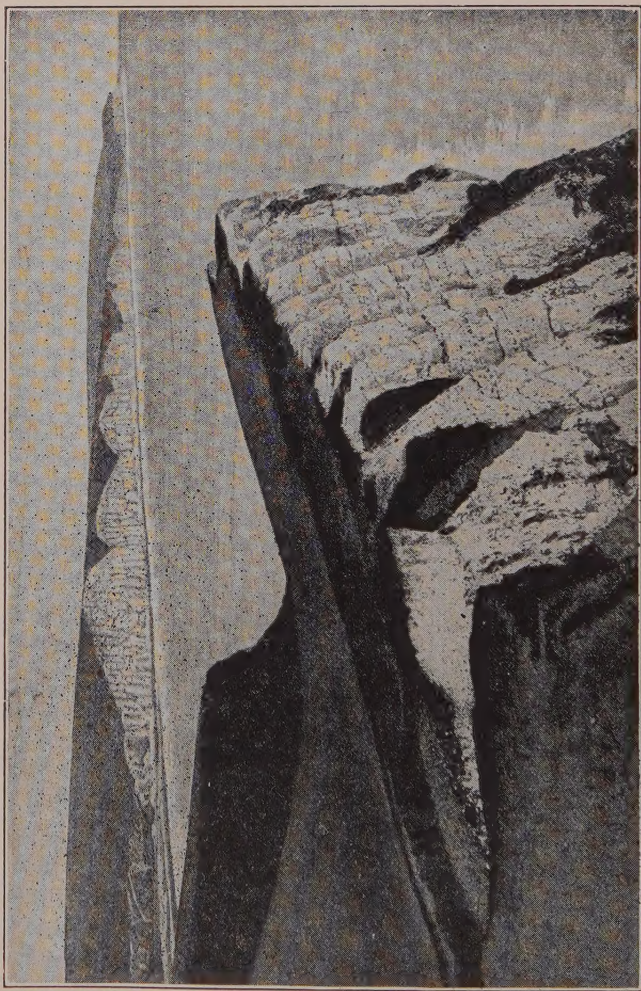


A SHORT HISTORY
OF
England

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY



The Chalk Cliffs

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BY

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA



REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

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I

PREFACE

In studying and teaching history I have been convinced of the desirability of making certain fundamental facts absolutely clear and familiar. An acquaintance with the physical and political geography of a country makes the events of its history seem real and natural; a knowledge of the race elements of a people gives the strongest impression of the continuity of its history; a study of the early political and ecclesiastical organization of a nation makes comprehensible later changes. I have therefore striven, in the first place, to give a full and clear description of early institutions and conditions.

Secondly, I have tried to select from the mass of historical detail what was significant rather than what was merely conspicuous,—what either gave shape and character to a considerable period of history, or was a clearly marked step in the general development of the nation. Detached episodes and merely striking occurrences, especially those in the field of military history, have been hastened over in order that more attention might be given to the really great movements and influential men.

Thirdly, I have clung pretty closely to the thread of English history, only introducing mention of other countries when their connection with England was especially close. Since England's story is so long and so eventful, I have felt that it had better here be told as simply, clearly, and continuously as possible, for its own sake, rather than to complicate it by including many facts drawn from the history of other countries.

Finally, I have omitted altogether statements and allusions the significance of which could not be explained in the book; and

have tried, on the other hand, to give a clear and adequate explanation of all matters that have been taken up. It is true that this practice may seem to disregard the teacher, who would presumably be competent to explain those things to which the author alludes and to interpret what he merely states. On the other hand, the student must usually deal with the text-book when he is alone, and may be glad to have everything clear at first; while the well-qualified teacher will find a more useful and interesting function in testing comprehension, providing further illustration, drawing out international relations, and adding personal details to the necessarily general statements of the text-book.

The desirability of using outside readings, both of general works and contemporary sources, in connection with the text-book, cannot be too strongly urged. A Book of Readings, made up of extracts from contemporary letters, chronicles, speeches, poetry, laws, treaties and other records, corresponding chapter by chapter and in many cases paragraph by paragraph to this book, has been prepared by the author. It is hoped that this will be used in connection with the text-book and will prove of service to both students and teachers in illustrating and giving further meaning and interest to English history. Indications of other works in which readings may be found, further guidance for the teacher's own study, and suggestions for the preparation of reports on special topics are added to each chapter.

It remains only to make a grateful acknowledgment to the many colleagues and friends who have given valuable assistance and good advice during the preparation of this book, and to those authors and publishers who have permitted the reproduction of maps and illustrations.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1904

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

So many changes have taken place since the last previous edition of this textbook was issued that a complete revision has become necessary, as well as the addition of an account of the stormy events of the last ten years. The steady progress of scholarship has required some corrections and alterations of statement. These have been made. But the greatest change has been the different light thrown on earlier events by the Second World War. This event has made it desirable to rewrite the last two chapters of the earlier editions, as well as to add three new chapters.

The degree of separateness of England from the rest of Europe and from the rest of the world has become much less with the growth of the Empire and with the alliances of recent times. It is therefore not possible to restrict the study of the history of England for the last century and a half so largely to its internal history as for earlier periods. The history of England touches the history of other countries and is influenced by them at every turn. Especially during the two World Wars, it is almost indistinguishable from general European history, indeed from world history.

Some additions have also been made in this edition to the bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter.

SPRINGFIELD, PA., 1944

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Other sources and general historical references are given in the bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter

Lists of historical novels can be found in Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales*, Fifth Edition, 1929, Revised and Enlarged, and in Ernest A. Baker, *A Guide to Historical Fiction*, 1914, extending to the reign of Victoria; arranged by countries and the periods to which they refer, not by the countries and periods in which they were written.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND

1. The British Isles. — The British Isles are cut off from the rest of Europe by the waters of the English Channel and the North Sea, and their people have therefore lived a life much apart from that of the other nations of Europe. The sea forms their natural frontier and has given as much independence to their history as it has detachment to their geographical position. Although in early times there were frequent invasions from the continent, as time passed and national unity was more completely attained, the island home of the English people proved easy to defend. At several critical times good fortune transformed the narrow seas into a stormy and impassable barrier, and saved the island from conquest or from a difficult struggle on its own soil. Since the introduction of bombardment from the air this advantage has been lessened, and the island has suffered much destruction of its cities and its people. But even still its shores and the intervening waters have given it a line of defense that has been of great value.

In the few instances in which successful invasions and settlements have taken place they have been more gradual in their progress than they would have been if the invaders had come by land. The country has had time to absorb Saxon, Dane, and

Norman, and transform them into its own island race. The same is true of more peaceful influences. Many customs lying in the realms of language, law, trade, agriculture, and manufactures have been borrowed or learned by the English from foreigners. But they have received all these things slowly and gradually, and have thus assimilated them to their own national customs.

Yet this isolation of England and its detachment from the continent must not be exaggerated. The width of the intervening waters is not great. The Strait of Dover where it is narrowest is but twenty-one miles wide; the Channel but one hundred and twenty and the North Sea but three hundred miles where they are broadest. From a point about half way along the southern coast of England to another more than one third of the way along the eastern coast there is a stretch in which the British and the continental shores are so near to one another that in all but the most unfavorable weather a few hours' sailing will bring a boat, or a single hour an airplane, from one coast to the other.

From a geological point of view it is only in recent ages that the British Isles have been separated by water from the continent of Europe. The ancient edge of the continent lay far to the westward of the present coast, and the seas around Great Britain and Ireland are comparatively shallow waters which have in a late geological period overspread the lower-lying lands. The earliest inhabitants of Britain came in all probability by land, not by water. It is scarcely more than an accident that the coasts of France, Belgium, and Holland are separated from those of England by a shallow sea rather than by a level plain. Both coasts are comparatively low and provided with numerous harbors. Hence the countries on the two sides of the narrow seas have always been easily accessible to one another. They are natural neighbors, much alike in the character of their coast, surface, productions, and even population.

There has been much besides these geographical features through all the later centuries of history to bring about intercourse between

England and the mainland. Scarcely any great influence that affected the continental countries failed to make at least some impression on England. As its history is studied it will be found that along with its distinctiveness and marked national peculiarities it has had much in common with the other countries of Europe and has been constantly influenced by them.

Within the group of the British Isles the geographical formation tends to separate Scotland, Ireland, and Wales from England and from one another. The long, narrow shape of the principal island made union of all its inhabitants into one nation difficult. The English and Scotch at its two ends naturally grew up into two separate peoples, and the mountains of Wales long kept the race which inhabited that region separate. The Irish Sea and St. George's Channel separated Ireland and its inhabitants from all of these.

Of these four principal divisions of the islands England is marked out by nature to be the most important. Its territory is a continuous, unbroken stretch, filling far the largest part of the larger island ; it is provided with a greater variety of natural resources ; and it is nearer to the continent of Europe. England has therefore always been in advance of the other divisions of the British Isles, and their history has been largely dependent on hers.

In ancient times and the middle ages the situation of England was on the distant verge of the world as it was then known. Since the discovery of America and of sea routes around the world, her position has been much more central and advantageous. In early times, therefore, England was a comparatively inconspicuous country in Europe ; in modern times she has played a vastly more important part. Her position as an island and her location in the far northwest of Europe have given her a particularly favorable opportunity to develop commerce and to found a colonial empire.

Yet England is a small country. Its area, with Wales, is 58,320 square miles,—about equal to Scotland and Ireland

together, somewhat larger than the state of Pennsylvania, and almost exactly the same as the state of Michigan. It is 365 miles in length from north to south, and 280 miles in its greatest breadth from east to west.

2. **The Coasts and Rivers of England.** — That part of the coast of England which lies nearest to the continent is made conspicuous by the long line of white chalk cliffs that face the sea. They rise two or three hundred feet above the narrow strip of stony strand at the edge of the water, and extend for many miles along the southeastern and southern coast. These white cliffs are visible in clear weather from the opposite shore where the Channel is narrowest, and from far out at sea where the waters are wider. They have served as a landmark to friend and foe in all ages, and the old poetic name of Albion¹ is said to be due to the white front which Britain turns toward the continent.

Although much of the coast is cliff-bound, there are at least equal stretches of low-lying shore, especially on the eastern coast. Both the cliffs and the low shores are cut by many bays and harbors. Most of these are the mouths of rivers which have been converted into estuaries by the gradual sinking of the coast which has been in progress for long ages.² This subsidence has allowed the sea to flow part way up the courses of the rivers, filling with its waters the lower reaches of their valleys.³ Harbors are therefore as numerous as the rivers; there is in fact no considerable stretch on the whole coast of England without its harbor. Especially is

¹ From Latin *albus*, white. Shakespeare describes England as

that pale, that white-faced shore,
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
And coops from other lands her islanders.

King John, Act II, sc. 1.

² Even within the last few centuries several hundred square miles of territory, including the sites of some thirty-five towns and villages, have gradually crumbled and slipped into the sea or been submerged by the advancing tides.

³ See illustration of a small harbor on p. 11.

this true of the southern and eastern coasts, although even on the more rugged western seaboard the deep and broad mouths of the Severn and the Mersey make possible such fine harbors as those of Bristol and Liverpool.

The rivers not only form harbors at their mouths but give access by water far into the interior of the country. At least they did so in earlier times when vessels were small. Of several of them the lower courses are navigable even by the larger vessels of the present day. The Thames, the Severn, and the Trent are long rivers draining the very center of the country. With their tributaries and with the smaller rivers, they make a complete network of water courses. This abundance of streams has been used in modern times to feed a canal system intersecting the country in all directions. The more rapid streams also provide water power.

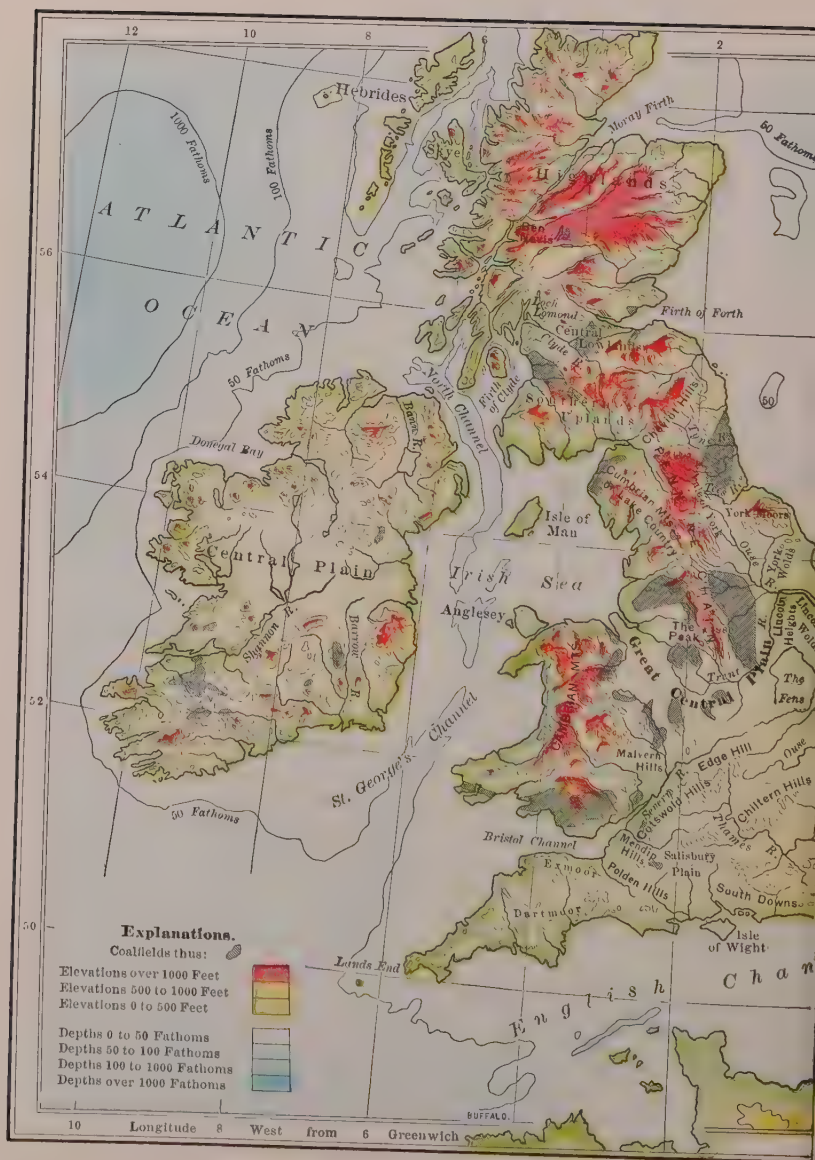
3. Surface. — The cliffs which line so much of the coast give a false impression of the land that lies behind them. Much the greater part of England is a level or but slightly hilly country. It may be divided, as far as its surface is concerned, into three regions, — the southeast, the center, and the north and west. The first of these, covering almost two thirds of England, is undulating though intersected by several ranges of soft rounded chalk hills about five hundred or six hundred feet high. This was the earliest part of Britain to be inhabited by man, and until the last two centuries continued to be by far the most populous, wealthy, and influential. The level and slightly rolling lands which make up the greater part of it are fertile and in the main devoted to agriculture. Its open, treeless hills, downs or wolds, covered with soft, springy turf, are largely utilized for sheep pasture.

If a traveler passes from this region of smooth surfaces, gentle slopes, and moderate ridges northward or westward, he descends into the midlands or "great central plain" of England. This plain extends from the Bristol Channel northward to Liverpool and northeastward through the vale of York to the coast at Durham, broken only here and there by a few groups of rugged hills. In

early times it was thinly populated and backward compared with the region already described. It is now, except the region surrounding London, the richest, most active, and vastly the most populous part of England. Around its edges lie the coal fields; in it are the great manufacturing towns; it includes Liverpool and other great seaports, and contains stretches of country famous for their grazing and dairy products. Its rivers have been connected by canals; it is traversed in all directions by railroads and tunneled by mines; and in many parts its large towns almost touch one another. A district lying west of Birmingham in this region is known as the "black country." It lies upon a coal field, and is dotted with iron furnaces and manufacturing establishments, overspread with cinder heaps, blackened by smoke, and almost stripped of its vegetation by the fumes and soot. It is one great workshop, where labor goes on day and night, above ground and below. Other sections are devoted to equally active but less smoky industries, and not far away rich dairying districts form a peaceful contrast to the manufacturing towns.

Beyond this central plain rise the mountainous districts, — the high moors of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall in the southwest; Wales in the west; the Lake District in the northwest; and the Pennine Chain, rising from the midlands and extending north into Scotland. The population of the moors and mountain valleys is necessarily sparse and their industries are simple. But on the edge of the mountain ranges where they drop to the plain or the shore, the greater number of the mines of tin, copper, and lead lie, and here there are several large cities and a thicker population.

4. **Climate.** — The aspect of England compared with the continental countries is remarkably green. It is made so by the rich growth of grass and other herbage, and by the verdure and undergrowth of the woods. This luxuriance of growth is due to two causes, — the frequent rains and fogs and the mild climate.







There is often a superabundance of wet weather, especially in the west ; a drought is very unusual. The weather is seldom very hot in summer or very cold in winter, although England is in the same latitude as Labrador in America and as central Russia on the continent of Europe. Plowing can be done in much of England as early as February and as late as November. These two conditions, the large rainfall and the mild and equable climate, are due to the position of the British Isles. They lie in the path of a current of southwest winds which blow more than half the days of the year. These winds give the surface waters of the ocean a set toward the northeast, and bring the warmer waters of southern latitudes to the western and southern shores of Great Britain and Ireland. The southwest winds also carry this warmth and the moisture of the ocean far inland, moderating the cold of winter and causing frequent rains and fogs.¹

The reputation of England as a "foggy isle" is, however, partly due to the peculiar climate of London, which is situated in the valley of the Thames and particularly subject to fogs. Foreigners who spend most of their time there get a false idea of the whole country. The downs and uplands are often bathed in clear sunshine and blown over by crisp breezes while the river valleys are covered with a mantle of fog. On the moors and mountains the weather is often severe, notwithstanding the moderating influences just mentioned ; and all over the island there are occasional though seldom prolonged periods of snow and freezing in winter. The weather is changeable from day to day, and the coasts are liable to sudden and violent storms.

5. Forests and Swamps. — In primeval times a large part of the island was covered with thick forests. They stretched dark and impenetrable over much of the great central plain ; and even

¹ The warmer waters which bathe the shores of the British Isles are sometimes described as an extension of the Gulf Stream ; but this is a mistake. The Gulf Stream disappears by the time it reaches the middle of the Atlantic.

in the more open eastern rolling country many of the upland regions and most of the river valleys were wooded. Whole sections of the country were separated from the rest by these forests. The largest forest in England covered the district known as the Weald, and stretched from Kent almost one third of the way across the island to the westward. The word "Kent," as well as the syllable "Win" in Winchester, is a Celtic word meaning an opening in the forest. Sherwood, where Robin Hood and his merry men hunted the deer ; Arden, where Rosalind walked ; and



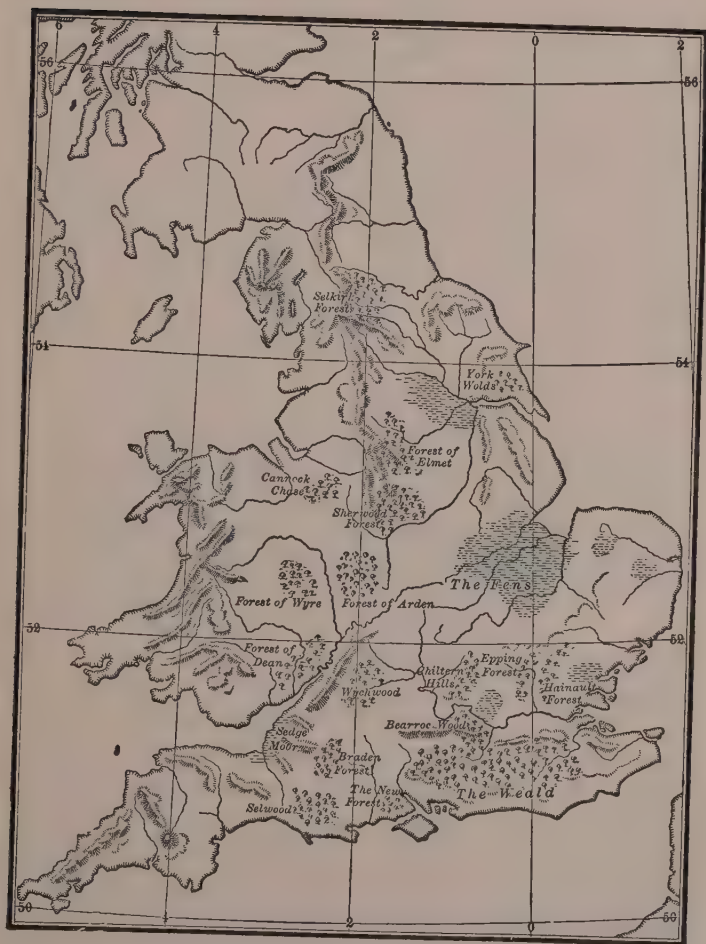
An Old Oak still standing in Sherwood
Forest

many other forests of later times were only surviving fragments of these wild, primitive woodlands.

Great swamps filled the lower courses of many of the rivers. The "Fens" formed a broad, marshy expanse of several hundred square miles in the east of England. They were scarcely above the level of

the sea, and formed a wilderness practically impassable and uninhabitable, except here and there where low hills of gravelly soil rose above the water. This region and several similar morasses were even wilder and more impenetrable than the forests.

Thus in early times but a small part of the land was open to habitation. Strips along the seacoast, steep hillsides bordering the river courses, bare moors and hilltops, occasional open stretches of the rolling country, formed the only dwelling places for early men. Even these open districts were divided from one another, hemmed in and bounded by the vast forests and swamps. The existence of the widespreading forests and fens exercised a deep influence on the early history of the country, and affected it strongly even in later times. The clearing and draining of the



Forests and Swamps of Early England

forest and swamp land for human occupation was the gradual work of civilization through many long centuries. Roman engineers and soldiers, industrious monks of the middle ages, villein farmers and enterprising landowners of successive races contributed their share to its accomplishment, and it has only been completed within the last two hundred years.

6. Natural Products. — There is scarcely one of the familiar mineral substances which is not found in greater or less quantities in England, and most of them are worked to some extent. Tin is the characteristic product of Cornwall in the southwest, and has always attracted attention, being a comparatively rare metal. It was highly valued in early ages. Mixed with copper it forms bronze, a metal less difficult to work and yet capable of taking a better edge than either the copper or the tin of which it is composed, and therefore very useful before men had learned to work iron. Lead is found and mined in the same region. Clay sufficiently good for brick-making is abundant, and finer clay, suitable for pottery, exists in several localities, especially in that part of the central plain which has come to be known as the "Potteries."

The most important mineral products of England in modern times are, however, her iron and coal. Iron ore exists plentifully and has been worked wherever fuel was found near by. Wood or charcoal was the earliest form of fuel used for this and for all other purposes for which fuel was needed. It was abundant and cheap. In time, however, wood became scarce, cities grew larger, needing a more concentrated fuel; the process of smelting iron by means of coal was discovered and made ever-increasing demands; and steam power was adopted for many uses. Coal therefore became more and more important, till it has come to be the basis of the prosperity, if not of the very existence, of England's teeming population.

The bare uplands and hills are especially suited to sheep raising, and England has therefore always been famous for its sheep and wool. The lower pasture grounds, with their grass kept

green by the frequent rains, are equally well suited to the grazing of cattle. All the familiar grains can be raised except Indian corn, for which the climate is too cool. Nor is it warm enough for grapes, tomatoes, and some other fruits and vegetables of temperate but sunnier climates. These can only be ripened along the southwestern coast. On the other hand, the east of England is particularly suited to wheat.

Fish are abundant off the coasts, especially in the North Sea, and fishing villages have been scattered along the shores through all periods of English history. The nucleus of many a large modern town is to be found in a little fishing settlement of earlier times.



Staithes Harbor, Yorkshire : a Typical Fishing Village on the Coast

General Reading. — MILL, H. R., *International Geography*, chap. xii. This is the best general description of the British Isles. MACKINDER, H. S., *Britain and the British Seas*, chaps. i, ii, xi, xix. These chapters on various physical features are much less technical and difficult to understand than the remainder of this book. The influence of the geography of the country on the settlements and conquests is brought out in many places in GREEN, J. R., *The Making of England*, and in GEORGE, H. B., *The Relations of Geography and History*, chap. x. The influence of the resources of the country on its prosperity is discussed in CUNNINGHAM and MCARTHUR, *Outlines of English Industrial History*, chap. ii. There is much picturesque description of the Fens in KINGSLEY, *Hereward*. LONGMANS' *Atlas* gives several good maps of England, showing its physical features.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC AND CELTIC BRITAIN

7. Prehistoric Races. — Mankind lived in Britain for unnumbered centuries before any contemporary written records were made. In the chalk districts, tunnels and pits are still traceable where men of a race earlier than any of which we have recorded



Miner's Pick, made of a
Deer's Antler, found in
the Prehistoric Chalk-
Workings at Grimes'
Graves, Suffolk

history searched for clear lumps of flint out of which to make arrowheads and other implements. In one of these tunnels a pick made of a deer's horn was recently found. The imprint of the fingers of the man who had laid it down, probably thousands of years ago, was still visible on the chalk-covered handle, and pick marks could be distinguished on the walls. Vast numbers of such remains have been found, as well as ornaments, weapons, bones of animals broken or marked by man, and portions of human skeletons. Burial mounds, foundations of houses, and groups of standing stones remain to prove the existence of these early races. Even the modern names of some rivers and of certain localities come down from the languages of men of whom we have no other record.

But knowledge obtained from such remains is slight, uncertain, and vague. Its study is a part of archæology rather than of history, and the men of whom only such knowledge is preserved are therefore described as prehistoric races. We scarcely know more

than that several such races existed successively in England ; that they occupied principally the hilly regions, where they were more secure from wild beasts and where the soil, if poorer, was easier to cultivate ; and that they used only stone and bronze weapons and implements.

It is customary to describe these prehistoric men as of three races. First were the paleolithic men, or men of the rough-stone age, who used rude weapons, ornaments, and implements of stone and bone. They probably lived in caves and depended for their subsistence on the wild beasts they captured and the vegetable products they found growing wild. Next were the neolithic men, or men of the polished-stone age, who used the well-shaped



Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain

stone, bone, and horn implements that are frequently found, and probably lived in some kind of artificial buildings, raised crops, kept domestic animals, knew how to weave cloth and to make pottery, and perhaps traded with other peoples. They built and deposited their dead in long burial mounds such as those whose remains still exist. They were small men, perhaps of the same race as is now represented by the Basques of Spain. Later than these came a race who knew the use of bronze, who buried their dead in small, round burial mounds, and who were probably the builders of Stonehenge, Kit's Coty House, and the other mysterious groups of standing stones which are found scattered through England. These are known as men of the bronze age, and may have been the earliest immigrants of the race dominant in Britain when our written knowledge of it begins.

8. Cæsar's Invasion and Description of Britain, 55-54 B.C.— During the fourth, third, and second centuries before Christ, occasional travelers or merchants from Greece and other civilized countries around the Mediterranean Sea brought home some knowledge of the island of Britain and its people, but their accounts are now lost or give but little information. With the middle of the century before the birth of Christ, however, our written history of Britain really begins. Just at this time Julius Cæsar was the Roman governor of Gaul, the country known in



Kit's Coty House: a Prehistoric Group of Standing Stones in Kent

modern times as France. He seems to have come to the conclusion either that the Britons were giving aid to his restless subjects in Gaul, or that their conquest would carry still higher his fame and fortune. He therefore determined to invade the island. Late in the summer of the year 55 B.C., taking with him two legions,

he made an attack on the southeast coast of Britain, and after active fighting with the natives secured a camping place and began foraging. As the autumn was far advanced, however, he soon withdrew and began arrangements for a more vigorous campaign the next year.

By the succeeding July he had prepared a force of five legions, that is, some twenty thousand footmen and two thousand cavalry, with full equipment, and these were embarked and safely landed on the British coast near the modern town of Deal. At first no resistance was made by the Britons, but as the Romans advanced inland their progress was contested daily, and involved constant skirmishing. There was at that time a confederacy of the British



The Celtic Tribes of Britain

tribes under one of their chieftains, whose fortified camp or village was at Verulamium, just north of London, near the modern St. Albans. The Romans succeeded in breaking up this confederation and eventually in obtaining the submission of the chief leaders of the Britons. By this time apparently Cæsar had discovered that it would be impossible completely to subjugate the country. He therefore merely took hostages and imposed a small tribute on the various British tribes through whose districts he had passed, then hastened to his ships and took his army back to Gaul. He had been in Britain altogether about three months. After Cæsar's departure the Britons seldom sent the tribute and no attempt was made to enforce its payment. As a later Roman historian remarks, Cæsar discovered Britain for his countrymen, he did not gain it for them. Nevertheless his campaigns prevented any possible alliance on the part of the Britons with the Gauls, and the account which he wrote of them made the Romans familiar with the distant island. They give us also our real starting point for a knowledge of the history of England.

9. The Celtic Race. — The greater part of the population of Britain at the time of Cæsar's military explorations seems to have belonged to the widespread Celtic race, the still earlier inhabitants having been absorbed or destroyed by them. There were, however, several branches of the Celtic inhabitants, — the Brythons or Britons proper, who occupied the southeastern part of the island ; the Goidels or Gaels, who occupied the districts farther north and west ; and the Picts and Caledonians, or Scots, in the far north. The first of these, those nearest the continent, were the most cultured. They were quite similar to the Gauls in appearance, customs, and language. It was with them only that Cæsar came in contact, and of them only that we have any full knowledge. It was they who became a permanent element in the population of England and Wales, the Gaels surviving in Ireland and the western Highlands of Scotland, and the Picts probably in the eastern and northern Highlands.

10. Customs of the Britons. — The Britons were quite numerous, forming a thick population in the habitable parts of the country. They lived, except for a few towns, in small villages or hamlets, obtaining their subsistence by raising cows, swine, sheep, and goats, and by cultivating wheat, oats, and barley. They also carried on commerce with the Continent, exporting iron, lead, copper, tin, cattle, slaves, and hunting dogs, and importing luxuries. Their houses were generally built like wigwams, with conical roofs thatched with branches, ferns, or straw.

They had advanced beyond barbarism in many lines. They wove linen and woollen cloth in bright stripes and squares like Scotch plaid, and wore as ornaments gold, silver, and beaded buckles, necklaces, bracelets, and torques or collars. The mining and export of tin were carried on in the southwest, and iron ore was smelted in several parts of the country and worked into implements and weapons. Pottery of a very rude sort was made. Coins of gold, silver, and copper were used to a small extent, especially after Cæsar's invasion, when there was still more commercial intercourse with the continent. A large number of coins have been found with the name of Cunobeline, a prince with dominions in the eastern part of the country, who is familiar in literature as Shakespeare's Cymbeline.

The Britons were divided into a large number of tribes or clans, each occupying its own region and each under a petty chief or king. No union existed among them, except when a chieftain conquered and subjected some surrounding tribes or when a temporary alliance was made to resist an invasion. Such alliances soon broke up again and the tribes fell into their old condition of disunion.

Wars among the British tribes were frequent, and permanent fortifications were kept up. Elevated and easily defensible spots



Coin of Cunobeline, Chief of the Catuvellauni, Trinobantes, and Iceni, about 5-40 A.D.

were chosen, earthworks thrown up, always in a circular form, and palisades placed upon these. Such a fortification was called a *dun*, and London and the names of many other places still preserve that termination in varying forms. The Roman invaders were much struck with the skill of the British in the use of their war chariots. These were low, two-wheeled carts drawn by a pair of their small horses or ponies, the hubs of the wheels being provided with short, straight, scythe-shaped blades extending out on both sides. Two men rode in each with a driver. The chariots were driven rapidly up and down the enemy's lines, striving to throw them into confusion or to find a place of entrance



A so-called "Celtic Bridge" on Dartmoor

among them. If such a breach was found, the fighting men leaped out and fought on foot, while the chariots were driven out, and retired to a distance, ready to take the warriors in again if necessary. Swords, short knives, bows and arrows, and spears were also used in fighting.

The Britons had many gods and were extremely superstitious, watching for signs and omens, dreading fairies and elves, and practicing curious rites and ceremonies. Every neighborhood had its sacred spring, rock, tree or other place of supernatural significance. Closely connected with religion was the existence of the class of Druids. This was a body or order of men into which admission was gained only by a long course of preparation,

consisting principally of committing to memory great bodies of verse, in which custom, law, morals, and religion were embodied. The Druids, therefore, were consulted on all important questions of law or policy. They were free from taxation and military service, and great deference was paid to their opinions and advice. They had charge of all sacrifices, and in serious cases put human beings to death to satisfy the anger of the gods. The oak tree and the mistletoe, which sometimes grows upon it, were considered by them as especially sacred and as having mystic powers of healing.

General Reading. — WRIGHT, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*. WINDLE, *Life in Early Britain*. Both of these books refer to the period of the next three chapters also. RHYS, J., *Celtic Britain* (short); ELTON, C., *Origins of English History*; GUEST, E., *Origines Celticae*; MCKENZIE, D. A., *Ancient Man in Britain*; and AULT, N., *Life in Ancient Britain*.

Contemporary Sources. — CÆSAR himself describes his invasion of Britain in his *Commentaries*, Book IV, chaps. xx-xxxviii; Book V, chaps. vii-xxiii (translated in Bohn's Library). Short extracts from Cæsar and several other ancient writers, including an interesting description of the tin mines by Diodorus Siculus, are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 11-17; from Cæsar and Tacitus in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 1 and 2; and from Tacitus in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 1. Still others are in CHEYNEY, *Readings in English History*, Nos. 7-13.

Special Topics. — In addition to the references given above, (1) a full discussion of the early races will be found in RIPLEY, *Races of Europe*, chap. xii; (2) a short description of the Druids in TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, chap. i, pp. 30-35; (3) of the social life of the Britons, *ibid.*, pp. 102-114; and (4) of their military system and other customs, *ibid.*, pp. 44-52. (These page numbers and those used throughout this book refer to the ordinary edition of Traill; the illustrated edition has much new and good material on these early periods in addition to the illustrations. The chapters and sections are the same in the two editions, and although the pages are different, the paragraphs devoted to the same subjects can readily be found.) (5) The Roman knowledge of the geography of Britain is given in TACITUS, *Agricola*, chaps. x-xiii, in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 1.

CHAPTER III

ROMAN BRITAIN

II. The Roman Conquest. — During the century succeeding Cæsar's invasion the Britons were advancing slowly in civilization and becoming more wealthy by trade with the continent, but they did not succeed in forming any better national union. As a result of the frequent internal dissensions, one exiled British chieftain after another appealed to the Romans for assistance. Opportunity was thus added to the ever-present inclination of the Romans to extend their conquests. Various motives of policy, however, delayed such an attack and the Britons long retained their barbarian freedom.

The emperor Claudius finally determined to enter upon the conquest of Britain. He organized an army of four legions and placed it under an experienced general. In the summer of A.D. 43 the army set sail and landed in Britain, where the emperor joined them after the campaign. A series of small battles was fought in the country along the river Thames till the intrenched camp of the most powerful of the British chieftains at Camulodunum, the modern Colchester, was captured. This broke the resistance of the native tribes of the southeast. Britain was immediately organized as a Roman province, with a governor and a regularly established military force and civil administration. A succession of governors, partly by wars and partly by friendly alliances, gradually extended the Roman power and government all the way to the coast of Wales and far up toward the Highlands of Scotland. This conquest was completed by A.D. 82.

Forty years of warfare naturally included a number of hard contests. The Britons were not easily conquered. Caractacus, who

had led the first resistance, escaped the pursuit of the Romans by taking refuge with one unconquered tribe after another. These he incited successively to resistance. After nine years of struggle he was betrayed into the hands of the Roman governor and sent with his wife and daughter to be shown in a triumphal spectacle at Rome. The nobility of his bearing and the renown of his heroism extorted the admiration of the emperor Claudius and he was allowed to remain with his family in practical freedom at Rome.

After the capture of Caractacus the island of Mona remained for twenty years a refuge for unconquered natives and a gathering place for the Druids, who exerted their influence to prolong the national resistance. All the available troops, therefore, in the year A.D. 61, were gathered together, taken by the governor to the nearest point on the coast, and ferried across in flat-bottomed boats. The Roman historian Tacitus gives a vivid account of the attack, describing the native warriors, the wild British women, the praying Druids, and the superstitious fears of the Romans. But the natives were finally attacked and conquered, the sacred groves cut down, and a garrison established there.¹

There were several insurrections of the half-subjugated Britons. The most serious of these was that of the Iceni under their queen, Boadicea,² in the year A.D. 61. The Iceni, who occupied the district between the Fen country and the east coast, were one of those tribes which had entered willingly into a dependent alliance with the Romans. On the death of their king, however, the Roman officials treated his dominions as conquered and seized his property. His widow resisted. The Roman governor then scourged her in public, sold other members of the family into slavery, and subjected her daughters to insult. The pressure of Roman taxation, restrictions on their accustomed freedom, and the abuses of

¹ *Annales*, Book XIV, chap. xxx. (Translated in Bohn's Library.)

² Her name should properly be spelled Boudicca, but Boadicea has long been the most familiar form.

officials had already roused widespread discontent, and now the Iceni rose in wild revolt and some of the neighboring tribes joined them. The bulk of the Roman army was away on the frontier, and the scattered detachments of troops which had been left behind were destroyed by the natives in the first days of the rising. The Ninth Legion marched against them, but was defeated, and the three largest towns of the province, occupied by Romans and peaceful Britons, were ravaged and their population massacred. But it was only a short time till the governor had reorganized his forces, defeated the rebellious natives in a great battle, and punished all those who had been responsible for the uprising. Boadicea killed herself by taking poison.

12. Romanizing of the Province.—The work of pacification and organization, as was usual in Roman provinces, followed close upon the conquest. Much of this was due to the great Roman governor Julius Agricola. During his administration, which extended over seven years, from 78 to 85 A.D., he put down resistance wherever it showed itself, but exercised great kindness when submission had once been made. He established permanent military garrisons in skillfully chosen localities, selected his lower officials with great care, and forced them to deal justly with the people. He encouraged the use of the Latin language, the adoption of the Roman dress, the building of temples, public baths and forums, and private dwelling houses, and the adoption by the people of the civilized Roman ways. When the province was reduced to complete order he made a successful campaign far up into Caledonia to break the power of the northern tribes, which had from those mountainous regions repeatedly invaded the more civilized part of the island.

Thus within little more than a generation Britain had been brought completely under Roman government and had received the usual provincial organization for military, financial, political, and other purposes. A large number of new inhabitants had come to settle within it, and the old Celtic inhabitants had largely

ROMAN BRITAIN



adopted the customs of their rulers. For more than three hundred years Britain was a comparatively peaceful and orderly Roman province, though the outlying portions to the north and west continued to be troubled from time to time with risings or with invasions of barbarians from outside the border.

13. **Growth of Roman Towns in Britain.**— Britain under the Romans, during these three centuries, presented a striking contrast to its condition while it had been still occupied only by the



Remains of Public Buildings of the Roman City of Uricontium

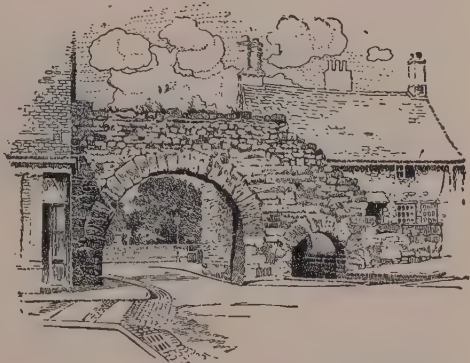
native Celtic tribes. One of the chief differences was the prevalence of city life. The cities which grew up had in many cases a military origin. Three legions were regularly stationed in Britain. The Second, which was known as the "Augustan," had its headquarters at *Isca*, or Caerleon, in the south of Wales; the Sixth, the "Victorious," at *Eboracum*, the modern York; the Twentieth, the "Valiant-victorious," at *Deva*, the modern Chester. The Ninth, the "Spanish," served in Britain during the early period of conquest, but disappears from the records, either used up in the constant petty warfare or overwhelmed in some calamity which has not been recorded. Detachments from these legions were scattered in numberless smaller or larger posts throughout the country.

The Roman military garrisons were permanent stations to which recruits were sent from time to time from all parts of the Empire. They were thus gradually transformed into towns or cities, inhabited, in addition to the enlisted soldiers, by a population engaged in trade and handicrafts, by officeholders, and by those soldiers who had fulfilled their term of service and settled down with their families in the neighborhood to which they had become attached.

Many settlers from other parts of the Roman Empire, not only those engaged in the military and civil service of the government, but merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and persons occupied in other capacities, came with their families to live in Britain, and furnished additional population for the cities spreading around the military camps. In this and other ways grew up more than a hundred and fifty towns or cities the location of which can be identified either by records of that time or by ruined remains still existing. The sites of some of these are occupied by modern cities; some are now represented by mere villages or by a few mounds or pieces of wall in the open country. The location of a great many of the Roman towns is shown by the termination "caster," "cester," or "chester" in the modern names. All these forms represent the Latin word *castra*, a camp, and almost invariably show that a military post was established there in Roman times.¹ Some others, as Lincoln, have the termination from the Latin word *colonia*. In most of these places and in many others remains of Roman buildings still exist which show that they were in Roman times not merely military camps, as might be inferred from the names, but populous towns with public buildings, temples, shops, and dwelling houses. The walled portion of the towns was small, but extensive suburbs probably surrounded them.

¹ Instances of this are Lancaster, Doncaster, Ancaster, Tadcaster, Brancaster, Chester, Chichester, Cirencester, Leicester, Gloucester, Dorchester, Ilchester, Manchester, Rochester, Silchester, and many others.

14. Roman Building.—The walls of these towns, as in all Roman building, were massive, provided with towers, gateways, and guardrooms. The materials for building were largely stone and mortar, the stones on the outer surface being almost invariably squared and carefully fitted together. Along with the dressed stones were used a great many bricks or tiles of burned clay, longer and broader, but thinner, than modern bricks. Both on stones and bricks the mason's or brickmaker's signs or initials were often placed. Inscribed tablets were also very commonly used for memorials. From these inscriptions much of our knowledge of Roman Britain is obtained. The materials used by the Romans in their buildings were so good that many of their structures still exist after almost two thousand years of neglect and exposure.



Roman Arch still standing in the City of Lincoln

The most famous Roman structure in Britain was the wall built by the emperor Hadrian from sea to sea across a narrow part of the island, to form a line of defense against the turbulent northern tribes. It was more than seventy miles long, extending from the river Tyne just below Newcastle to the shore of the Solway Firth on the western coast. It was about eight feet thick and twelve to fifteen feet high. Some eighteen permanent walled camps were distributed along its course, "mile-castles" served as places of defense for smaller bodies of troops, and small watch-turrets were placed at even more frequent intervals. A military road ran along the southern side of the wall, and a line of earthworks and a ditch were carried parallel to it. A somewhat similar line

of defense was constructed at the still narrower place between the Firth and the Clyde, but was not successfully held, and the region between these two walls was always debatable ground between the provincials and the barbarians to the north of the province. The Wall of Hadrian was the wonder of later races of invaders, and even to-day in its remains gives impressive testimony to the power and boldness of the Romans.

15. Rural Life.—Scattered through Roman Britain were many villas or country houses, whose remains show wealth, luxury, and refined tastes on the part of the owners. These were probably



A Part of the Roman Wall

lords of large estates which were worked by slaves or dependent tenants. Some of these villas were so large as to have readily accommodated a household of a hundred or more persons. The mosaic or figured stone floors and the frescoed walls and ceilings of these houses were often ornate and beautiful. Warmth, so dear to sun-loving Italians, was obtained in the larger buildings by laying the tiled floors over vaulted passages, through which warm air was made to pass from furnaces. Remains are also found of villages in which the native laboring population lived, using Roman pottery and other such utensils, but apparently very poor, and probably enjoying but little of Roman civilization, except the good order of the country.

16. Roads.—The cities and military camps were connected by roads extending over the length and breadth of the island. The Romans built and kept up their roads in all the provinces of the Empire with the greatest care and skill, and many of those constructed in Britain in the second, third, and fourth centuries still serve as the foundations of modern roads, or are visible as tracks across uncultivated downs and moors. The main roads were constructed of several layers of prepared stones and mortar, and were intended primarily for military purposes. Others were cross roads for more ordinary traveling and for trading uses, and still others were mere private roads or rural byways.

Several roads leading from the seaports on the southeast coast united at the city of *Durovernum*, the modern Canterbury, from which a broad road led away over the high ground, through the modern city of Rochester, to the Thames opposite London. Here was a bridge across the river. From London four great roads diverged like a fan. One passed westward and south-westward through the richest and most populous district of Roman Britain; the second extended northwestward into the midlands, and thence to Wales and the far north; the third road ran due north to York and on up into Scotland; the fourth extended northeastward to the eastern coast. Other main roads extended across the island, joining these and leading from one of the principal cities or seaports to another.

These main highways were but the principal threads of the great network of roads by which all parts of the province were made easy of access. Along them were scattered the cities, towns, and villas, and a constant stream of trade and travel must have flowed in the wake of the military marching and transport for which they were primarily intended.

17. Industries.—Iron ore was smelted in a number of the forest regions of the southeast and the central plain, and lead was mined in Cornwall for use in the province and for export to the continent. Copper, tin, silver, and gold were mined to some

extent. Great quantities of pottery were made in various districts where suitable clay existed. The method of manufacture of some kinds of ware has become a lost art, never rediscovered since Roman times. Articles made of glass are found very widely, though it is not certain that they were manufactured in Britain. Indeed, all these articles were frequently imported into Britain from Italy and from other provinces.

The Romans considered Britain one of the great grain-growing and cattle-raising provinces of the Empire, and occasionally wheat made its way from that province all the way to Rome. On the other hand, the cherry, the walnut, the elm, perhaps the beech, and other trees, as well as some new breeds of domestic animals, were introduced by the Romans. The Roman landowners introduced also certain methods of cultivation, customary arrangements of payment from their tenants, and divisions of the farming land which survived into far later centuries.

Notwithstanding this progress in farming, the occupations of the people of Britain which distinguished the Roman period from earlier and later times were manufactures and commerce, not agriculture. The prevalence of trade is shown by the great quantities of coined money that existed. Roman coins have been found in vast numbers now for many centuries. Some have been lost or melted down, but many thousands still exist in public and private collections. They have frequently been found in hoards, in earthen jars where their owners hid or kept them, or in purses that their owners lost. A few years ago, during some excavations at Silchester, a Roman bath was disclosed. In the opening of one of the lead pipes a pile of some two hundred coins was found, and close to it in a corner of the bath a human skeleton. It seems probable that the man had just hidden or was just seeking the money when death overtook him. Other coins have been found scattered among the ruins of houses, in the streets or the outlying fields of ancient towns, and along the roads. They represent coinage of all the emperors from Augustus

to the latest days of the province. Mints existed at London, Dover, and perhaps other places, where money was coined, and great numbers of coins must have been brought over from the continent. The familiar figure of Britannia with the trident on modern English coins is taken from certain coins of the province issued under the emperor Hadrian.

18. Language and Religion.—It is evident from what has been said that civilization was highly developed in Britain during the Roman period. The population became very much mixed, on account of immigration from all parts of the Empire. It is probable that Latin became almost the universal language. Thousands of inscriptions have been discovered in that language and none in the Celtic formerly in use. It is true that many of the rivers and mountains preserved their Celtic or even pre-Celtic names. No doubt also in the rural districts and in the more remote parts of the country a large part of the original British population and even of the descendants of those early races which preceded the Britons still survived with their language and customs almost undisturbed through the whole Roman period.

The same gods were worshiped here as at Rome, as well as some known only to this or other outlying parts of the Roman Empire. Burial inscriptions and votive offerings reproduce their names. Temples and altars were dedicated to Jupiter and to most of the other Roman deities, and to various minor deities of the streams, the fields, the roads, and the mountains. For instance, on a small altar discovered at Rochester is the inscription, "To the goddess Minerva, Julius Carantus dedicated this." On another, found at Tynemouth, the inscription is "Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Aelius Rufus, prefect of the fourth cohort of the Lingones."



A Roman Altar dedicated to Jupiter by Aelius Rufus, found at Tynemouth

An altar near Chester, where springs are numerous, is inscribed "From the Twentieth Legion, the Valiant-victorious, to the nymphs and fountains."

Christianity probably made its way early into Britain as into other parts of the then known world, but there is no trustworthy record of its earliest history. There were certainly indi-



A Christian Emblem, representing the First Two Greek Letters of the Name Christ: on a Bar of Lead found in the River Thames

vidual Christians in Britain in the third century of the Christian era. The old legend of the martyrdom of St. Alban places that event at the beginning of the next century, and bishops of London and York attended a church council in Gaul in 314. Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire after the year A.D. 324, but its extension and influence in Britain could hardly have been very great, as scarcely more than a single Christian emblem or inscription has been

found among the Roman remains, and the mention of the new faith in contemporary writers is slight and obscure.

19. Decay of Roman Britain. — As time passed the prosperity and good order of the Roman Empire declined. It is altogether probable that in Britain, as in other provinces, wealth and population were decreasing, and it is certain that invasions from beyond the borders were more frequent. One of the causes of the loss of prosperity was the heavy taxation which was necessary to pay the expenses of the army, of the officeholders, and of the other needs of the imperial government. Land taxes, poll taxes, taxes on imports and exports and on sales had become so heavy and were so badly distributed that property decreased in value, many people found it impossible to make a living, and vast numbers, even in times of order and safety, were utterly miserable.

During the fourth century of the Christian era the government of the Empire was everywhere experiencing increasing difficulty

in defending its frontiers against the barbarian races outside of the borders. Its armies were engaged in almost constant conflicts with various tribes which were trying to make their way into the Empire. In some cases the barbarians came to plunder and then go away; in others they made their way within the frontiers and became permanent though unwelcome settlers. Many of these barbarians were taken individually or by bands into the military service of the Roman government, and became an efficient but dangerous element in the army.

In Britain the principal enemies from outside the frontiers were the Franks and the Saxons, who ravaged the southeast coast from the sea; the Scots from the north of Ireland, who made frequent descents upon the northwest coast; and the Picts or Caledonians, who still invaded the province from time to time as they had done in the earlier years of the Roman occupation. The first of these were the most destructive, as they attacked the most populous and wealthy part of the province. To protect the people against them, a line of nine forts was erected along the southeastern coast, and a fleet was regularly kept in the Channel. These forts and the fleet were under the command of an official known as the "Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain." His office was no sinecure and he was constantly engaged in beating off invaders. Notwithstanding the coast defenses, the great wall on the north, and the military stations established in the northwest, the Picts, Scots, and Saxons made repeated attacks and frequently ravaged great sections of the country. In 368 we hear of marauders capturing slaves and cattle within a few miles of London.

20. Withdrawal of the Roman Troops. — The weakness of the military defense of the province during this period was largely the result of the repeated efforts of the commanders of the troops in Britain to seize the control of the whole Empire. Detached from the rest of the Empire in their island province they had opportunities to gain the attachment of their troops and to strengthen

themselves till they were practically independent. They were then tempted to revolt against the central government and to take troops to the continent to fight for imperial sway.

Several successful emperors began their careers in this way. But such attempts were in most cases calamitous failures. In 383 Clemens Maximus was proclaimed emperor in Britain, and soon afterwards gathered most of the troops in the island and took them with him to the continent to contend with the legitimate emperor. He was eventually killed, and few of his troops ever returned. Although reënforcements for the garrison in Britain were sent over a few years later, these had soon to be withdrawn again to protect Italy against the Goths, and the British legions remained permanently weakened. In 407 a general named Constantine was proclaimed emperor under the name Constantine III by the soldiers in Britain, and he and his troops passed over together to the continent, where after a period of success he also was defeated and killed. This left the province practically without troops. In 410 the emperor Honorius, finding himself unable to send troops, wrote from Italy urging the cities of Britain to provide for their own defense. The government of the province had always been in the hands of the military commander, so the withdrawal of the garrison left it without any representative of the central government of the Empire. Deprived of its military garrison, deserted by the higher imperial officials, and abandoned by the emperor, Britain could no longer be considered a province of the Roman Empire.

21. Relapse into Barbarism. — A period of some two hundred years follows of which we have only a few glimpses of confusion and increasing barbarism. When the province was abandoned by its rulers and defenders it might be expected that it would simply fall back into the tribal independence and savage simplicity of life of the Celtic times before the Roman conquest, three hundred years before. But this was impossible. Britain was now occupied by a mixed race of which the Celts were only one element.

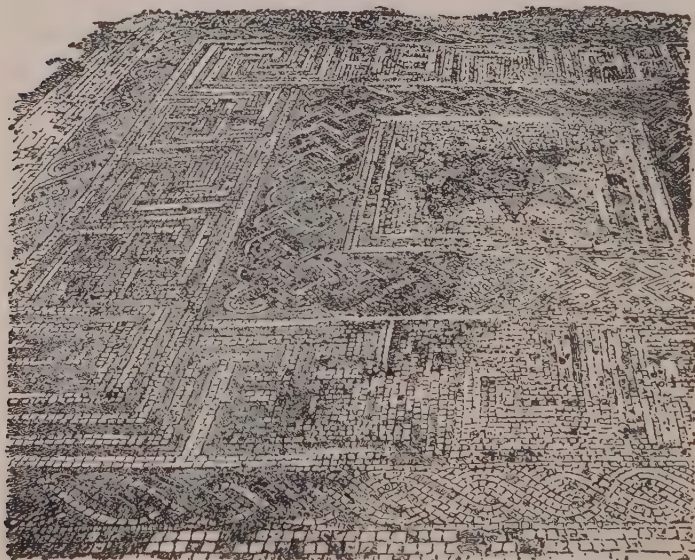
Its people were used to the ways of civilization, lived to a considerable extent in cities, and carried on varied occupations.

On the other hand, there was no organized government left, and no national feeling on which to base any, since the Romans had governed Britain for centuries in the interest of the Empire as a whole, without regard to the wishes of the inhabitants of this one province. Roman law had doubtless superseded the old tribal customs. It was hardly to be expected that the Britons could, under the circumstances, organize a new government for themselves. There was no military force and no capacity for self-protection or defense, as the whole Roman military system was based on the standing army, without any local militia or habit of bearing arms among the common people. If it had been impossible for the legions to protect the frontiers against invaders, it is no wonder that the unarmed, untrained, and unorganized population of the province proved unable to defend their land. The country was already going backward in wealth and population, and even the cessation of Roman taxation could not restore or keep up prosperity in such times of confusion and calamity.

There are almost no contemporary records written in Britain during this period, and almost no references to Britain in writers of other provinces. We know little more than that it was a time of much warfare and confusion, invasion and new settlement; that the old cities lost their inhabitants; that civilization gradually died out; that Christianity disappeared; that the Latin and Celtic languages alike ceased to be spoken in the greater part of the country. All these gave place to a new language, a new religion, and new customs brought in by invaders.

Certain material structures, such as roads, bridges, and buildings, remained; the draining and clearing of swamps and forests was a permanent benefit; a few new animals, trees, and plants had been introduced; methods of agriculture were preserved to later times; and many boundaries then laid down were permanently kept. Except for these things Roman Britain had passed entirely away.

22. Summary of the Roman Period. — The period of Roman supremacy in Britain was a single episode rather than part of the continuous progress of the development of the English nation, but it was an episode of much interest. After the beginning of the conquest, A.D. 43, the Romans rapidly introduced a highly developed civilization, which retained its dominance until the



Roman Mosaic Pavement recently uncovered at Aldborough

withdrawal of the legions in 407. Those two dates mark the beginning and the end of civilization in Britain for many centuries. It is impossible to believe that no influence was exerted on later English history by the period of Roman control, but it was less than in any other European province of the Empire. The new barbarian settlers, mixed though they may have been with the old population, had to begin the work of creating a civilization and building a nation almost anew.

General Reading.—The best short accounts are in the little books, SCARTH, *Roman Britain*, and COLLINGWOOD, *Roman Britain*. The book by WRIGHT, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, referred to at the close of the previous chapter, is particularly good for Roman Britain. The latest description of the Province is HAVERFIELD, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*. The fullest and best narratives of the events of this period are in RAMSAY, *Foundations of England*, Vol. I, chap. vii, and *Roman Britain*, Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. I, chap. xiii. CONYBEARE, *Roman Britain*, is another good small book.

Contemporary Sources.—TACITUS, *Agricola*, sects. 8-40; *Annales*, Book XIV. Tacitus was the son-in-law of Agricola, and probably learned from him by word of mouth what he records of the period of conquest and organization of the province. Several translations of the works of Tacitus have been published. The most convenient is the "Oxford Translation," in Bohn's Library. Extracts from Tacitus are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, No. 19, and COLBY, *Sources*, No. 3, and, along with other documents, in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 14-24. Almost all we know about the period of decay is in GILDAS, published in *Six Old English Chronicles* (a volume in Bohn's Library).

Poetry and Fiction.—TENNYSON, *Boadicea*; COWPER, *Boadicea*; CHURCH, A. J., *The Count of the Saxon Shore*; CUTTS, E. L., *The Villa of Claudius*; ARNOLD, *Phra the Phœnician*; KIPLING, "A Centurion of the Thirtieth," "On the Great Wall," and "The Winged Hats," in *Puck of Pook's Hill*.

Special Topics.—(1) The Roman Wall, in MOMMSEN, *Roman Provinces*, Vol. I, chap. v, and WRIGHT, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, pp. 156-158; (2) Roads, in WRIGHT, pp. 221-225; (3) Villas, in TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 76-82 and 93-95; (4) Towns, *ibid.*, pp. 15-18; (5) The Army, *ibid.*, pp. 56-64; (6) Roman Influence in Britain, *ibid.*, pp. 18-25; and (7) Archeological Remains, in WINDLE, *Romans in Britain*.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SAXON ENGLAND. 400-830

23. *Settlements of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.* — Of the various barbarous enemies that ravaged the province of Britain during the fourth and fifth centuries, the Picts and Scots made no permanent settlements and may therefore be left without further notice. On the other hand, the invaders that came by sea from the continent of Europe gradually became not only marauders but conquerors and settlers. The Teutonic tribes that occupied the northwestern coast of Europe had long been in the habit of making forays into the cultivated provinces of the Roman Empire. Time and time again, following the coasts of what are now Holland and Belgium till they came in sight of the white cliffs of Britain, they passed across the strait to the island, then made their way either northward along the east coast or westward along the south coast, rowing into some river mouth or landing on some unwatched beach and ravaging the adjoining country. During the period of decay of Roman Britain their invasions became more frequent and their numbers greater. These marauders were principally Angles, Saxons, Frisians, and Jutes, coming from the seacoast of the Netherlands, northwestern Germany, and Denmark.

At some time during this period they began to settle in the land they had formerly merely ravaged. According to an old tradition, when the Britons were especially hard pressed by the Picts and the Scots, they invited the sea rovers in to defend them, giving them land for settlement in return. This earliest permanent settlement is reported to have been in 449, under the

leadership of two chieftains, Hengist and Horsa. The facts, names, and dates given in the early chronicles are, however, fragmentary, confused, and uncertain. These chronicles were written in much later times, and give us at best only the dim outlines of the process of settlement of these newcomers into Britain.

During the fifth and sixth centuries bands of invaders continued to come over from the same lands for the purpose of obtaining settlements for themselves on the coast of Britain or farther inland. Each body seems to have come under the leadership of its own chieftain or *ealdorman*, and to have made what terms it could, peaceful or hostile, with the Britons. Some districts were no doubt but thinly populated, and the invaders simply occupied the country as fellow settlers with the Britons who were already there. In other parts there were bitter struggles and long sieges, and only after successive battles were the invaders able to hold the land and either subject the Britons to their control or drive them out of the district altogether.

The newcomers were seldom satisfied with a mere foothold. On some parts of the coast leaders with numerous followers immediately after they had landed entered upon a course of warfare and conquest of the country lying inland, while in other parts the detached bands of early settlers were only later drawn together by some warlike leader who then proceeded to extend his dominion by conquests from the Britons far into the interior of the country. In this way, before the year 600, fully one half of the island had been more or less completely occupied and conquered by the Teutonic tribes from the continent, and a number of petty kingdoms had been formed, each under its own ruler.

24. The Early Kingdoms.—In the northeast the country from the Firth of Forth to the Humber River had been formed into two kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira. These were frequently combined into one, which was then spoken of as the kingdom of the Northumbrians. Its people were Angles. Another group of Angle tribes had occupied the district between the Humber and

the Wash, had conquered the natives far inland to the westward, and formed the large kingdom known as Mercia. Still further down the eastern coast, in the old district of the Iceni, were the North Folk and the South Folk, who were together known as the East Angles.

The country to the south of this was occupied by Saxons, except two small districts which were settled by Jutes. Those who had occupied the land just north of the Thames River were the East Saxons. A branch of these, who had gone westward and captured London and the land around it, were known as the Middle Saxons. The land in the extreme southeast had been occupied by Jutes who became known as Kentishmen.¹ Their kingdom extended to the Thames on the north and to the great forest on the west. The narrow strip of land between this forest and the Channel on the south was the kingdom of the South Saxons. The old city of Anderida had been captured by them, a later chronicle says, as early as 491, and every Briton in it killed.

The Isle of Wight and the mainland just north of it were early settled by a body of Jutes. The most important settlers and conquerors here, however, were the West Saxons, who came somewhat later. They landed in Southampton Water about 500 A.D., under their leader or *ealdorman* Cerdic. The land here lay open to the northward and westward, with Roman roads extending in all directions into the heart of the country. But the native population was probably more numerous and wealthy here than in any other part of Britain, and the Saxons had to fight their way step by step. In twenty years they had brought under control the district which now makes up the county of Hampshire. Under successive rulers in the remainder of the century they made further advances, capturing a number of old cities and conquering the country across the Thames and some distance up the

¹ The name Kent is from the Celtic word "Caint," an open place. The Jutish inhabitants called themselves "Caintwara," or dwellers in the Caint. Canterbury, or Caintwarabyrig, means the town of the Caintwara.

SETTLEMENTS of the ANGLES, SAXONS and JUTES

0 50 100
Scale of Miles.

- Explanations.**
 Angles
 Saxons
 Jutes
 Native Britons

N O R T H
S E A

I R I S H S E A

St. George's Channel

E N G L I S H C H A N N E L

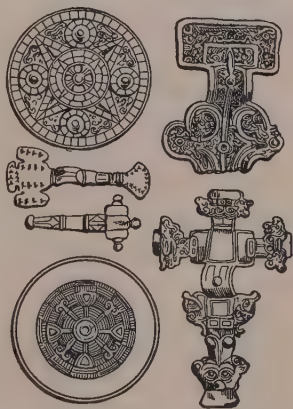


valley of the Severn. This difficult military conquest resulted in making the West Saxons the strongest and most compact race of the Anglo-Saxon invaders. The seven kingdoms formed by the Northumbrians, Mercians, East Anglians, East Saxons, Kentishmen, South Saxons, and West Saxons are often spoken of as the Heptarchy, though there was no fixed and permanent grouping into this number. Sometimes conquest reduced two or more under one ruler; at other times local rebellions or other causes of separation made the number of independent kingdoms greater.

25. The New Race. — It is impossible to tell how far the people of these petty kingdoms were pure Teutonic settlers from Germany, and how far they were a mixed race including descendants of the old inhabitants of Britain. It is incredible that the earlier population should have been actually exterminated, yet what proportion survived we have no means of knowing. It is especially unfortunate that contemporary records are almost absolutely wanting for the period in which the very foundations of the English race were being laid.

Nevertheless there can be no doubt that a very large proportion of the population sprang from the newcomers. Their language, religion, government, and, in the main, their customs, rapidly superseded those of Celtic and Roman Britain.

26. The New Language. — The new settlers spoke dialects of the Low German branch of the Teutonic group of languages, nearly allied to the languages of the Scandinavian peninsula, of the Netherlands, and of northern Germany. Alongside of this new language, Latin and, in all except the western part of the



Early Anglo-Saxon Dress
Fastenings

country, Celtic disappeared. Only a few words of Latin and Celtic origin were retained and became a permanent part of the language of the country.

Little if any of the language of the invaders existed in written form, though *runes*, or rude letters copied from Latin or Greek capitals, were known to them before they had come into Britain, and were used to a slight extent for inscriptions on stones, on horn implements, and other objects. Soon after their settlement in Britain some scholars who were familiar with written Latin began in imitation of that language to write down their own words as they sounded, thus giving rise to a written as well as a spoken language. This was first done among the Angles of Northumbria. Native written language was therefore known as English,¹ even in the Saxon kingdoms, to which the custom of writing soon spread. From this use of the word English as applied to the language, added to the fact that the Angles were the most numerous of the invaders and had overspread the larger part of the island, grew the custom of applying the term English to the whole new race. The name *Angle-land* or England was eventually given to the whole country which the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes occupied. In modern times Anglo-Saxon is the expression usually applied both to the people of the period and to their language.

Poems and songs already existed which only needed to be written down to become a body of literature, and this was done soon after the new race entered Britain. War songs, poems celebrating the successes of their leaders, sagas or rhythmical tales of adventure, poems personifying the changes in nature, with descriptions of summer and winter, sea, storm, clouds, and winds, made up the poetic possessions of the Angles and Saxons at the time of their emigration from the old lands to the new. A famous piece of literature which has survived from this time is *Beowulf*,

¹ Engle and Angle were equivalent forms, sometimes one, sometimes the other being used; but it has become usual to speak of the people as Angles, the language as English.

a long narrative poem describing the adventures of a hero of that name. It tells how he slew a fierce dragon named Grendel, and afterwards a still more terrible monster, the mother of Grendel; how he lived as a virtuous king and then in his old age was killed in a contest with another dragon. The tale with its wild scenery and vigorous figures of speech shows a spirit of strenuous effort, love of battle, barbaric loyalty to friends and cruelty to foes, and fearlessness of death. It holds that every man has his *weird*, a fate which must be endured and against which all resistance is in vain. Yet for all the fierce, wild life the poem represents, Beowulf's followers declare of him after his death that he was

Of all men the mildest, and to men the kindest,
To his people gentlest, and of praise the keenest.

Another poem, commonly called the *Ruined Burgh*, appears to describe the remains of an old Roman city as it appeared to a West Saxon poet.

Windowless is this wall of stone; weirds have shattered it.
Broken are the burgh-steads, crumbled down the giants' work;
Fallen down are the roof-beams, ruined are the towers.

27. The Religion of the Anglo-Saxons.—The religion of the new settlers was similar to that of the other Teutonic races. Woden was the great war god, whose name forms part of many place names in England¹ and survives in our word Wednesday. He was the reputed ancestor of the royal line of almost every one of the petty kingdoms. Thor was the god of rain and storms and thunder, whose name is preserved in our Thursday. Tuesday, Friday, and perhaps Saturday are also named from early English deities. Other powers of good and evil, greater and lesser, were worshiped or dreaded. The early English were as superstitious as other barbarians, and their minds were full of stories of mythical heroes, of giants, witches, monsters, and strange beings scarcely

¹ Such as Wodensbury, Woden's Dyke, and Wanborough.

belonging to this world. They believed, as the more ignorant of their descendants have always since believed, in signs, in lucky and unlucky places and times, in elves, goblins, pixies, and fairies. But of this mythology there are left only a few vague indications in the names of places, in old legends, and in the fairy tales that have survived but are now told only to children.

There were priests devoted to the worship of the gods, and inclosures, altars, and images dedicated to the various deities. The priests do not seem to have exercised the influence over the English which the Druids had over the early Britons. Nor did the religion of the early English have so strong a hold upon them that it proved difficult afterwards to induce them to abandon it.

28. Government. — There is still less known of the government than of the language and religion of the new race, and nothing like a clear conception of it can be obtained till a time long after



Coin of Cuthred,
King of Kent

the settlement. The chieftains who led the first bodies of settlers had probably held no very elevated position in their home land. In the process of migration and as a result of the conquests they made in Britain they took the title of king and obtained increased authority. Nevertheless the great men of the nation still exercised

considerable power, and the kings were scarcely more than leaders of their nation in war. Family or clan organization was important, and the heads of families had much influence. There was no such thing as equality among the people, *eorls* or nobles being clearly distinguished from *ceorls* or common men. Slavery was also common. Law was merely custom, and was explained and applied in special cases by the people themselves in gatherings held at regular intervals.

29. Barbarism. — One of the most marked changes from Roman Britain was the almost entire cessation of city life. The old towns had sunk into ruins in the times of confusion, or had been destroyed in the storms of the conquest. The newcomers

were used only to agriculture, cattle raising, fishing, and hunting. They were not sufficiently advanced in knowledge or wealth for city life. They saw no attraction in the enjoyments of towns; their pleasures were found in hunting and warfare. Walled cities were even a matter of dislike to them. They connected them with confinement and with mysterious powers. Love of liberty, lack of industrial and trading knowledge, and fear of magic alike led the Angles and Saxons to prefer the open life of the woods and fields. Therefore, although some of the cities such as London, York, and Canterbury may have retained some population and even, possibly, an organized government, yet they shrank into small, unprosperous and insignificant towns, while others disappeared altogether. The great body of the population lived in small villages or in country houses surrounded by banks or hedges.

Nor were the Anglo-Saxons traders. Their crude agriculture and still cruder handicrafts gave them but little with which to trade, nor were they sufficiently civilized to have needs not satisfied by their own efforts or by plundering. The roads therefore had much the same fate as the cities. Most of them were neglected and disregarded. A few, however, remained in use and were even kept in repair. Portions of them have remained, as has been said, even to this day, and detached sections of many more are still traceable. Four of the old roads retained such importance as to be given distinctive names by the Anglo-Saxons and to be frequently mentioned in their records as boundaries or means of communication. The best known of these is Watling Street, the Roman road from the southern ports to London, thence northwestward to Chester, across the island again to York, and finally northward to the great wall. Its name is a good indication of the mixture of races, combining the Roman word *strata*, meaning a paved road, with the name of a race of heroes of Anglo-Saxon mythology, the Waetlings. Ermine Street, the great northern road to Lincoln and thence to York, was likewise

named for a Saxon deity, Eormen. The Ickniold-way was a Roman road extending from the southwestern part of the country across to Norwich and the eastern coast, and the Fosse-way was another extending from Exeter and Bath to Lincoln. The Roman bridges were likewise preserved in some cases ; in others neglected till they disappeared.

For such slight trade as existed, the remaining Roman money must have nearly sufficed. Still the early Saxons had some silver coins of small value, either brought with them or minted soon after the settlement, in imitation of the Roman coinage.

30. The Mission of Augustine. — In many ways England had gone back to much the same state of barbarism as that in which it had been before the Roman conquest, and the work of civilization had to be begun almost anew. One of the first steps of this advancement, was the reintroduction of Christianity.

Rome was at this time the source of much missionary effort. An old story tells how Gregory, a Roman deacon, in going to the market place and seeing some boys with white skin, fair faces, and fine hair exposed by a merchant for sale as slaves, was struck with their beauty and asked their race. When he was told they were Angles and came from a heathen land, he declared that they looked rather like angels, and ought to be rescued from paganism to become joint heirs with the angels of heaven. When he was chosen pope, some years afterwards, he organized a body of monks as missionaries, placed them under the direction of a Roman priest named Augustine,¹ and sent them to England. After passing through France and obtaining some new companions and interpreters they crossed the Channel and landed on the shore of Kent in the spring of 597.

The way was prepared for them. The people of Kent already had more intercourse with the continent than those of the more

¹ This Augustine must not be confused with the great African bishop of the same name, who lived two centuries before. The story referred to is in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. i.

distant parts of England, and the wife of Ethelbert,¹ king of Kent, was a daughter of the Frankish king who reigned in Paris. She was a Christian, had been accompanied to England by a Christian bishop, and was already using for private worship an old dismantled Roman church on the outskirts of Canterbury.

Therefore, when Augustine and his companions sent word to the king of their arrival and of the messages they had brought, the matter can hardly have been new to Ethelbert. With true



Church of St. Martin at Canterbury

barbarian dislike of confinement, however, and doubtless with some fear of magic, he arranged to meet the missionaries in the open air. Augustine and his companions came to the conference bearing a silver cross and a picture of Christ painted on a board, and singing the litany. Augustine then preached to the king and his attendants. He was listened to patiently, and with his companions allowed to come to Canterbury and given permission

¹ The Anglo-Saxon form of this name is Æthelberht. The ancient forms of proper names will be used in this book only when the name has disappeared altogether from use and has no modern equivalent.

to teach and preach. Some time afterwards Ethelbert himself, with many others, accepted Christianity and was baptized.

Augustine soon went to the continent and was ordained by consent of the pope "archbishop of the English"; then returned and proceeded to spread and organize the Christian church in that country. At first Queen Bertha's chapel of St. Martin at Canterbury was used, then another old Roman church was repaired and became the predecessor of Canterbury Cathedral. Other buildings and lands were granted to them, and the work of conversion and the establishment of new centers was carried as far as the influence of Ethelbert extended, which was at that time far beyond the limits of Kent.

31. Christianity in Northumbria. — With the death of Ethelbert difficulties arose, and the progress of Christianity became very slow. In most of the kingdoms of the south and center of the country there was much resistance. In Northumbria, however, circumstances were more favorable. About thirty years after the arrival of Augustine in Kent, Edwin of Deira obtained the crown of Northumbria and married a Kentish princess. She brought to Northumbria with her Paulinus, a Kentish priest, ordained bishop for the purpose of introducing Christianity into the north. This bishop urged Edwin and his court to become Christians, but for a long time without success. Finally, as one of the most picturesque of the old stories recounts, the king and his nobles yielded to the preaching of Paulinus, and the old gods were deserted.¹ Soon the king and the leading men of the Northumbrians were baptized, and a church was built, first of wood and later of stone, which afterwards became York Minster. Christianity was thus established in the north.

32. The Scottish Missions. — Even when a defeat of the Northumbrians by the heathen king of Mercia brought a wave of paganism back over the country and drove Paulinus, with the widow and children of Edwin, back to Kent, the process of

¹ See the story in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. xiii.

conversion was only stopped for a moment. Scottish monks from the northward now came to Northumbria and preached Christianity among the people. Their leader was Aidan, a monk and bishop, educated and ordained at the monastery of Iona, who presented himself to King Oswald, a successor of Edwin, and formed a friendship with him that remained unbroken through both of their lives. Aidan and his

monks were granted Lindisfarne, or Holy Island,

lying off the Northumbrian coast, as a dwelling place, and made it a new center for the spread of religion and the establishment of churches. Enthusiastic missionaries sent out thence passed through all the northern and central parts of England, winning converts among the common people, the nobles, and the rulers, and recon-

verting the East Saxons. In the meanwhile other missionaries came from the continent to the East Angles and West Saxons ;

and by 650, scarcely fifty years after the arrival of Augustine and twenty after Aidan, all England except Sussex had become Christian. The South Saxons, cut off from the rest of the English by forest and swamps, were converted later in the century. Of course much of this conversion must have been merely nominal. Remote districts must



Initial Letter and Opening Words of a Manuscript Copy of St. Luke's Gospel in the Lindisfarne Gospel Book, written about 700 A.D.

have long remained untouched by it, and we have records which show that charms, signs, belief in various supernatural beings, and strange local customs and legends still survived and made up much of the everyday religion of the people. The old heathenism as a matter of popular custom died slowly.

33. The Synod of Whitby. — As Christianity became more widespread, dissensions arose, among those who were preaching the new religion, that prevented their coöperation and the formation of a united religious body. There were in reality two forms of Christianity in the British Islands: one existing among the Celtic races and taught by the missionaries who came from them, the other that which had been introduced by missionaries who came directly from the continent. The Britons in the western part of the island had retained their Christianity from Roman times. It had been carried thence to Ireland by St. Patrick just about the time of the departure of the Romans from Britain. Almost at the same time the Scots, who occupied the north of Ireland, began to make conquests and settlements on the western coast of the land of the Picts.¹ Here the monastery of Iona was founded by Columba and became a new center of missionary activity. This Celtic branch of the Christian church in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and Northern England followed somewhat different customs from those of the church as it had grown up in the continental countries. It differed in the calculation of the date of Easter, in the forms used in baptism, and in the tonsure or ceremonial cutting of the hair of churchmen. The Celtic clergy were enthusiastic and devoted to the work of preaching and teaching among the common people, but they had adopted

¹ Scot was simply the Roman name for Gael, that branch of the Celts of Britain which lived in Ireland. In the sixth century the Scots began to make settlements on the western islands and mainland of Caledonia, the country of the Picts. These conquests and settlements extended over a larger and larger region until the Scots became the most important part of the population and the whole country came to be called Scotland.

a very simple, almost disorderly form of church government. The abbots of the great monasteries like Iona and Lindisfarne were the most influential church officials. The priests wandered from place to place baptizing, saying mass, performing the ceremony of marriage and other rites of the church; and even the bishops, in Ireland and Scotland at least, were only priests fulfilling somewhat higher functions, but having no settled territory under their charge. On the other hand, the missionaries who had been sent from the continent, and the English churchmen who had visited France and Italy and then returned to England, held the continental view of the date of Easter and of similar questions. They were also strongly impressed with the power and authority of the church as it was being more carefully organized in the continental countries. When by appointment to bishoprics in the center or north of England they came into contact with the Celtic clergy, they quarreled with them on these disputed points and strove to force them to conform to the continental customs. These disputes finally led to the calling by the Northumbrian king, in 664, of a council of churchmen and others at Whitby, where, after a long discussion, the king gave his voice in favor of the southern customs. The Celtic customs from this time forward were given up in England, and gradually passed away even in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.

34. Organization of the Christian Church in England. — The Christian church in England thus took shape as one united body, with the same customs, teachings, and organization as were in existence in all other countries of western Europe which looked to Rome as a religious center. Bishoprics were established, churches built, and the people converted and taught. Next came the more complete internal organization of the church. This was largely borrowed from the continental countries, where the old organization and civil administration of the Roman Empire had been adopted by the Christian clergy and adapted to the needs of the church. The work of organization in England was

principally carried out between 670 and 690 by Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury.

Theodore was a Greek monk and had been trained in Greek philosophy and theology. He spent some time at Rome and came under the influence of the Roman ideas of church organization. When he was sent to England there were seven bishops, whose districts corresponded pretty nearly to the old kingdoms. By the influence of Theodore several of these districts were soon



Church at Bradford-on-Avon: the only Complete Church surviving from Saxon Times

divided, usually on the lines of the original tribal settlements, so that there came to be fifteen dioceses or bishops' sees, all recognizing the bishop of Canterbury, who was known as the "archbishop." Later a second archbishopric was founded. The northern bishoprics were placed under the supervision of the bishop of the North-

umbrians, with his principal seat at York, who therefore became known as the "archbishop of York." Each bishop was required to attend to the affairs of his own diocese only, not intruding into any other, and priests were placed strictly under the jurisdiction of their own bishop. Throughout the country priests were gradually established, and churches built in each village. In 673 at Hertford was held a meeting or synod of all the bishops, at which rules were adopted for churchmen in all the dioceses alike; and such church councils were held frequently afterward. Thus England was organized into a single body for religious



purposes, while it was still divided politically into a number of independent kingdoms.¹

35. Monasteries. — There were other churchmen in England besides the bishops and the parish priests. These were the numerous groups of monks who lived in monasteries in various parts of England. Monks and nuns are men and women who take vows to live according to some religious rule governing all the actions of life.² The rule followed in most of England after Christianity had become thoroughly established was the rule of St. Benedict. Benedictine monasteries usually arose in this way. A body of men or of women gathered around an abbot or an abbess and bound themselves by the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. That is to say, they promised not to marry, not to possess any private property, and to obey their abbot in all things. A pious king or noble granted them land, which was added to from time to time by the gifts of others. Supported partly by the rents from this land and partly by their own labor, they lived according to the requirements of their rule, more or less completely withdrawn from the usual occupations and interests of the world. Thus monasteries were established in many out-of-the-way places, such as Peterborough and Croyland in the Fen district between East Anglia and Mercia, Malmesbury and Sherborne farther west, and Lindisfarne, Whitby, Wearmouth, and Jarrow in the far north.

36. Revival of Civilization. — With the organization of the Christian church and the foundation of monasteries came a distinct advance in all parts of English civilization. Men trained as clergymen, especially those who had traveled to the continent,

¹ See map of England divided into dioceses opposite p. 51.

² They are therefore spoken of as the "regular" clergy, from the Latin word *regula*, a rule. The clergy who were not monks or nuns were called the "secular" clergy, because their work lay in the ordinary world, from the Latin word *sæculum*. These included the bishops, parish priests, and others connected with the organized church outside of the monasteries.

learned of the old Roman civilization which had been destroyed in England during the times of barbaric violence, and used their knowledge in the introduction of higher ways of living. In the monasteries the monks and their dependents raised better varieties of grain, fruits and vegetables, kept up fish ponds, and even produced some kinds of crude manufactures. The more ambitious bishops and abbots succeeded in erecting stone churches and monastery buildings, and in obtaining for use in them glass windows, vessels of brass, gold and silver, ornamental clothing for religious services, and finally even books, religious and classical. At first these articles were imported from the continental countries. This led to some trading; afterwards men were brought over who could make them; and they were soon frequently manufactured in England itself. Thus under the influence of established church government regular industry and peaceful development of the country went on in a higher degree, notwithstanding the continuance of much violence, disorder, and warfare.

37. Education and Literature. — Literature also awoke to a new life. Archbishop Theodore had been accompanied in his travels through England, in his work of regulating the church, by a monk named Hadrian, born in Africa but brought up in the south of Italy, where Greek was still spoken. Both therefore spoke Greek and encouraged its study. A school was started at Canterbury in connection with the church there, and somewhat later a similar one at York, while in most of the monasteries pupils were regularly taught to read and write English. The elements of Latin instruction, as well as the services of the church, were taught in a number of cathedral and monastic schools.

There came to be a considerable amount of writing of a more varied kind, partly under the influence of the old Anglo-Saxon literary spirit, partly of the new classical learning. Lives of saints, allegories, narratives, and descriptions of natural scenes were written in prose and poetry, in Latin and in English. Of some churchmen of the time, noted for their knowledge and their ability as

writers, the names and writings have come down to our own times, but there were also lesser poets whose names and songs have alike now disappeared but whose productions then gave abundant material to the gleemen who wandered through the country, singing their ballads in halls and on village greens.

The most famous early Saxon writer was Bæda, "The Venerable Bede," as he is called. He was a monk who lived his whole life in the monastery of Jarrow. As a boy he was taught in the monastery school and afterwards studied the books which had been gathered there, and became familiar with most of the knowledge then available. He became school teacher to the monks and boys in the monastery, but found time during a long lifetime to write some fifty-five works of his own. He wrote text-books and larger works in Latin, translated one or two Latin works into English, and composed some English poetry. He was the first historian of the English people, and his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* is still the source to which we go for most of our knowledge of the very early Anglo-Saxon period. He died 735 A.D. Shortly before the time of Bede a poet had become famous in the Northumbrian monastery of Whitby. This was Cædmon, a servant of the abbey, unlearned but gifted with poetic genius and impressed with the picturesqueness of the Bible stories. These he paraphrased, as they were told to him, in English verse; others imitated him in the same poetic forms and subjects, and thus a series of poems reproducing a large part of the Bible was constructed and became well known.

38. Internal Strife of the Kingdoms. — England was far better organized in an ecclesiastical than in a political way. Churchmen from one part of the country were frequently appointed to office in another, and councils attended by bishops from all England were held, while the kingdoms from which they came were still in constant warfare with one another. These were the kingdoms which had been formed in the early years of the conquest and settlements. Upon the conquests of the natives had followed

wars among the invaders themselves. Civil wars also occurred in each kingdom between rival claimants for the crown. After the beginning of the seventh century these wars were more systematic, led to some permanent results, and brought some order out of the chaos. The Northumbrians in the north, the Mercians in the center, and the West Saxons in the south of the country, the three kingdoms which had room for expansion, became much more powerful than any of the other kingdoms. East Anglia, Essex,¹ Sussex, and Kent were ruled by under-kings or chieftains subordinate to the ruler of one or other of the three great kingdoms, or were simply added to their dominions. There were instances of revolts of these dependent kings, but most of the contests from this time forward were between the Northumbrians, the Mercians, and the West Saxons.

39. Northumbria. — During the first half of the seventh century Northumbria was decidedly the most powerful state in England. Its kings gained repeated victories over the countries farther south and even at times held rule over almost all of England, as well as over what are now the Lowlands of Scotland. The city of Edinburgh or "Edwin's burgh" marks the northern limits of the power of Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumbria, who reigned from 617 to 633, while later Northumbrian kings reduced the Picts, the northwestern Britons, and the Scots to dependence. Northumbria was also the leading state of England in literature, learning, and trade. A series of defeats near the end of the seventh century, however, made its permanent supremacy in the central and southern parts of England hopeless.

40. Mercia. — Mercia then became more prominent. The kings of this country had a series of contests with the native Britons of Wales which resulted in forcing the latter to become tributary. Other wars occurred with the West Saxons to the southward. During the eighth century, especially under Ethelbald

¹ The territorial terms Essex, Sussex, Middlesex, and Wessex gradually took the place of the tribal names East Saxons, etc.



The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms and the Three Native Principalities, ca. 800 A.D.

and Offa, whose reigns together covered the period from 716 to 796, Mercia was in her turn the most powerful state in England and held all the districts to the eastward and southwestward, including London and Kent. The Mercian kings issued a specially good coinage and seem to have paid much attention to the growth of trade. A separate archbishopric was for a while created at Lichfield, and the Mercian king had some intercourse with Charles the Great and other kings on the continent, and with the pope. Several of the Mercian kings abdicated the throne, as had those of Northumbria, and went on pilgrimages to Rome, or retired to English monasteries. Notwithstanding their good fortune in war, the Mercians were never successful in completely conquering either the Northumbrians or the West Saxons, and there were frequent revolts of the Kentishmen and East Anglians. In 796, Offa, the last of the great Mercian kings, died, and the kingdom soon lost its greatness and eventually its independence.

41. West Saxon Overlordship. — The West Saxons had by conquests gradually built up an extensive kingdom to the north, east, and west of their original capital at Winchester. In wars waged sometimes with the natives on the north and west and sometimes with the Angles of Mercia, the South and East Saxons, and the Kentishmen, they kept up their fighting habits and successfully resisted conquest by the Northumbrians and Mercians. Descendants of Cerdic, the first king, always ruled in Wessex, but there were many contests within the family for the crown. In one of these disputes Egbert,¹ a prince of the royal family, was exiled, and, according to the custom of the time, took refuge at the court of Charles the Great, king of the Franks. After remaining there for thirteen years and doubtless seeing much of Charles's warlike and statesmanlike policy, he was recalled to be king of the West Saxons in 802. Within the next few years he had completed the conquest of the natives of the west, adding what are now Devonshire and Cornwall to his dominions. He

¹ The Anglo-Saxon form of this name is Ecgeberht.

then entered into a contest with Mercia and the states dependent upon it, defeating them and making them all acknowledge his supremacy. Finally, in 830, he took an army to the borders of Northumbria, where the king of that country came to meet him and agreed to accept Egbert's overlordship. In the same year he forced submission upon the chieftains of Wales. Thus for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire all Britain acknowledged, in name at least and for the time, the supremacy of one ruler.

42. Summary of the Early Saxon Period. — The year 449, the traditional date of the arrival of the first Teutonic settlers, mythical as in all probability that date is, represents the most important event in the history of the English nation, the entrance of its founders into Britain. The new race, although barbarous, had in it elements which the old Roman civilization had lacked: it was vigorous, independent, and self-reliant; families of this race were larger, and therefore population would increase; a larger proportion of the people had influence on the government and the law, and these were therefore more suited to popular needs. Slight as their economic, political, and social development was, they proved to be a race capable of great progress in the surroundings which their new island home furnished to them. The arrival of Augustine in 597 represents the first great step of this progress, — the conversion of the English to Christianity, their organization as one united church body, and their connection by this means with the continent, where the remains of ancient civilization were better preserved and society was more advanced. The attainment of a general overlordship of England by Egbert in 830 was not the creation of a real nation but it was a preparation for it. Several of the separate kingdoms still went on, frequently with kings who were practically independent, and there was probably little or no national feeling. Nevertheless the kings of the West Saxon royal family never afterwards gave up their claim to be the rulers of all England, and thus a center existed around which national union was afterward built up.

General Reading. — GREEN has three works covering this period: his *Short History of the English People*, chap. i, sects. 1-4; *History of the English People*, chaps. i and ii, and *The Making of England*. The last of these is the most complete, and occupies a whole volume. The first contains almost as much as the second and will be referred to as preferable and recommended for this and all succeeding chapters except the last seven. A much more accurate though not so vivid account is RAMSAY, *Foundations of England*, Vol. I, chaps. ix-xiii. GRANT ALLEN, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, is an excellent short book on the period. The Anglo-Saxon church is well described in WAKEMAN, *History of the Church of England*.

Contemporary Sources. — TACITUS, *Germania*, includes a description of the customs of the Germans from whom the Anglo-Saxons sprang, and gives some idea of the condition of the new race before they entered Britain. Extracts are given in COLBY, No. 4, and KENDALL, No. 2. The most valuable and interesting contemporary record of the whole Saxon period is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; but for the conversion to Christianity and a number of other parts of the early history, BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*, is most valuable. Some of the most interesting sections in the latter are Book I, chaps. vii, xii, xxv, xxvi; Book II, chaps. i, ii, ix, xii, xiii, xvi; Book III, chaps. v, vi, ix-xii, xvii, xxv; Book IV, chaps. iii, xviii, xix, xxiv, xxviii-xxxii. Both the *Chronicle* and Bede are translated and published in one volume in the Bohn series under the name of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. Extracts are given in LEE, Nos. 22-24; COLBY, Nos. 5 and 6; and KENDALL, Nos. 3 and 4. COOK and TINKER, *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*, contains good examples of the poetry of this period. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 25-37.

Poetry. — ALEXANDER SMITH, *Edwin of Deira*. The romances of Arthur and his knights seem to refer to the period of the contest between the Britons and the West-Saxon invaders, but in the only forms in which they can now be found they are imbued with the spirit of later mediæval romance, as in MALORY, *Morte Darthur*, or with modern ideals, as in TENNYSON, *Idylls of the King*.

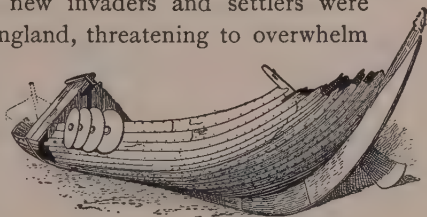
Special Topics. — (1) Conversion of Edwin, BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. xii; (2) Synod of Whitby, *ibid.*, Book III, chap. xxv; (3) Cædmon, *ibid.*, Book IV, chap. xxiv; (4) Beowulf, COOK and TINKER, *Translations from Old English Poetry*, 9-24; (5) Venerable Bede, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. i, sect. 4; (6) Classes of People among the Early Anglo-Saxons, TRAILL, Vol. I, pp. 122-129; (7) Heathen Religion of the Anglo-Saxons, *ibid.*, 149-153; (8) Establishment of Christianity, *ibid.*, 153-161; (9) Dress and Amusements of the Anglo-Saxons, *ibid.*, 222-227

CHAPTER V

LATER SAXON ENGLAND. 830-975

43. The Incursions of the Danes. — The supremacy obtained by Egbert, king of the West Saxons, as has been said, was not a real union of England. No measures were taken to unite the whole country under a government exercising its power from Winchester, the West Saxon capital. As a matter of fact, the West Saxon kings had now to enter into a struggle to retain any of their dominions, for new invaders and settlers were making their way into England, threatening to overwhelm the English much as the latter had overwhelmed the Britons three centuries before.

Just at the close of the eighth century, while Egbert had been in exile



Remains of a Danish Ship

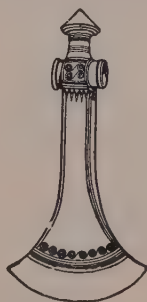
at the court of Charles the Great, these new enemies began to ravage the shores of the British Isles and of the continent. They were known among themselves as "Vikings," in England generally as "Danes," in Ireland as "Ostmen," and on the continent as "Northmen." They came from the shores of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, in boats carrying thirty or forty men each, built shallow though long, and thus capable of being rowed far up the rivers. Thus they landed at entirely unexpected places. Since they were heathen they did not hesitate to plunder monasteries and nunneries, whose gold and silver ornaments, jeweled robes and utensils, numerous flocks of sheep and undefended crops of grain furnished them abundant booty.

The progress of civilization had also produced much in the possession of the people of country and town that was attractive to these barbarians. So not only monasteries but towns and whole stretches of country were devastated. In addition to seizing what they could carry away they inflicted terrible cruelties upon those who fell into their power, and made havoc with fire and sword for the pure love of destruction. The lands along the coasts and rivers of France and Spain suffered grievously from these ravages, but England was still more unfortunate, since her territory was open to the sea rovers on all sides. The first recorded attack on England was in the year 787 A.D. A few years later the "pirates" came again, plundered the monastery of Lindisfarne, and murdered its monks; then they appeared again and again, till scarcely a year passed without visitations on some part or other of the coast and even far inland. The *Chronicle* tells how "Hereberht the ealdorman was slain by the heathen men, and many of the Fen-men with him; and afterwards, the same year, in Lindsey, and in East Anglia, and in Kent many men were slain by the enemy." And again: "This year King Æthelwulf fought at Charmouth against the crews of ninety-five ships, and the Danish-men maintained possession of the field."

The English seemed unable to drive them away. A united resistance could seldom be made to invaders who appeared so suddenly and in such unexpected places. The ealdorman or local chieftain could call out the men of his part of the country to fight in a body known as the "fyrd," and generally this local force was all that there was to oppose the pillagers. But even when a body of Danish plunderers was opposed by the king with a more considerable army the invaders were apt to be more than a match for the English. They used great battle-axes which were more effective than the spears and swords of the English; all their warriors were protected by coats of linked mail and helmets, while these were used only by a few of the leaders among the English; and they fought with a fierce recklessness which was

almost irresistible. "The Danes had possession of the field" closes up many an entry in the *Chronicle* during this period.

44. The Danish Army. — Soon another stage of invasion was entered upon by the Danes. Large bands began to make their headquarters in various parts of the country, remaining permanently in England and living by ravaging. These bodies of plunderers drew together till they formed a united body, — "the army," as the English called it, — which in successive summers made long forays through Kent, East Anglia, Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, and in the winters settled down to enjoy their booty. Their usual plan was to row up some river or deep harbor, fortify a camp by throwing a dike across a headland or other favorable spot, drag their boats on the shore, seize horses where they could find them, and sweep pillaging across the country, till the slowly gathering fyrd under the ealdorman of the district became dangerous, or till rumors came of an army marching to meet them. Then they retired to their camp and if necessary soon rowed away to a new landing place. We hear how in East Anglia "King Edmund fought against them, but the Danes got the victory and slew the king and subdued all the land and destroyed all the churches they came to. They came to Medeshamstead and burned and beat it down, and slew the abbot and monks and all that they found there. And that place which before was full rich they reduced to nothing." The heathen army became constantly more numerous and more bold, till most of England lay at its mercy. One part of the country after another was laid under contribution for its support or was swept clear of everything which the invaders wanted. The monasteries were destroyed; villages burned; London, Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester,



Danish Battle-Axe (length,
15 inches; weight,
7 pounds)

York, and other old towns sacked, and the rising prosperity and culture of the country crushed.

45. Formation of the Danelaw. — Little by little the Danish invasion entered upon a third stage, — that of settlement. A Danish half of England grew up. The “army” had spent most of its time in East Anglia, eastern Mercia, and southern Northumbria. In these portions of the country the old lines of kings had died out and Danish kings or “jarls”¹ held the mastery over the people. The native English population was already doubtless much reduced, and the less restless spirits among the Danes settled down among them, seizing lands where they wished them, even while those who wished still to plunder continued their raids through the parts of the country still unravaged. The same Danish warriors who had joined in plundering forays or followed their king as fighting men in the great army, when they found such occupation too dangerous, distasteful or unprofitable, settled down as farmers or embarked on trading ventures. New settlers came from Denmark and Norway to settle in the parts of England which were under the rule of Danish kings and chieftains.

The extent of this immigration and settlement can be traced by the Danish names of places, which were either new settlements or old English towns and villages renamed by their new inhabitants and rulers. Whereas in the Anglo-Saxon districts names of villages and towns usually end in *ton* or *ham*, in the districts occupied by the Danes or Northmen they end more commonly in *by* or *thorpe*. Gradually the whole east and much of the north came to be more Danish than English in population, in customs, and in law. It was even acknowledged by the West Saxon kings to be independent. In the unending struggle on their part to protect Wessex from Danish plundering they were so hard pressed that they were glad to purchase temporary immunity for the west and

¹ The Danish word *jarl*, pronounced *yarl*, corresponded to the English word ealdorman, and later gave rise to the word *earl*, the ruler under the king of a division of the country.

Scale of Miles. 0 50 100



south by yielding to the Danes the north and east. In 886 A.D. an agreement was entered into between Alfred, the West Saxon king, and Guthrum, a Danish king, defining the boundaries between them as follows: "First, concerning the land boundaries: upon the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea to its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse to Watling street."¹ According to this treaty England was practically divided into two parts, one under the Danes and one under the West Saxon kings. Because all matters were settled by Danish law in the former district it came to be known as the "Danelaw."

46. The Danes as Traders. — The Danelaw differed in many respects from the more purely Anglo-Saxon parts of England. Men of this section even yet are taller and lighter in complexion than the average of the rest of the country, and it is generally believed that this is due to the Danish mixture in the population. The most marked change introduced by the Danes was the habit of trading with foreign lands and the consequent growth of towns in England as centers at which trade was carried on. In Norway, Denmark, and Sweden there was an active trade with Ireland and Iceland, with the coast lands of the Baltic Sea, and with distant regions to the southward. Even yet Arabic coins are found in the Scandinavian countries, where fairs were held to which merchants came from various parts of Europe and the East. Danish traders from England took part in all the lines of commerce of which they had known before they came to England.

At places where traders gathered and lived, new towns grew up. Old towns, which may have survived from Roman times, — though reduced to almost nothing in population and wealth in

¹ This agreement is commonly known as the "Treaty of Wedmore," though it did not take place there. What really occurred at Wedmore took place eight years before, when Guthrum made a temporary peace with Alfred, was entertained by him, and was baptized as a Christian, together with thirty of his followers. It is also known as the "Treaty of Chippenham," but with no more propriety, as it is not known where this agreement was drawn up.

the meantime,—were revived, gained inhabitants, and adopted modes of life which were very different from those of the country villages. The “Five Boroughs” was a name given to Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, five towns under Danish control, each of which had a government of its own with special town courts and laws, but forming a sort of confederacy among themselves. York, Chester, and other old towns of the north became more prosperous, seaport towns grew up along the coast, and London itself regained its old trading life and was occupied by a population a large part of whom were Danes.

Gradually the Christian population among whom they had settled drew the Danish invaders from their heathenism, larger numbers of them betook themselves to peaceful occupations, and distant raids attracted those devoted to warfare to France, Spain, Scotland, and Ireland. The old bishoprics were reestablished, and some of the monasteries rebuilt. Wars between the rulers of the Danelaw and the West Saxon kings occurred from time to time, but they were wars, not mere plundering raids.

47. King Alfred.—The turning back of the tide of Danish conquest, the restriction of Danish rulers and settlers to the eastern half of the country, and the reorganization of the West Saxon monarchy within its narrower limits were largely the work of the West Saxon king, Alfred.¹ Alfred has been loved by all subsequent generations because of his personal character, and admired and respected because of his abilities and of the work that he accomplished. He was the youngest son of King Ethelwulf of Wessex and grandson of Egbert. He was born in Wantage about 842 A.D. and died about 900 A.D. He was taken to Rome twice in his early boyhood, and made the acquaintance of the pope then reigning and of various other prominent churchmen and rulers. He was of weak health, though he was devoted to hunting and was a skillful and active leader in war through his whole life. Nevertheless his inclinations were distinctly intellectual. A story

¹ The Anglo-Saxon form of his name is Ælfred.

has come down of a promise made by his mother to her five sons to give a certain illuminated manuscript of Saxon poems to the one who would first commit them to memory. Alfred, although the youngest, immediately betook himself to the task and with the help of his teacher learned the verses and obtained the prize. His fondness for literature and eager desire for knowledge remained lifelong characteristics.

As Alfred grew to manhood the Danes were ravaging not only the coast lands and Mercia but the West Saxon lands also, and soon after his accession to the throne he was actually forced to abandon the struggle temporarily and retire to the forests, leaving all England to the attacks of the invaders. But this was the worst of the storm. Soon the spirit of the West Saxons revived. In a chance engagement a Danish force was defeated and their famous war flag called "The Raven" was captured. Alfred seized this opportunity to come down from the moors to build a fort and man it with a small garrison at Athelney. Then, gathering the fyrd from the western districts about him, he made a series of attacks upon the invaders. Hard fighting forced the Danes in 878 to enter into an agreement with Alfred by which the Danish king with his principal followers accepted Christian baptism as a sign of their intention to cease plundering. This was followed a few years afterwards by the Treaty of Wedmore, already described, which laid the foundations of the Danelaw. The peace was but poorly kept, for Guthrum was only one of several Danish rulers, and those who reigned over other districts or who came to England later were not bound by his agreements. So fighting by no means came to an end. Yet Alfred more than held his own in the half of England which was under his control, and every Danish invasion of it was repelled.

48. Military Reforms. — It was in these later contests that Alfred's originality in military devices showed itself. He kept some soldiers under arms so that they should not be taken off their guard; he reorganized the fyrd by calling out only one half

of the fighting men at a time, so that the cultivation of the fields might not come to a standstill; he built "burghs" or fortified camps, where soldiers could be stationed permanently; he provided for the fortification and guarding of the towns so that the invaders could be held in check till the fyrd came; and built and manned vessels so that he might meet the Danes on their own element and deprive them of their old unrestricted freedom of invasion and retreat by sea. The result was that not only the south and west of England were more securely defended but that a military system was organized which was afterwards used to drive the Danes out of the Danelaw.

49. Reforms in Law. — In the more peaceful years of Alfred's reign he devoted the same energy, originality, and broad-minded judgment to the works of peace that he had applied to the contest with the invaders. One of the fruits of this was the new body of laws or "dooms" which he issued. Written collections of laws or formal statements of the customary law on certain subjects had been already drawn up and promulgated by various kings, with the agreement of the "witan" or great men of the country. The earliest of these was issued by Ethelbert, king of Kent, about the time of Augustine, at the close of the sixth century. Other collections had been issued from time to time by Kentish, Mercian, and West Saxon monarchs. That now issued by Alfred was gathered principally from these earlier codes. His work consisted in laying down general principles, in selecting and restating old rules, not in the establishment of new ones. As he declares in the preface to his laws, "Those things which I met with, either of the days of Ine, my kinsman, or of Offa, king of the Mercians, or of Ethelbert, who first among the English race received baptism, those which seemed to me the most right, those I have gathered together, and rejected the others." There are many provisions in these laws on a great variety of subjects, as, for instance, "If any one fight in the king's hall, or draw his weapon, and he be taken, it shall depend on the doom of the

king whether he have life or death"; or, "If any one dig a water-pit, or open one that is shut up and close it not again; let him pay for whatever cattle may fall therein." But most of the clauses declare the forms of punishment and the amounts of fines for criminal offenses.

50. The New Literature. — Probably the most conspicuous work done by Alfred was the reestablishment of education and literature after their decay during the ravages of the Danes. The old literary and learned life of the northern monasteries represented by Bede and Cædmon had disappeared. Alfred made a new center for learning and literature at his capital of Winchester, infused new life into them, and himself set the fashion of writing prose works in English. For even in Wessex, where the marauding of the Danes had not been long continued, and still more so further east and north, ignorance and loss of interest in intellectual matters were almost complete. Alfred himself declared, "So clean was learning decayed among English folk that very few were there on this side of the Humber that could understand their service books in English or translate aught out of Latin into English, and I think there were not many beyond the Humber. So few of them were there that I cannot bethink me of even one when I came to the kingdom." He says again, "In old times men came hither from foreign lands to seek for instruction, and now if we are to have it, we can only get it from abroad." So he was compelled to draw learned men into Wessex by appointing them to positions as abbots and bishops or about his court. From the western districts of Mercia, from Wales, France, and Germany, Alfred gathered, one by one, a group of learned men as teachers and churchmen. He established three new abbeys, and helped some of those which had been destroyed by the Danes to regain their prosperity.

He also set up a school for young nobles and others of well-to-do parentage in his own court, where they were taught to read English and, if they went on far enough, Latin. Here English

poems as well as more serious books were learned and the old heathen and early Christian poetry translated into the West Saxon dialect, in which we now have them. It is probable that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the most important source of information about early English history, was put into form at this time. Old annals which have since disappeared may have been used, Bede was drawn upon, and the results were put together in a set of English chronicles in one general form. These were subsequently kept up as a contemporary record.

The king himself after he grew to middle life learned to read Latin, and translated several books into English with the object of making them more accessible. He expanded these and introduced into them a number of additions from his own experience or from other sources. He says, "When I remember how the knowledge of Latin had formerly decayed throughout England, and yet that many could read English writing, then I began among other various and manifold occupations of this kingdom to translate into English." He translated and reëdited in this way Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Orosius's *History of the World*, and some other works. He apologizes for the crudity of his work by saying, "Do not blame me, if any know Latin better than I, for every man must say what he says and do what he does according to his ability." He had no need to make excuses, for his style is clear and vigorous, and he left a model of good English prose writing which afterwards bore fruit in much writing in the language of the people.

51. Alfred's Interests and Character. — Alfred took a keen interest in affairs beyond the limits of his own country, though his active life gave him no chance of leaving England after he became king. Still he sent representatives with gifts and messages to Rome and to other distant lands, encouraged foreign traders to bring their wares to England, and engaged Frisians to man his newly built ships and to teach seamanship to his people.

The strong impression which King Alfred has left on later times is as much the result of what he was as of what he did. Everything

under fenz. 7 mid sibbe on gæen sende; 24

Añ. .decl xxxvi.

ñ. .decl xxxvii. he pām beqlt iuc cýnig
offan dohter eadbyrge 7 on hý dagum cōmon
æfæst. iii. seǽpu nofð manna of hægeda lande.
þa sige sefa þær to þæd. 7 he pelde tǽp an to þær
cýniger tunc se he nýste hƿæt he pærton. 7 hine
mān of sloh þa. Ðæt pærton þa æfæstan sepu de
nysa manna þe on ængl cýnnes lānd geslohton.

Añ. .decl xxxviii. he pær smod gegaderað
on 7 oþ hýmþra lande æt pincan heale. on. iiii.
non. septemb. 7 ald beqlt abb forð fere inhripum.

ñ. .decl xxxix. he pær alƿ palo nofð hým
þra cýnig of slægen ffransigan. on. viii. k. octob.
7 he on lic leolt pær lome geseƿen þær þær he of
slægen pær. 7 he pær bebyrged on hagustaloc æt
innan þære cýrcan. 7 smod pær gegaderod æt
adea. 7 oþred alchredes sumu fenz to rice æt æn
hūn se pær hý nysa. *hys is hƿæt he fenshung*

Añ. .dec xc. he pær brýlt an cebyrcop forð
fere. 7 þa ilcan gear pær gecopen æfel heafu abb
to an cebyrcop. 7 oþred nofð hýmþra cýnig pær
beƿicen 7 oþrice adraƿed. 7 æfel ned æfel paldes
sumu æt fenz to rice. *hys is hƿæt he fenz to rice*

that is known about him shows him as singularly lovable. He had the highest ideals of his duties and opportunities as king, and seems to have carried them out with a combined ability and devotion almost unknown among rulers. Notwithstanding his position, his gifts, and his success, he was exceedingly simple-minded, sincere, and devout. In all the records of him that exist there is not a single statement that puts a blemish upon his great and good character.

52. Closer Union of England. — The work and the personality of Alfred resulted not only in saving and reëstablishing the West Saxon monarchy but in preparing the way for a more complete union of all England than the mere overlordship obtained by Egbert. Sussex and Kent had been absorbed into the West Saxon kingdom during or soon after the time of Egbert. On the expulsion of the old Mercian royal line by the Danes all of that kingdom which did not become part of the Danelaw was treated by Alfred as part of his own dominions and placed under his son-in-law as ealdorman. The common body of laws, drawn from Kentish, Mercian, and West Saxon codes alike, the chronicle of all England, the new literature, the united military operations, and the personal influence and policy of Alfred and his successors bound all these parts more closely together. Although almost one half of England was, at the time of the death of Alfred, still under the rule of Danish kings and jarls, the rest was held firmly by its West Saxon kings and united more closely than ever. Events soon led to the increase of their dominions.

53. Winning Back of the Danelaw. — Notwithstanding the several periods of peace obtained by Alfred during his reign, at the time of his death he was engaged in war not only with new Danish invaders but with the rulers of the Danelaw, who gave them support. This contest continued under Edward¹

¹ The Anglo-Saxon form of his name is Eadweard. This Edward, the son of Alfred, is known as Edward the Elder. His reign was from 901 to 924. He was buried beside his father at Winchester, in the "New Minster" which Alfred had begun and which he himself finished.

and Athelstan, the son and grandson of Alfred, and was steadily favorable to the English. The same conflict was carried on by Alfred's daughter Ethelfled, the "Lady of the Mercians," as she was called, because she and her husband Ethelred had been appointed by the king to rule English Mercia. The English leaders had learned the Danish methods of fighting and were in a position to use them more effectually than the Danes themselves. The result of the wars was to win for the West Saxon kingdom the Danelaw, piece by piece. The Danish kings who ruled over old East Anglia, Essex, and York, the jarls who ruled under them, and those who held the district of the Five Boroughs were, in the course of time, one after another defeated and driven into exile and their dominions added to those of the English king. The difficulty in reuniting them was slight. The Danish population was not disturbed, except those who were killed in battle, and no distinction was made between the two races. Nobles of Danish blood came to the meetings of the great men of the country called by the English kings, and Danes were made priests, bishops, or abbots on the same footing as Englishmen.

The rule of the West Saxon kings was extended during the same period not only over all the lands which had ever been settled and ruled by Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, but over the old native kingdoms to the west and north. From time to time, compelled by invasion or by the threat of it, or induced by good policy, some of the Celtic princes would make more or less complete submission to the English king. In 926 Athelstan was acknowledged as their superior king by Howel and Owen, kings of the two divisions of Wales, by the king of Cumbria or Strathclyde, and by the king of the Scots, who by this time ruled most of what we now know as Scotland. There was always after this time a real though often neglected claim on the part of the English kings to rule over the whole island of Britain. This was indicated by the form of the titles used by them. Alfred, like his predecessors, had only called himself "King of the West Saxons,"

until late in his reign, when he seems to have adopted the title "King of the Anglo-Saxons," which was used also by his son Edward. Athelstan in his documents added the title "Ruler of all Britain" to the older title, and some such title was used by all his successors.

54. Rural Life in England in the Tenth Century. — The reign of Alfred and the seventy-five years which followed were a period in which almost everything which was characteristic of later Saxon England was rapidly taking shape. By the time of Edgar¹ the "Peaceful," his great-grandson, who reigned from 957 to 975, the race, language, religion, customs, form of government, and divisions of the country were, in their main characteristics, what they were long to remain, and in some respects what they are still. The foundations of the nation had now been laid. What these foundations were will be described in the remainder of this chapter, which refers to the period about 950 A.D.



Coin of King Edgar, 957-975

The people, generally speaking, lived in villages, in one-roomed cottages, which were built of upright poles, laced in and out like basket work with cross poles, the cracks being filled with a coating of mud or plaster and the whole thatched with straw. The timber-built dwelling of the landowner who was lord over the village, or perhaps sometimes the whole village, was surrounded by a mound and ditch, with a palisade upon it. This inclosed hall or village was called a *tun*. The group of villagers were spoken of as the *tunscip* or township. The name "town" or "township" came later to be applied to the whole village with the lands which stretched around it. All the domestic animals and familiar grains were known and raised, though the cattle were very small and the crops raised were poor. Agriculture was much cruder than in Roman times, and famines were frequent. Swine were valued

¹ The Anglo-Saxon form of his name is Eadgar.

more than any other domestic animals, as they could be fed from the acorns and beechnuts which grew in the forests and woods that were then scattered almost everywhere over England. One nobleman in his will bequeaths two thousand swine, and another leaves a piece of land to the church on condition that two hundred swine are fed upon it for the use of his wife.

Most of the people in the country were in a position of subordination to the *thegns*, or lords, and owed to them payments and services. There were many slaves, some being born bondmen, others captured in war and sold into slavery, and still others reduced to slavery for debt or for crime. Slaves were often freed by will as a pious act.

55. Town Life. — Although the great mass of the population were country dwellers, occupying these rural villages or hamlets, towns were beginning to spring up again not only in the Danish districts but in other places. By the middle of the tenth century probably some fifty or sixty places had come to have a much larger population than the ordinary villages. Such a borough or city had a market and some trade, a wall, several churches, and local laws or customs acknowledged by the king. It was under the special peace of the king, and a royal officer represented him in it. Yet town life grew up but slowly. Much of the work of the townsmen was still expended upon the land and pasture fields outside of the walls, and they had very generally to perform services and make payments to the king or to some other lord, like villagers. More varied forms of industry, however, were growing up as a basis for town life. In some places fishing furnished not only food for the fishermen but, in the form of smoked or salt fish, provided something to sell to traders, and led to trade with other parts of England and with foreign countries. This was the origin of a number of towns on the coast. Other places were favorably situated for trade because they were on harbors or rivers, or were centers of attraction because they were the location of monasteries with sacred relics to which

pilgrimages were made. Such places came more and more to be occupied by men who made most or all of their living by buying and selling, or by handicrafts, such as blacksmith's work, carpenter's work, weaving, shoemaking and other work in leather, and even finer work, such as the making of jewelry and musical instruments. Thus towns grew up in which life was quite different from that in the country villages. London became again, as it had been in Roman times, and as it was always afterwards to remain, the principal city in England, quite displacing Winchester, the old West Saxon capital, from its position of relative importance. In several of the towns "moneyers" were established, who received silver from the king and coined it into silver pennies, which remained the usual form of money for many centuries. On most of the coins of this period the name or initial of the "moneyer" appears, as well as that of the king.

Instead, therefore, of the barbaric life of the early destroyers of the civilization of Roman Britain, who had supported themselves and occupied themselves by plundering, hunting, and a little agriculture, there had come now into existence much more varied forms of livelihood and a much more civilized type of life, though it was still poor, rough, and coarse compared with modern life. Hunting and hawking and outdoor trials of skill served as the more active amusements of the upper classes, while the tricks of jugglers, quiet games, such as draughts or checkers, and songs of gleemen or minstrels, gave indoor interest when the chase was impossible.

56. Poetry in the Tenth Century. — Religious poetry like that of Cædmon was still written, Bible stories serving as its subjects. But there were also many war songs and ballads on subjects of personal interest. The English as a nation were very fond of ballads and songs, and their gleemen made and sang them on all occasions. Most of these of course have disappeared, but some have been preserved by being inserted in the *Chronicle*. One of the best is a ballad on the battle of Brunanburh, fought in 937

between King Athelstan and a combined army of Danes, Scots, Picts, and Welsh. It begins :

Athelstan king,
Of earls the lord,
Ring-giver to his men;
His brother with him,
Edmund the atheling,
Gained life-long glory
By slaying in fight,
With the edge of the sword,
At Brunanburh.

The whole poem has life, spirit, and warlike ring. Another of gentler character describes the death of Edgar in 975 :

Here brought to an end
His joys on earth
Edgar king of the English;
Chose for himself another light,
Pleasant and beautiful,
Left this frail
This transitory life.

Another battle-poem referring to a fight with the Danes at Maldon in 991, and describing the death of Earl Byrhtnoth, exists only in fragmentary form, its beginning and end both being lost, but it gives a fine glimpse of the life and ideas of the time. When the sea rovers demand tribute the old ealdorman answers their messenger as follows :

Hear, thou Viking, what this folk say.
Spear-points they will give for tribute,
Swords of old time, venom'd edges,
Battle-gear that brings no profit!
Viking herald, take the message!
Here stand I, an earl, and guarding
With my host our fatherland.

57. Prose Writing. — There was not so much writing in prose as in poetry. Still, Alfred's work set a good example. Certain parts of the *Chronicle* were written with fullness and skill, and in

the monasteries religious works and some others on medical and scientific subjects were written in either Latin or Anglo-Saxon. The most famous of the monastic writers who used the native language was Ælfric, who lived just at the close of the tenth century, a hundred years after Alfred and three hundred after Bede and Cædmon. He was a monk living most of his life either at Winchester or at Eynsham near Oxford, where he became abbot of the monastery. He wrote voluminously both in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon, and translated many things from Latin into the latter language; among them a Latin grammar, a reading book for boys, a number of homilies or short sermons for unlearned priests, and various theological works. His influence led to more writing in Anglo-Saxon by a number of less important writers. Most of the Bible was translated about this time into Anglo-Saxon, some of its books being translated word for word, others in a short paraphrase or abridgment.

58. The Old English Language. — Anglo-Saxon or Old English was thus established as a settled literary language, of which grammars and glossaries were prepared for the use of students at the time, and in which there was a considerable body of familiar literature. Its similarity to modern English is easily recognizable, though it cannot be read without special study of its forms, constructions, and many of its words. As an example, a few words from the *Chronicle* under the year 1005 may be taken; a statement that might unhappily have been made for many years.

Her	on	thyssun	geare	waes	se	mycla	hungor	geond
Here	in	this	year	was	so	great	famine	throughout
Angel	cynn	swilce	nan	man	aer	ne	gemunde	
English	people	such as	no	man	before	ever	remembered	
swa	grimme.							
so	severe.							

A special form of letters was generally though not always used.

59. Learning and the Church. — There were many studious and even learned men in the monasteries, except at times of the

greatest confusion and disaster; and after the middle of the tenth century this class increased. Some nobles also could at least read and write, and these encouraged by their patronage the production of books by the learned clergy.

This increase of learning and literature was largely due to the reëstablishment of the monasteries after the ravages of the heathen Danes. Now, as in the early Saxon times, the Christian church represented the more intellectual elements of civilization, and the prosperity of the church brought about the elevation of education. As the Danelaw was won back by the West Saxon kings, and as the Danish settlers accepted Christianity, the bishoprics were restored, though with somewhat different boundaries, and most of the destroyed monasteries were refounded and newly endowed with lands. It was in these monasteries alone that the literature, learning, and art of the time existed, and in these that the chronicles of the times were preserved and continued. The influence of several famous and powerful bishops and abbots in the tenth century was second only to that of the kings and great ealdormen.

60. Dunstan.—The most conspicuous churchman of this period was Dunstan, the son of a West Saxon thegn, who was educated at the monastery of Glastonbury, to which learned monks from Ireland often came, and at the king's court at Winchester. He lived to become successively an abbot, a bishop, and archbishop of Canterbury. During the reigns of Edgar and his immediate successors, from about 957 to 988, Dunstan was the principal adviser of the king and in many ways the real ruler of the kingdom. From his time forward the archbishop of Canterbury came to have an almost invariably recognized right and duty to be the principal adviser of the king. Dunstan was a witty, eloquent man, a good musician, mechanic and artist, and the shrewdest statesman of the time. He made Glastonbury, of which while still a very young man he became abbot, a prosperous and orderly monastery, with a famous school library. From Glastonbury as a



Some of the Principal Early Monastic Houses

center many monks went out to build again the old monasteries and to organize new ones. Dunstan was untiring in his efforts to obtain grants of land and privileges from the king for these

monasteries and bishoprics, and at the same time to see that the religious bodies kept themselves in order. At least eighteen abbeys were established directly or indirectly by his influence. The whole monastic revival which was such a marked feature of the tenth century owed much to Dunstan. After his death Dunstan became a popular hero and saint, legendary accounts of his life were written, and for centuries afterwards numberless tales about him were told among the people.

61. Political Organization.—The form of government also had by this time become definitely established. The king was elected to the throne by the nobles and great churchmen of the country. Although the form of election was always gone through with, it was not customary to go outside of the royal family in choosing the king, and the choice fell as a matter of course on the oldest grown-up son of the late king, if there was one. When elected the king was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury with religious ceremonies, and took an oath to rule with justice, diligence, and piety. Many of the forms regularly used now in the coronation service have come down almost unchanged from the time of Edgar or even before.

62. The Witenagemot.—The great ealdormen, royal officers, bishops, and abbots met from time to time to give advice to the king and to discuss with him important matters of a public character. These great men of the country were known as the *witan*, and their meeting was spoken of as a *witenagemot*.¹ Occasionally the witan acted in opposition to the king or forced him to follow their judgment, though strong kings succeeded in acting with almost complete independence. For the most part, however, the king summoned the witenagemot and with its agreement appointed the great officials of church and state, promulgated changes in the law, made grants of land, arranged for military expeditions and national payments, and in general carried on the work of

¹ The word *gemot* (in which the *g* is hard), *mote*, *mōt* or *moot*, was used for any kind of formal meeting.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

ENGLAND
divided into Shires.

Scale of Miles. 0 50 100

Longitude West 2 from Greenwich 0

SCOTLAND

IRISH SEA

IRLAND

Isle of Man

Isle of Anglesey

St. George's Channel

ENGLISH CHANNEL

Firth of Forth

Firth of Clyde

Clyde

Tweed

Cheviot Hills

NORTH-UMBRIA

DURHAM

CUMBERLAND

LANCASHIRE

YORK

DERBY

NOTTINGHAM

LINCOLN

STAFFORD

CHESTER

SHROPSHIRE

WARRICK

GLoucester

OXFORD

WARWICK

NORTHAMPTON

LEICESTER

ESSEX

SUFFOLK

NORFOLK

ESSEX

SURREY

HAMPSHIRE

DEVON

DORSET

SOMERSET

CORNWALL

Isle of Wight

Strait of Dover

North Downs

South Downs

Mersey R.

Trent R.

Great Ouse R.

Humber R.

The Wash

Stour R.

Thames R.

Severn R.

Bristol Channel

ENGLAND
divided into Shires.

Scale of Miles. 0 50 100

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SURREY

HAMPSHIRE

DEVON

DORSET

SOMERSET

CORNWALL

Isle of Wight

Strait of Dover

North Downs

South Downs

Mersey R.

Trent R.

Great Ouse R.

Humber R.

The Wash

Stour R.

Thames R.

Severn R.

Bristol Channel

[illegible]

ENGLAND
divided into Shires.

Scale of Miles. 0 50 100

N O R T H
S E A

I R I S H S E A

E N G L I S H C H A N N E L

F R O A C E

ENGLAND
divided into Shires.

Scale of Miles. 0 50 100

Longitude West 2 from Greenwich 0

SCOTLAND

IRISH SEA

IRLAND

Isle of Man

Isle of Anglesey

St. George's Channel

Bristol Channel

ENGLISH CHANNEL

Isle of Wight

Strait of Dover

FRANCE

NORTH-UMBRIA

CUMBERLAND

DURHAM

CHESTER

LANCASHIRE

YORK

DERBY

STAFFORD

GLoucester

OXFORD

WARWICK

LEICESTER

LINCOLN

NORFOLK

SUFFOLK

ESSEX

KENT

SURREY

HAMPSHIRE

DEVON

DORSET

SOMERSET

CORNWALL

CAMBRIAN MTS.

WILTSHIRE

PERKSHIRE

North Downs

South Downs

Isle of Wight

Mersey R.

Tyne R.

Great Ouse R.

Humber R.

Trent R.

Severn R.

Thames R.

Firth of Forth

Firth of Clyde

Salween River

North Sea

Irish Sea

English Channel

Strait of Dover

FRANCE

[illegible]

government, with the witan as advisers. There were instances where the king was deposed by the witan, and it was of course they who elected him.

63. Shires.—All England south of the Humber was by this time divided into shires. In the southeastern part of the country these corresponded to the early independent kingdoms, the shires of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex being the same as the kingdoms of the Kentishmen and of the East, South, and Middle Saxons. Norfolk and Suffolk were the north and south "folk" or branches of the East Angles. Farther westward the shires corresponded to the successive settlements or conquests of the West Saxons, while in the center of the country the shires seem to have been organized around the fortresses by the West Saxon kings when they reconquered the country from the Danes, on the model of the same divisions of their own older dominions.

Each shire was governed by an ealdorman appointed by the king and the witan. Sometimes one ealdorman would hold control over several shires. He was usually a great noble having extensive lands in the part of the country which he governed, and in some cases was no doubt descended from the earlier royal family of that region. In some other cases he was a relative of the West Saxon king. He was a sort of viceroy or governor, upon whom devolved the calling out of the fyrd or fighting force of the shire and many other powers of local government. The greater part of the resistance to raids of the Danes was made by the ealdormen of the shires upon which the attacks fell. In later times the word *earl* was used instead of ealdorman.

There was also in each shire a *shire reeve*,¹ an official directly appointed by the king and dependent on him. He collected the king's income in the shire, enforced the law, and saw that other affairs of ordinary government there were attended to. The landowners and other chief men of the shire gathered from time to time, ordinarily twice a year, in a *shire mote* or shire court.

¹ From which our word *sheriff* is derived.

At this meeting messages from the king were announced, lawsuits between important men settled, and other business attended to. The ealdorman, the sheriff, and the bishop were required to be present to explain and to carry out the law.

64. **Hundreds.** — The shires were divided into smaller divisions which in the southern part of the country were known as *hundreds*, in the northern as *wapentakes*. In these also there was a periodical gathering of the more important men. They should meet according to law as often as once a month. This hundred court was the place where most of the judicial work of the people was done in early times. One of King Edgar's laws says, "In the hundred, as in every other gemot, we ordain that folk-right be pronounced in every suit." This included the punishment of crimes, the decision of disputes about right to land, and similar questions. The king kept an oversight over the shire and hundred courts, used his power to require them to do justice, and occasionally himself gave decisions on cases that were appealed to him. Nevertheless the people themselves in these local gatherings were the judges in their own lawsuits, and no other civil courts than those of the shires and hundreds existed.

65. **Justice.** — When a person was charged with a crime in a hundred or shire *mote* there were two customary ways of testing his guilt or innocence, the oath and the ordeal. These were both forms of appeal to God to show which party was telling the truth. The oath, or wager of law, was a requirement to furnish at the next court a certain number of persons known as compurgators, who would each take a solemn oath that the oath taken by the party for whom they were swearing was a valid and credible oath. The number of oath takers and the decision whether it should be the accuser or the accused who should take the oath and furnish the compurgators were decided by the court.¹ The

¹ This was also called *compurgation*. The order of the court was usually expressed: "He shall appear six handed," or whatever the number might be, meaning that he shall bring that number of compurgators with him.

oaths of men of high rank were considered of more value than those of men lower in station. The oath of a thegn, for instance, equaled the oaths of six common men.

Instead of an oath an ordeal might be demanded. The most common forms of ordeals were by hot iron and by water. A piece of iron was made red hot in a fire built in the church, blessed by the priest, and then carried by the accused, who had already performed solemn religious ceremonies, a certain number of paces before dropping it. His hand was next bound up and left covered for three days. The coverings were then removed. If his hand showed proofs of divine interposition to protect it from being burned or to heal it, he was considered innocent. If, however, it was blistered and sore, his guilt was supposed to be proved, and he failed in his case accordingly.

In the ordeal of water, appropriate prayers were said at a pond or stream, after which the culprit, tied with a rope, was thrown into the water. If he was received by the water and sank, his innocence was proved; if, on the other hand, the water rejected him and he floated on its surface, guilt was indicated. In either case he was promptly drawn out and then freed or subjected to the customary punishment for the offense, as the case might be.

Still other forms of ordeal were occasionally used. The fear of undergoing the ordeal must have often led men to confess or take to flight before the time came. The knowledge that it would act in this way was probably quite as much of a justification for it as the belief of the people in its reality as a test. Nevertheless nothing better in the way of judicial trial had yet been invented among these primitive people, and it was at least better than to leave men to fight out their disputes, or blood feuds.

The law which was enforced in the hundred mote and shire mote was "folk-right," that is to say, customary law as it was known to the people of each locality or as it had been put in more formal and general terms in the "dooms" or bodies of laws issued by successive kings. The most marked characteristic of

the laws of the time was that almost all crimes and misdemeanors were punished by requiring a money payment from the culprit. Large parts of the written laws consisted of statements of the amounts to be paid by offenders for offenses of different degrees against various persons. For instance, one section of the laws of Alfred provides, "If a man's thigh be pierced through let thirty shillings be paid him as a compensation ; if it be broken the compensation is likewise thirty shillings. If the leg be pierced below the knee there shall be twelve shillings as compensation ; if it be broken below the knee let thirty shillings be paid him as compensation ; if the great toe be struck off let twenty shillings be paid him as compensation ; if it be the second toe let fifteen shillings be paid as compensation ; if the middlemost toe be struck off there shall be nine shillings," etc.

A regular sum was even payable from a murderer or his family to the family of the murdered man. This was called the *wer* or *wergeld*. It differed in amount according to the rank of the man killed, just as the value of an oath depended on a man's rank in society. For instance, one of the codes declares, "A *ceorl's* wergeld is by Mercian law two hundred shillings ; a thegn's wergeld is six times as much, that is, twelve hundred shillings," etc. The custom of money payment for crimes no doubt originated from the fact that early law was a substitute for private warfare, so that a man or his family was forced to accept a money equivalent from an offender instead of attacking him violently. The fine was not all to compensate the person injured or his family and friends, for part of it went to the king in recognition of his position as general keeper of the public peace which the culprit had violated.

66. Classes and Ranks. — The earliest division of classes among the Anglo-Saxons had been that of *eorl* and *ceorl*, those of noble and those of common blood. This distinction, however, gradually passed away. At the same time other distinctions had arisen, mainly those of official rank rather than of blood.

Atheling is a term frequently used, meaning a member of the royal family, a prince. *Childe* seems to have meant much the same thing. The *caldorman* or *earl* has already been spoken of as the ruler of a shire or group of shires. A *thegn* was the sworn follower or dependent of the king or of an earl or any other great person. He frequently received a gift of land from his patron, and was considered to owe him special loyalty and service on that account. Gradually thegn came to mean merely an important landholder, a member of the gentry, though he might still be bound by personal bonds of devotion to the king or to some earl or bishop. Below these were the ordinary population, in various grades of freedom and independence according to the terms on which they held their lands or the extent of their personal subordination to the thegns above them. Still below these were the slaves.

67. Summary of the Late Anglo-Saxon Period.—Scarcely had the West Saxons in 830 definitely obtained the superiority over the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms when the storm of the Danish invasions broke upon England and raged more or less constantly for more than two centuries. Nevertheless during the reign of Alfred, from 871 to 900, the tide of conquest turned, and the foundations of a reorganized government and civilization were laid. During the three quarters of a century that followed Alfred's death the parts of England that had been governed by Danish rulers were won back, the church reestablished, the form of government tolerably well settled, and a literature, the earliest in modern Europe in the language of the people, formed. The customs that became established at this time, notwithstanding many later changes and influences, became some of the fundamental permanent institutions of the English race.

General Reading.—GREEN, *Short History*, chap. i, sects. 5 and 6, gives a vivid account of this period. It is the subject of the same author's *Conquest of England*, chaps. i–vii. More accurate detail is given in RAMSAY

Foundations of England, Vol. I, chaps. xiv-xix. STENTON, *Anglo-Saxon England*, HODGKIN, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, KEARY, *Vikings in Western Christendom*, chap. xii, and HULL, *The Northmen in Britain*, describe the Danes in England. BOWKER, *Alfred the Great*, contains several chapters by different scholars. PAULI, *Life of Alfred*, is a well-known biography: one of still higher grade is PLUMMER, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*. An excellent little biography for younger readers is TAPPAN, Miss E. M., *In the Days of Alfred the Great*. The Anglo-Saxon language is well described in LOUNSBURY, *History of the English Language*, chaps. ii and iii; the literature in EARLE, *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, or BROOKE, *English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest*.

Contemporary Sources. — The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is much fuller on this period than on that of the previous chapter. Especially interesting entries are those for the years 827, 833, 851, 871, 878, 894, 937, and 978. A volume of Bohn's Library called *Six Old English Chronicles* contains a translation of ASSER, *Life of Alfred*, from which most of our detailed knowledge of him is drawn. Numerous extracts from the Anglo-Saxon laws are given in LEE, 24-39, and from Asser in COLBY, 8, and in KENDALL, 6-9. The *Chronicles* and BEDE'S *Ecclesiastical History of England* are published in the Everyman edition. The literature is well represented in COOK and TINKER, *Translations from Old English Poetry*. Other documents are to be found in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 38-47.

Special Topics. — (1) Effect of the Danish Invasion in England, TRAILL, Vol. I, pp. 140-147; (2) the Anglo-Saxon Codes, *ibid.*, 164-173; (3) Saxon and Danish Methods of Fighting, *ibid.*, 176-184; (4) Townships, Hundreds, and Shires, MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 8-11; (5) King and Witenagemot, *ibid.*, pp. 11-14; (6) Dunstan, GREEN, *Conquest of England*, pp. 269-287; (7) Ordeals, *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 12-14; (8) Ravages of the Danes, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the years 855-897; (9) The Vikings, KENDRICK, *A History of the Vikings*; (10) Anglo-Saxon Agriculture, H. L. GRAY, *English Field Systems*; (11) The Ordeal of Water, H. C. LEA, *Superstition and Force*.

CHAPTER VI

THE DANISH AND THE NORMAN CONQUESTS. 975-1071

68. **Renewed Invasions by the Danes.** — During the tenth century, while the West Saxon kings had been winning back the Dane-law and beating off the scattered bands of Danes and Norsemen who still occasionally swept down on the coasts from their headquarters in Ireland, in the islands off Scotland, and on the continent, three strong kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, had grown up in the Scandinavian peninsulas. About 980 a new series of attacks were made thence upon England. These new invaders were not mere separate bands under private chieftains; they came under the leadership, or at least under the authority, of the king of one or other of the three Scandinavian kingdoms. Their expeditions were therefore more persistent, more extensive, and more systematic than the old pillaging raids.

Ethelred II, the "Unready," or the "Ill-counseled," as he is called, the son of Edgar, had a long reign, from 978 to 1014, but showed himself incapable and irresolute and but poorly fitted to cope with so great a national invasion. Besides the inactivity of the king there were two special causes for the weakness of the country in its resistance to a well-led attack from abroad. One of these was the poor organization of the central government. Too little power was in the hands of the king, and too much in the hands of the earls and shire courts. A change had been coming about for some time by which each ealdorman or earl had a whole group of shires under his control. Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and the other old divisions of the country seemed likely to be reconstructed in the form of a few great earldoms. These were

held subject to the king but by noblemen too powerful to give much obedience to him. Therefore united plans and action against the invaders were scarcely ever obtained. The second difficulty was that the mass of the people were becoming less free and less suited to warfare. Laws were being passed and changes were taking place which kept them more closely occupied in farming, and placed them more under the control of the thegns than they had been in earlier and more barbarous times. The fyrd was thus inferior to what it had been. Under these circumstances the king and the earls with their English forces seem to have been quite incapable of offering a successful resistance to the new armies of the Danes. Time and again the English were defeated by the invaders.

69. **Danegeld.**—England was, however, as a result of the long period of peace and more advanced industrial life, wealthier than it had been. In default of sufficient military strength the king and witan made use of this greater wealth. They entered into a treaty with the Danes, agreeing to pay them a sum of money as the price of peace and freedom from further plundering. The first such treaty was entered into in the year 991, £10,000 in silver being paid to the fleet and army which had been sent by Olaf, king of Norway. In order to make this payment it was necessary to collect a tax from the people. This money was called the Danegeld or Dane tax. It was the first tax collected from the whole English nation. It proved, however, to be only a temporary settlement. New invasions took place, and besides sums which were paid to Danish invaders as tribute by separate districts, towns, and monasteries, new payments from the whole nation had to be made repeatedly by the king and witan. The resistance of the country became less and less strong, till finally, when Swegen, king of Denmark, led an army in person through the country, Ethelred fled from England with his family, and in 1017 Cnut¹ the Dane, son of Swegen, became king of all England.

¹ His name is also spelled Canute.

70. Reign of Cnut. — Once having become the accepted king in place of the ruler of the old West Saxon line, Cnut sent many of his fighting men back to Denmark and carried on the government of England without making any distinction between his Danish and English subjects. He was declared elected to the crown by the witan of all England, was crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, and like the kings of English race issued a new body of laws. He retained the Danegeld, however, as a form of permanent national taxation, using its proceeds to pay a body of *housecarls*, a small standing army or bodyguard, made up no doubt mainly of soldiers of his own race. His power and popularity in England became so great that he felt at liberty to go at two different times to his kingdom of Denmark, and he also visited Rome to keep a vow he had made years before.

Cnut kept profound peace in England, secured the acknowledgment of his overlordship by the Welsh princes and the king of Scotland, appointed capable earls, shire reeves, bishops, abbots, and other officials, enriched cathedrals and abbeys with grants of land and valuable rights, and in other ways showed himself a good ruler. He divided England more clearly, however, into five great earldoms, which would be likely to weaken it under a king less strong than himself. His two sons, Harold and Harthacnut, who reigned successively after him, left a short and bad record. On the death of the second of them in 1042, as there was no capable man of the Danish line to claim the throne, the witan chose as king, Edward, son of the exiled king Ethelred, who represented the old West Saxon line.

71. Foreign Connections of England. — Notwithstanding the fact that Edward was a direct descendant of Alfred, of Egbert, and of Cerdic, he was almost as much of a foreigner as Cnut. Marriages between members of the English royal family and of those of the continental countries had been frequent. Alfred's stepmother was a Frankish princess. Many of his descendants married into the royal or noble families of Europe. Exiled English

princes also had found a refuge on the continent since Egbert had lived at the court of Charles the Great. These foreign marriages and protection given to exiles, along with increasing trade and the influence of the church, did much to keep England in connection with the other parts of Europe. A certain royal marriage which had taken place shortly before the Danish conquest was of more than usual importance because it drew England into closer relations with the one continental land which was destined to exercise an especially strong and permanent influence upon its history. This land was Normandy.

72. The Origin of Normandy. — At the time the Vikings were carrying their expeditions most widely through Europe a body of Northmen under a chieftain named Rolf or Rollo, after making raids in several parts of France, obtained permission from the king of the West Franks to settle down in the district about the mouth of the Seine River. This was in A.D. 912, and from that time forward this northern district of France was occupied largely by Northmen. They intermarried with the earlier inhabitants, and gradually adopted their Christian religion, their French language, and their more civilized customs. Like the population of the Danelaw in England, they soon became almost indistinguishable from those among whom they lived and from the people of other sections of France.¹ The name Northmen was still kept, however, under the form Normans, and their country was known as Normandy. The successors of Rollo ruled as dukes of the Normans, nominally dependent on the king of France but in reality almost independent. Their capital was at Rouen. By later grants and in conflicts with the neighboring nobles they carried the boundaries of the lands dependent on them on the west

¹ The Scandinavian races have in many times and countries shown a special capacity for adapting themselves to the customs of the people among whom they have settled. In Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and Russia they have become a part of the native races of those countries, and in the United States they are now rapidly mingling with our population.



as far as Brittany, on the east as far as Flanders, and on the south as far as Anjou and the direct dominions of the French king.

73. Normandy and England. — The Norman dukes frequently gave support and protection to the fleets of their fellow countrymen, the Danish invaders of England. For the purpose of forming a closer connection with Normandy and preventing this, the English king Ethelred in 1002 married Emma, daughter of Richard, duke of the Normans. Afterwards when Ethelred was driven from his throne by the Danes, with his wife and children he took refuge at Rouen, where his sons were brought up. In this way a connection was created which eventually brought England, the larger, more populous, and wealthier, yet more backward and disorganized, country, much under the influence of Normandy.

74. The Reign of Edward the Confessor. — When the Danish line ran out, and Edward, son of Ethelred, was recalled to the English throne, he had spent twenty-five out of his thirty years of life in Normandy, and was a Norman rather than an Englishman in language, knowledge, tastes, and feelings. He was also accompanied to England by Norman relatives, nobles, and churchmen, and other adventurers came later from Normandy to England.

Edward was a timid and even an effeminate man, whose harmlessness and religious habits later caused him to be known as the "Confessor," or the "Saint." He had none of the statesmanship of Cnut, which would have enabled him to make himself a thorough English ruler notwithstanding his foreign habits; nor the vigor which would have enabled him to beat down all opposition. His long reign of twenty-four years, therefore, was a period in which the king was alternately under the influence of the native English nobles and of his Norman associates.

The process of grouping shires in the hands of great earls had gone on through the reigns of Ethelred and Cnut until all of England was divided into five or six provinces or earldoms, the earls of these being almost independent, although appointed by

the king. The real government of England during most of Edward's reign was in the hands of one of these men, Godwin, earl of Wessex. Godwin had been a West Saxon thegn, appointed earl by King Cnut. He had been Cnut's right-hand man, earl of the largest group of shires in England, governor of the kingdom when the king was absent in Denmark or in Rome, his principal adviser at home, a prudent statesman, a skillful leader in war, and rich in lands scattered through a great part of England. Therefore when Edward came to the throne there was little doubt that the influence of Godwin would be all-powerful.

Except for a short period this was the case. Godwin carried on the rule of his own earldom and obtained the appointment of three of his sons to other earldoms, kept an influential position in most of the witenagemots that were held, and usually controlled the policy of the king. Moreover, when Godwin died, most of his power and influence descended to his son Harold, who continued to hold the most powerful position next to that of the king until the death of Edward in 1066.

On the other hand, Norman influence was by no means unimportant. Edward's closest personal friends and companions were his Norman relations and connections. Two of them possessed small earldoms, two others were bishops. There was also a constant immigration of Norman clergymen of lesser rank, tradesmen and craftsmen, such as builders and masons, and others. England was already being quietly but none the less deeply influenced by Normandy. At this period the Norman towns Rouen, Caen, Bayeux, Coutances, Falaise, and ten or twenty others were growing larger, and their citizens were devoting themselves to trade and manufactures. The Normans were great builders, and churches, castles, and town buildings in Normandy were being built strongly of stone, while in England they were still almost invariably built of wood.

The development of peaceful pursuits was made more possible at this time than it had been in the past by the adoption in

Normandy of what was called the "Truce of God." The Truce of God was a plan or agreement widely urged by the clergy in the early part of the eleventh century, and later introduced officially into some countries and provinces for the purpose of diminishing the constant violence and warfare. In its earliest form it was a proposal to refrain from the use of arms altogether, but as modified later and as introduced as a law into Normandy by the duke and his council in 1042 it only provided that there should be no private warfare or other fighting or disorder from sunset of each Wednesday till sunrise of the next Monday. Therefore while Ethelred and Cnut and Edward the Confessor were ruling in England, Normandy was becoming a wealthy and populous country, well fitted to exercise influence over England should they be brought into closer contact.

75. Duke William and Earl Harold. — The dukes of Normandy found it a difficult task to keep their turbulent barons in order, and time and again revolts of these barons had to be put down by hard fighting. When Robert, the fifth duke from Rolf, died in 1035 he left in the charge of guardians an only son named William, a mere child of seven years and of illegitimate birth, his mother being the daughter of a tanner of Falaise. There seemed small probability therefore that he would be able to retain his position and grow up to rule the duchy. Several times plots were made by various nobles to seize him from his guardians, and he had to be hidden or carried away secretly to some other place. Nevertheless his guardians were faithful to him, and he proved, while a mere boy, to possess an energy and ability even greater than that of his ancestors. He grew taller than most men of his time, was constantly active in hunting or in fighting, and in the difficulties of his position as he grew up developed shrewdness, tenacity of purpose, and quickness of decision. After he became a man he had three severe contests, — with a group of rebellious Norman barons, with the ruler of a neighboring province, the count of Anjou, and with his lord, the

king of France. From all of these he came out victorious, and strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of the count of Flanders, the next great province to the east of Normandy.

In 1051 William visited his cousin, the king of England. William was at that time a man of twenty-four; his greatness on the continent was already well established, and there is little doubt that he had already formed the plan of having himself chosen to be Edward's successor as king of England. Edward had no children or near relatives. He was Norman in his feelings and attached to Norman associates. William was his second cousin, his mother and William's grandfather being sister and brother. William afterwards claimed that Edward promised to use his influence to obtain the crown for him, and this is very likely true, and the promise may well have been made during this visit. Certainly England was being drawn naturally into a very close connection with Normandy and was already somewhat used to having foreign kings.

During the latter part of Edward's reign, however, nothing was done to strengthen William's claim, nor was it announced in any way. William was making good his position as duke of Normandy and as the greatest of the provincial rulers of France. On the other hand, Earl Godwin, and after his death his son Harold, were becoming more and more completely the rulers of England in the name of the king, and were gathering the earldoms into the hands of members of their family.

It was quite certain that either the great English earl or the great Norman duke would be the next king of England. The advantages of being on the ground and of more nearly representing the national feeling were in favor of Harold. Greater ability and the advantages which the attacking party always has were in favor of William. Chance also gave William an added superiority, for, while cruising in the Channel, Earl Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of Ponthieu near Normandy and became an unwilling guest of the duke. He did not escape from

his courteous but shrewd host till he had taken an oath that he would aid William to obtain the English crown.

The test came when Edward the Confessor died in January, 1066. Whatever may have been his earlier promises to William, on his deathbed he acknowledged Harold as the natural claimant to the throne. The very next day the witan, who were gathered at London, elected Harold king, and he was crowned in Westminster Abbey.

76. Invasion by William. — On the other hand, at the news of Harold's election, Duke William immediately gave way to a wild fit of anger, asserted his claim to be elected king of



Earl Harold and King Edward (from the Bayeux Tapestry¹)

England, denounced Harold as a usurper, and began preparations for an invasion of the country. He first consulted his principal nobles and then held a general assembly of all the barons of Normandy, appealing to them for advice and assistance in his great adventure. He then sent ambassadors to the king of France, to the neighboring dukes and counts, and to the pope. To the pope he represented Harold as an oath breaker and the English people as but lukewarm in their obedience to the head of the church. He thus obtained from Pope Alexander a consecrated banner and his blessing on the work of making the English church and people more obedient. William appealed to the duty and the affections of his own Norman subjects, and promised to them

¹ The Bayeux Tapestry is a band of coarse linen, about 230 feet long and 20 inches wide, on which scenes from the Norman Conquest are worked in worsted thread. It is now preserved in the cathedral at Bayeux in Normandy. It is supposed to have been completed soon after the Conquest.

and all others who should follow him rich rewards from the conquered country. Earldoms should be given to nobles, bishoprics and abbacies to the churchmen, and the blessings of the church to all. The lands of Harold and of all others who resisted William would be at his disposal with which to enrich those that helped him.

As a result, within a few months many leaders with goodly groups of followers gathered from all parts of Normandy and the adjacent provinces to the rendezvous which William had appointed. Transport boats were built and contributed by the great nobles, and in September of the same year, 1066, William crossed the Channel, and was ready to fight with Harold to make good his claim to the crown.

There proved to be no one to resist his landing. King Harold with his army was far in the north. He had obtained information of William's preparations and had kept an army on the southern coast all summer, watching for William's landing; but it was



Norman Vessels crossing the Channel (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

almost impossible to keep together over harvest time an army made up largely of peasant farmers, and when William's invasion was delayed Harold at last gave up the effort and most of his troops were scattered to their homes. Scarcely was this done when a new rival, a third claimant for the crown, Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, who represented the claims of the line of Cnut,

appeared far up in Yorkshire. Harold hastened to the north with his housecarls and personal followers, to meet him. He fought with the Norsemen and their allies the victorious battle of Stamford Bridge, but had no time for rest, for it was while he was on this campaign that the news came that William had landed.

77. The Battle of Hastings or Senlac. — The Norman army landed at Pevensey, marched eastward to Hastings, and was



Part of the Battle of Hastings (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

ravaging that region when Harold returned hastily to London, where he had summoned the great earls of the north and the midlands to meet him with their forces. Edwin and Morkere, however, two brothers who held the earldoms of Mercia and Northumbria, held back and failed to join the king. Harold gathered an army as best he could from the surrounding country to increase the body of his housecarls and personal followers, and marched southward, while William awaited him in his camp at Hastings. As the distance between the two armies became less, Harold took up a position on the hill of Senlac,¹ seven miles north of Hastings, thus blocking the advance of the invaders and compelling the attack to be made by them.

¹ The battle has been called both Hastings and Senlac. The former is preferable on account of its greater familiarity, although the battlefield is really some seven or eight miles from the town of Hastings. Senlac is the name given to the hill by one of the contemporary writers.

William accepted the challenge, marched northward, and here the critical battle was fought. It was a long and hard contest, lasting from nine in the morning till after six in the evening. The English held their position the greater part of the day against the continuous attacks of the Normans, and even won temporary successes; but their resistance to the ever-changing attacks of the Normans grew weaker, till in the late afternoon the center of their line was at last overwhelmed by a sudden concentrated onset. Harold and his two brothers were killed as they fought under the combined standards of their family and of the West Saxon royal house; their thegns, housecarls, and the men who had come at the summons to the fyrd were killed or driven into hopeless flight.

The southeast of England now lay open to William, but there was no certainty yet that he would be acknowledged by the English as king. The division of England into great, almost independent earldoms had left Harold complete royal power only in the south and east; the earls of Mercia and Northumbria had neither given him assistance at the battle nor had their dominions yet been invaded by William. The greater part of England was still unconquered, and in fact Edgar, "the Atheling," a youthful but ambitious descendant of the old West Saxon line, was chosen king on the death of Harold by the witan gathered at London.

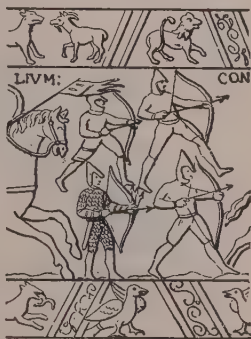
78. The Conquest of England. — William acted with the greatest skill and vigor. He sent detachments of troops through the southeastern shires, ravaging in some places, receiving submission in others. Then he marched with his main body of troops from Senlac back to Hastings, then to Dover, and thence by the old Roman road through Canterbury to Southwark, which is just across the river from London. Finding that the people of London and the north still showed no sign of inviting him to become king, he set Southwark on fire as a warning, marched westward, then northward, crossed the Thames at Wallingford, and then passed

some distance eastward to Berkhamstead, so as to put himself between the still unconquered parts of England and the great city which had practically become the capital of England.

At this the witan gave way. A number of the great nobles, churchmen, and citizens, including Edgar Atheling himself, who had not yet been crowned and quietly ignored his own recent election, came out of London, offered William the crown, and invited him to come to the city for his coronation. Then, or shortly afterwards, the two great northern earls made their submission. On Christmas Day, 1066, William was elected and crowned in Westminster Abbey. The old ceremonies were used, and he took the same oaths as the English kings before him had taken.

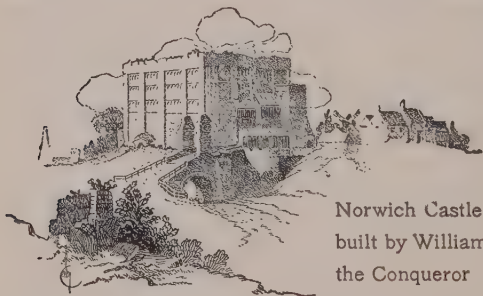
William was now, in form at least, king of England, and immediately began the exercise of the powers and duties of his position. Nevertheless the conquest of England was far from complete. This conquest was the work of the next four years. In 1067, while

William was on a visit to Normandy, two revolts occurred in England and were put down by those to whom he had left the government of the country. In the spring of 1068 William returned and took an army into the southwest to punish the resistance of Exeter and other towns and districts in that part of the country, which had preserved a sullen half-independence. Later in the same year there were signs of a rising in the center and the north, where Edgar Atheling and the earls Edwin and Morkere were trying to gain help in throwing off the yoke of the new king from the king of Denmark. William organized an army and led it thither, building castles in Warwick, Nottingham, and York, and filling them with strong garrisons, as he had done the



Norman Archers (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

year before in London and some of the western towns. As he marched northward he received the submission of the earls and of many other influential Englishmen without fighting. On his way back and later he located and ordered the building of castles in a number of other towns. Within the next year or two there were again risings of the English under native leaders in the north and northwest. These were put down by William in person. He brought an army with him and occupied York and other towns, built castles, and harried the surrounding country without

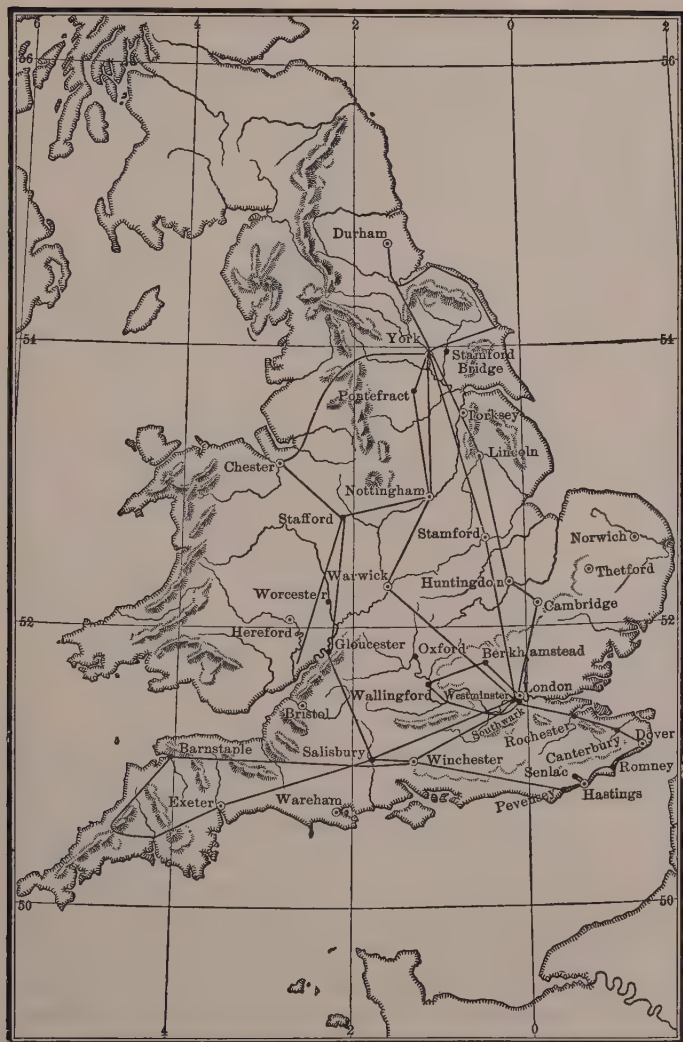


Norwich Castle,
built by William
the Conqueror

mercy. He then crossed the moors to Chester and crushed out with a heavy hand the independence which that city had sought to maintain.

The last resistance was made in the marshy country of the east of England, where a party of English outlaws under a leader named Hereward held out against the government of William till late in the year 1071, when they were defeated and captured. England was at last completely conquered. Through every part of the country William had ridden with his army. There was scarcely a shire in England in which he had not appeared as conqueror or master. There had been no show of rebellion which had not been overcome and no resistance which had not been punished.

79. Summary of the Period of Conquest. — The conquest of England by Cnut in 1016 was not relatively very important, as it brought little that was Danish or new into England. Cnut ruled England purely as a native king, appointing Englishmen to the most influential positions and drawing his laws from the earlier Anglo-Saxon codes. Except in name and in the method by



Campaigns of William the Conqueror. (The lines indicate his military journeys through the country. The places marked ⊙ indicate the towns where he had castles erected.)

which he obtained the crown he might have been an ordinary successor of the West Saxon line of kings.

On the other hand, the Norman Conquest had an importance which it is almost impossible to overestimate. It opened a new era for England and gave to its history a direction and character far different from that which it would have had except for this conquest. This permanent effect was due to at least three causes. In the first place, the conquest came at a critical period not only in the history of England but of other European countries. The large countries or nations were at this time breaking up into small separate provinces under half-independent earls, counts, dukes, or other great nobles. This tendency had been quite as well marked in England as on the continent. But the victory of William the "Conqueror," as he is called, introduced a strong, centralized, orderly government which reversed this tendency to subdivision as far as England was concerned. The result was that England for the next four or five centuries had a stronger government than any other country of Europe. In the second place, the conquest was made by a race of people who had a genius for government and political organization. The dukes of Normandy, who now became kings of England, and the Norman nobles who held the highest positions in England under them, were a vigorous and gifted if brutal and cruel race of men. They organized a system of taxation, developed the law and law courts, kept records, and introduced other improvements in government far more rapidly than the Anglo-Saxons had shown any signs of doing. In the third place, the conquest was important because it brought England into closer contact with a part of the continent where trade, the development of town life, building, and intercourse with other parts of Europe were going on with the greatest activity. England was detached from the sluggish north of Europe and united with the more active and civilized center and south. The Norman Conquest occurring when and as it did was without doubt the most important single event in the history of England.

General Reading. — The great work on this period is FREEMAN, E. A., *The Norman Conquest*, 6 vols., of which the first three refer to the time of this chapter. This work is, however, expensive, long, and difficult to read. The same author has a valuable *Short History of the Norman Conquest*. GREEN, *Conquest of England*, chaps. viii–xi, is midway in length between these two and very satisfactory; while the same author's *Short History*, chap. ii, sects. 1–5, is particularly good. RAMSAY, *Foundations of England*, Vol. I, chaps. xxiii–xxx, and Vol. II, chaps. i–vii, is the most recent study of the period. FREEMAN, *William the Conqueror* (Twelve English Statesmen), chaps. i–viii, deals with the history of William till the conquest of England was complete. STENTON, *William the Conqueror*.

Contemporary Sources. — The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* continues through this period, the entries for the years 991, 994, 999, 1002, 1009–1011, 1014–1017, 1066, and 1067 being of special interest. William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester are almost contemporary chroniclers whose books are translated and published in the Bohn Library. The Bayeux Tapestry is worth close study for costumes and some of the events of the Conquest. Parts of it are reproduced in many places, and the whole of it as an atlas accompanying THIERRY, *History of the Norman Conquest*, which is otherwise a work of but little value. A number of extracts concerning Cnut, and one of special interest describing the battle of Hastings, are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 40–44; others in COLBY, Nos. 10–12; and still others in KENDALL, including Cnut's *Letter from Rome*, No. 12, and a contemporary description of the Normans from William of Malmesbury, No. 14. Selections from the chronicles will be found in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 48–55.

Poetry and Fiction. — THACKERAY, *Ballad of King Canute*, gives the familiar story of his rebuke to his courtiers. TENNYSON, *Harold* (a drama). BULWER-LYTTON, *Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings*, and KINGSLEY, *Hereward*, are two stories of the period of the Conquest which, although including much imaginary detail, are probably correct in their main outlines.

Special Topics. — (1) Danegeld, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, entries for the years 991, 994, 1002, 1007, 1014; (2) the Origin of Normandy, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ii, sects. 3, 4; (3) the Battle of Hastings, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 299, 300; (4) the Revolt in the Fen-Country, KINGSLEY, *Hereward*; (5) Coronation of William the Conqueror, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1066; (6) Journeys of Cnut, RAMSAY, Vol. I chap. xxiv.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS. 1066-1154

80. **The Norman Aristocracy.** — The Norman Conquest consisted not only in driving one king from the English throne and putting another in his place, but in placing the Norman companions and followers of William in all positions of influence in England. This process had begun to a slight extent, as already pointed out, even during the time of Edward the Confessor. Now, step by step, as William completed the military conquest of the country, he left a few Normans established in each locality, endowed with lands and intrusted with many of the duties and powers of government. The rights and powers as landlords possessed by the Saxon king, earls, and thegns who had fought against William either at the battle of Hastings or in the later contests were forfeited to him. These he distributed among his followers. The ordinary peasants living upon the estates, who were the actual occupants of the land, were but seldom disturbed, and continued to pay their rents and services to the new landlords instead of to the old.

The confiscated estates were in some cases retained by the king, in others given, and with no niggard hand, to those who had helped him in his adventure. To his brother Robert of Mortain he gave altogether 793 manors; to his other brother, Odo, 439; to Alan of Brittany, 442; and to others, smaller numbers, down even to single manors. These grants to the influential Norman leaders were no doubt made at different times, as the possessions of the Saxons were confiscated. The result was that no great noble's property was all in any one place. He possessed one manor or

group of manors here, another there, in various parts of the country, as the dispossessed Saxons happened to have held them; though frequently, of course, with a preponderance of his possessions in some one shire.¹ In this way Norman landed families were established all over England, some almost rivaling the king himself in their power and income, though others were of course of much less power and wealth, down to the mere holder of a single manor. There were even Norman knights or esquires little above common soldiers or farmers who were settled down on a little holding of land granted to them by some larger landholder or by the king.

81. Military Services. — These estates were granted to their new lords not in full ownership but on condition of performing military service and certain other duties to the king. Each landholder was required to provide a certain number of soldiers, roughly proportioned to the extent of the estate. This performance of military service in return for a grant of land furnished the basis for what is known as "feudalism" or "feudal tenure." As a custom it was already quite common in England. In Normandy it was still more widespread and well understood. The sudden confiscation and regrant of such a large part of the land of England within a few years gave to the Normans an opportunity for introducing feudal tenure in even greater completeness than on the continent. The group of customs which made up feudalism will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, when the time is reached at which it attained its full development.

The greatest of William's followers, several of whom were related by blood or marriage to the king, were given the old

¹ This scattering of the landed possessions of each lord is often thought to have been deliberately arranged by William so that a noble should not obtain too much strength by having all his tenants together. There is no contemporary testimony to show what his intention was, but the scattering is much more likely to have been merely the natural result of the confiscations and regrants than of such an ingenious policy on William's part.

English title of earl, corresponding to the title of count in the continental countries. He gave the title very sparingly, however, bestowing it altogether on but twelve of his barons.¹ Their powers were, moreover, by no means those of viceroys, like the earls of Saxon times. Such powers and privileges as they possessed were restricted to some one shire, and seldom amounted to more than the right to collect certain payments and the power they naturally possessed as lords of many estates and many tenants.

William also appointed Normans to serve as sheriffs of the shires, or counties, as the shires came now to be called, as constables of his new castles, and as officials of still lower rank, endowing these likewise with lands obtained by confiscation. Altogether forty or fifty great barons were given high titles or offices and extensive estates in England. Several hundred more, mostly bearers of names drawn from places in Normandy or other parts of France, were given lesser appointments and grants of land from the king, and many other Normans held lands granted to them by their more powerful fellow countrymen.

Thus, within a very few years after the battle which gave William the throne, Norman earls, sheriffs, barons, and knights had superseded Saxon earls, sheriffs, and thegns in official positions and as landholders, while the upper classes of the Saxons had been killed or driven into banishment, or had fallen into the less distinguished classes of the community.

82. Bishops and Abbots.—The same thing happened in the church, except that the change was made more gradually. As the Saxon bishops and abbots died, or in some cases as they were for various causes deposed, Normans were appointed in their places. All influence in the church was then exercised by these Norman prelates. A priest of the cathedral of Bayeux, for instance, was

¹ The most prominent of these were his brothers Odo and Robert, made earls of Kent and Cornwall; William Fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford; Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick; Roger of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury; and Walter Giffard, earl of Buckingham.

made archbishop of York soon after the Conquest ; then an abbot of Caen was made archbishop of Canterbury, and the chaplains of the king who had come with him or afterwards followed him from Normandy were rapidly promoted to bishoprics and abbacies.

The Norman bishops soon transferred the seats of their bishoprics from the small towns or country places where their predecessors had been established to the largest town in each diocese, and there began the erection of the large churches which later



Canterbury Cathedral as it was completed long after the Conquest

grew into the splendid cathedrals which still give to England much of its dignity and beauty. The newly appointed Norman abbots were just as ambitious to extend the number and grandeur of their abbey buildings. The bishoprics and abbeys were in general allowed by William to retain their lands on condition of acknowledging that they held them from him and owed him service for them. He also founded and enriched with extensive lands, in fulfillment of a vow he had made on the battlefield of Hastings, an abbey which was erected on the spot where that battle was fought, and which was always afterwards known as Battle Abbey.

83. The Common People. — As has been said, many Normans of lower rank came to England in the wake of the Conquest, though there is no means of knowing how many. Normandy was a very populous country, and many came to England to improve their fortunes now that their own duke was king there. They came especially to live in the towns and to engage in trade and handicrafts. Thus, notwithstanding the plundering of the towns by William and his soldiers in the early days of the Conquest, and notwithstanding the destruction of houses to make room for the castles, the Norman connection soon led to an increase in the activity, population, and wealth of the towns.

Marriages very soon took place between Normans and English, so that the two races began to blend almost from the beginning. For a long time, however, the upper classes were more largely Normans, the peasantry in the country purely English.

84. The Norman French Language. — Another effect of the Norman Conquest had been to introduce a third language into England. The conquerors had spoken in Normandy a form of French, and this therefore became in England the language of the king and his court, of the nobility, of government officials, and in all probability of the greater number of the traders in the towns. Latin was still used in the services and in most of the business of the church, and in almost all written documents. English was used by the great mass of the people, and in lawsuits in which Englishmen were concerned or old English laws and charters quoted. King William himself is said to have tried to learn English in order that he might understand the testimony given at the lawsuits of his English subjects. No doubt songs were still composed and sung in the language of the people, and there were no signs of English being abandoned by those who were born to its use. Yet the concurrent use of the two languages led to many changes in the old English, and when it came into literary use again, at a later time, the endings of its words had been lost, a vast number of new words introduced, and it was almost a new language.



85. Reign of William I. — William was king of England for twenty-one years, from his coronation in 1066 to his death in 1087. The first few years of his reign were occupied largely with the completion of the Conquest by putting down the risings in different parts of England. He also made an expedition into the south of Scotland, forcing Malcolm, the Scottish king, who had made several raids into Northumbria since the battle of Hastings, to swear allegiance to him. Later William also invaded Wales, and thus obtained the same nominal control over the whole island that his Anglo-Saxon predecessors had claimed. He retained his dukedom of Normandy and visited it repeatedly, settling its internal affairs and carrying on conflicts with the counts of the provinces adjacent to it.

86. William and the Papacy. — A question of some difficulty arose in regard to William's relation to the pope. The encouragement granted by the pope to the original project of invasion of England by William was of so great value in obtaining volunteers for that expedition as to put William under obligations to the head of the church. His religious feelings and habits tended the same way, and he had no wish to keep the English church as far separate from Rome as it had been. On the other hand, a short time after the Conquest a new pope was elected who held such high views of the authority of his office as to bring him into conflict with all the temporal sovereigns of Europe, no matter how pious or devoted to the papacy they might be. This pope was Hildebrand, or Gregory VII, as he was now called.¹ He had been an influential Roman church official for many years before his election, and now determined to introduce much-needed reforms into the church throughout Europe. In order to do so he asserted the supremacy of the pope not only over

¹ When a new pope is elected he chooses any name he wishes. Since there are certain names much used, — as Gregory, Clement, John, Pius, Leo, and Urban, — a numeral has generally to be added to distinguish him from predecessors who have taken the same name.

all clergymen but even over all kings and nobles of the various countries, intending, however, to apply this supremacy only in church matters. As part of this policy, he summoned William to take an oath of submission and faithfulness to him. This William declined to do, on the grounds that he had never made such a promise and that the earlier English kings had not done so. Gregory accepted this refusal at the time and also postponed several of his other proposed measures, so far as England was concerned. William also laid down the rules that no pope should be recognized by Englishmen except by the king's authority, that no papal bull should be published in England until it had been inspected by the king, that no royal officials should be excommunicated except with his sanction, and that no church councils were to be held or canons¹ enacted in England without his consent. These statutes were not so much directed against the authority of the pope as they were against the claims which English churchmen might make to act independently of the king. They do not, however, seem to have created any antagonism with Lanfranc, the king's friend, who as archbishop of Canterbury was exercising a beneficial rule over the church in England.

87. Preservation of Old Customs. — When William based his refusal to swear allegiance to the pope on the absence of such a custom among his Anglo-Saxon predecessors he was following his usual policy of laying stress on his position as a legally chosen English king. He maintained that Harold was a usurper, but for Edward the Confessor and the kings who preceded him he expressed the greatest respect. He retained most of the old English customs of government. He called the nobles and churchmen together to great councils, just as the Anglo-Saxon kings had held their witenagemots. Indeed, he held such councils more regularly and formally than they had ever been held before. When he was not abroad he made a practice of summoning the great men of the country to a council three times a year, — at Easter,

¹ A canon is a law of the church adopted at a church council

Whitsuntide, and Christmas; that is to say, in the spring, early summer, and midwinter. At these times he had his crown placed on his head, and there was much ceremony, feasting, and display. These were also occasions for the discussion of important points of policy, making appointments and grants, and announcing the king's decisions and intentions. These councils were summoned more frequently at Winchester, London, and Gloucester, all in the south, than at any other places, though once at least the king kept his Christmas feast and council at York, in the far north. He kept up the shire and hundred moots, or county and hundred courts, as they were now called. He retained also the Danegeld, which could easily be collected for other purposes than to buy off or drive off the Danes. Like the more enlightened of his predecessors, he also issued, early in his reign, a code of laws based on those of earlier kings, with comparatively few additions or changes.

88. New Customs. — On the other hand, William introduced much that was new. He made the "forest laws," which were severe regulations against hunting game in the king's forests by any others than the king and his nobles. He extended the limits of an old forest region in Hampshire near Winchester by adding to it all the pieces of woodland in the neighborhood and even driving out the population of a number of villages. He then placed the whole district under the control of special forest officers and the forest laws. This tract was known as the "New Forest,"¹ and was the first and largest of a number of such royal hunting preserves afforested by the king's successors. Forests, in this use of the word, were not always regions covered with trees, nor were they necessarily without a population. They were simply districts where the ordinary laws did not apply and where many special laws were in force, directed to the preservation of the game. The cruelty with which William drove the unfencing peasantry from their homes for this purpose in a time of

¹ See map on p. 9.

entire peace, and the harshness of the forest laws which he introduced, left upon his own and later times an impression of his tyranny and hardness which the far more terrible ravaging during the years of the actual Conquest does not seem to have produced. Hunting was a passion with William, and a chronicler who lived at his court said of him: "He made large forests for the deer and enacted laws that whoever killed a hare or a hind therein should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer so also



Trial by Wager of Battle (from a manuscript of the thirteenth century)

the boars. He loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free."

William also introduced into England the "curfew"¹ law. This was a requirement that all fires

should be put out or covered at nightfall. It was a regulation in existence at that time in several European countries, intended to prevent accidental conflagrations. It had never before been introduced into England, probably because towns with their great liability to fires were not numerous there, and being a new custom was felt by the English to be an exercise of tyranny.

In the law courts an additional method of proof, besides the oath and the ordeal, was introduced by the Normans. This was the "wager of battle." If one man charged another with an offense or a wrong done to him and the latter denied it, the court might declare that the truth or falsity of the charge should be decided by a judicial battle. At an appointed time, after each contestant had sworn to the truth of his statement, a contest under regular forms with short battle-axes or hammers of an established shape

¹ Curfew is an English pronunciation of the French *couvre-feu*, "cover fire."

took place, the one who was first compelled to acknowledge defeat losing his case. This also had long been familiar on the continent, but was previously unknown in England.

89. Domesday Book.—Just at the close of his reign William after consultation with his nobles sent out groups of officials to the various parts of the country to obtain by sworn statements of the inhabitants fuller knowledge of who the landholders of the country were, how many tenants of various classes they had, how much tax they paid when a Danegeld was collected, and what the real value of each estate was. The officials who served as commissioners passed from hundred to hundred in each shire, calling some of the inhabitants from each township before them and requiring them to give answers on these and other points. A vast mass of detailed information was obtained by this census. It was sent to Winchester and there gone over, rearranged, and copied by the king's clerks. The result was two thick manuscript volumes, which still exist just as they were written at that time. They have always been known as Domesday Book. The work gives us a fuller and more detailed knowledge of England at the time of the Norman Conquest than we have of any other mediæval country, although the real meaning of many of its statements is obscure and is only being gradually learned by much study.

The power to compel the people of all England to give this information shows how great the authority of William was. Even in modern times, when the power of the government is practically irresistible, people often decline, delay, or hesitate to give census information. In the eleventh century probably no other ruler in Europe had sufficient power to collect detailed reports of this nature from his whole kingdom. The ability to put these reports into such good shape also indicates the organization of a quite efficient body of government clerks and other officials.

90. Position and Character of William.—However much William may have insisted that he was simply one of the legitimate line of English kings, his position was very different from theirs and

vastly more powerful. He had in reality a threefold basis for his authority as king: he was in the first place the elected, anointed, and crowned king of the English nation; secondly, he was the military conqueror of England; lastly, he was the feudal overlord of the country, with a certain degree of proprietorship of all the landed estates of England. Although he had given a large part of the confiscated lands to his Norman barons and knights, yet he had given these only on condition of faithfulness, military service, and money payments to himself. Because of these elements of power he was in a position to carry on a government vigorous, firm, assertive, and even despotic, far beyond anything before known in England, and to exercise an enduring influence on the destinies of his people. This power is well shown by what has been called the "Salisbury Oath." In 1086, at the very close of his career, William appointed a great mote or council at Salisbury, to which all landholders were summoned. There he made all take an oath of fidelity to him which was to take precedence of any other duty they owed to any lords who might be between them and the king.

No satisfactory picture of the Conqueror remains, but there are several descriptions of him by men who knew him well. He was a man of good stature and figure, though he became very stout in his later years. He was slightly bald on the forehead. His expression was usually stern, as might be expected from his character and experiences; and he gave way to terrible outbursts of anger in which he roared out his favorite oath, "By the splendor of God," to the dismay of all who heard him. On the other hand, he could be courteous and kindly in manner. He was religious in his habits, attending mass every day. His ability, his energy, his directness of decision and action, and his invincible determination are better seen in what he did than in anything that can be said of him.

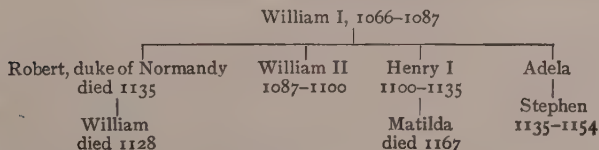
At the time of his death he had three sons and a daughter. On his deathbed he expressed a wish that the following arrangement

of inheritances should be made for them. His eldest son, Robert, should be duke of Normandy; the next son, William, king of England; and the third, Henry, a mere boy, should be given a certain sum of money. His daughter, Adela, was already married to Stephen, count of Blois, a French province.¹

91. William II and his Contest with the Barons.—William II, who became king at his father's death in 1087, had a stormy reign of thirteen years. He was killed by an accident while still only forty years of age. He was called William "Rufus," probably because he was red-faced.² He had the energy, the harshness, and much of the ability of his father, but he had neither the clearness of aim nor the sense of duty which had made his father's policy so successful.

Two contests filled much of his reign,—one with the great Norman barons, the other with the church. The great nobles who had gained as a result of the Conquest such extensive landed estates in England in many cases still retained their estates in Normandy. They were so powerful, because of the income they received and of the number of men who must obey their summons to follow them in war, that they were almost independent princes. It was hard for such men to submit to the strict rule of the king, to respect his officials, pay his taxes, and abide by his laws. The hand of the Conqueror had been heavy enough to keep them in obedience; but his successor seemed more like one of themselves, and they were not willing to submit to him without a struggle. A group of them therefore entered into a

¹ The Norman line of kings with their genealogy was as follows:



² The Latin word *rufus* means reddish.

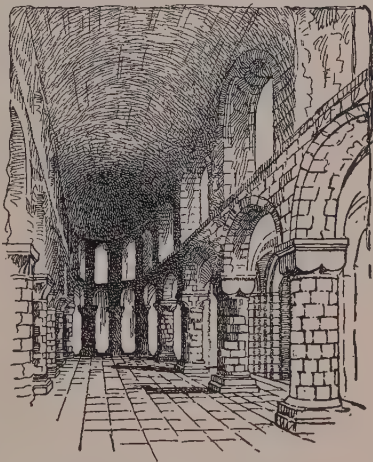
conspiracy to drive William Rufus from the throne and to place on it his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, who was of an easy-going disposition, and would not be likely to rule very strictly those to whom he owed his throne. Immediately after the Conqueror's death, therefore, the rebellious nobles drove the king's men out of the royal castles in a number of towns, introduced garrisons and supplies into these castles and their own fortified houses, and began ravaging the surrounding country. Several of the earls and many of the lesser barons, on the other hand, took the part of the king.

William's most valuable support, however, came from another quarter. He called a great gathering at London to which men of English birth of the well-to-do classes were specially invited. He promised to give them reduced taxes, freer hunting rights, and a better administration of the law, and called upon them to join him in putting down the rebellious barons. He also summoned the old fyrd of the southeastern counties. The English willingly joined the king in opposition to the Norman aristocracy, and in a short time an effective army was created. Rufus was thus able to defeat the disobedient nobles and force them to acknowledge him. A few years later, in 1095, he had an equally hard and successful struggle with a group of the great barons who asserted practical independence and would have dethroned him to obtain it if they could have accomplished it.

William was loath to accept the arrangement of his father by which his brother Robert was given the duchy of Normandy. He was ambitious to possess all the dominions which his father had ruled. Through his whole reign, therefore, whenever he was not himself being troubled by the disobedience of the barons, he was either intriguing or fighting to get Normandy and the other continental dominions of the Norman house into his hands. One by one he got control of fortified places and their dependent districts and hemmed in the immediate dominions of Robert. Finally Robert went on a crusade to the Holy Land, leaving the

government of the whole duchy in the hands of William in return for money with which to equip his expedition. William got the money by laying a heavy Danegeld on the English.

92. Lanfranc.—Unlike his father, William Rufus was not a religious man. Indeed, although it was an age when almost every one expressed and probably even felt great reverence for all religious things, William ridiculed such matters. When some one declared that an event was the will of God he laughed aloud; when it was proposed to pray to the saints for aid he forbade it; and when the ordeal once indicated certain men to be innocent whom he believed guilty he broke out in anger and shouted, "Who says that God is just?" He told the Jews, who had begun to settle in England since the Conquest, that he was quite open to conviction of the truth of their religion if they could refute the bishops in an open debate before him. When some Jews of Rouen went over to Christianity he



Chapel in White Tower

agreed for a price offered by their friends to force them to go back to Judaism. With such views it is no wonder that the conflicts on church matters that could not be avoided even between pious kings and churchmen should have broken out with special bitterness under William Rufus.

When he became king the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been his father's right-hand man during most of his reign, was still living. This was Lanfranc. He was by birth an Italian, a native of the city of Pavia, and educated there as a lawyer. From Italy he

emigrated or perhaps was exiled to Normandy. Here he became famous as a teacher and man of learning, and under pressure of religious influences became a monk. When he was made prior of the Abbey of Bec he became still more famous; many men of religion sought that monastery and students came to study under him. William while still only duke of Normandy came to know him and sent him two or three times on embassies to Rome and elsewhere. After the Conquest, when the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant through the deposition of its last Saxon incumbent, Lanfranc was induced somewhat reluctantly to accept that position. For many years he was the principal adviser of the king and the most influential man in England. There was much in his position and character similar to those of Dunstan a hundred years before, although the two men were far different in race, had very different kings to serve, and belonged to entirely different epochs. He was an extensive and learned writer, and his Latin letters are still read.

In political matters Lanfranc showed good judgment; he selected wisely those whom he advised the king to appoint to office, and exercised his own influence over the king in the direction of moderation and good sense. In religious affairs he insisted on the supremacy of the position of archbishop of Canterbury over all other church positions in England, even over the archbishopric of York, and thus made the church organization more centralized. He held frequent councils, sometimes of the prelates of all England and sometimes of those of his own archbishopric only. His superior gifts and training as an Italian and as a lawyer gave him wide influence not only over the king, the barons, and other churchmen, but over Welsh, Irish, and Scotch chieftains and bishops who sent to obtain his advice or decision on difficult questions. It was he who exercised the influence necessary to have the dwelling places of the bishops removed from the villages where they had been established in early times to a large town in each diocese. So long as Lanfranc lived, William II

was somewhat overawed by him and submitted to his influence. But his death occurred two years after that of the Conqueror and left the new king with no such restraint.

93. Misgovernment of the Church by William. — When bishoprics, abbacies, and other positions in the church became vacant by the death or promotion of their former holders it had been customary to fill them promptly with new appointees. In the meanwhile some one was appointed to receive the income of the office while it was vacant and to retain this for the new incumbent. William Rufus now began the practice of keeping such positions vacant for months or even years and himself collecting and using the income. When Lanfranc died more than four years passed away before any one was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and other positions were treated in the same way. Even when appointments were made, the king had a habit of retaining some of the lands which belonged to the church, and he frequently gave offices to those churchmen who offered him payment for the appointment.¹ Morals were very bad throughout the country, but the king refused to stand by the church authorities in punishing immorality, and he himself set an example of flagrant wickedness.

94. Anselm. — In these actions William met an outspoken opponent in the new archbishop of Canterbury. For he was finally scared by a sudden fit of sickness into making an appointment to that position, and the popular voice forced Anselm, the abbot of Bec, upon him. Anselm was an Italian, like Lanfranc, and had been attracted by the fame of the latter to come to Bec in Normandy to study. He had become abbot after Lanfranc's departure. He was a man of studious habits, keen intellectual abilities, devout nature, and lovable character, and would have

¹ The appointment of ecclesiastics to church positions in return for a gift of money is known as the offense of *simony*, because Simon Magus had offered money to the apostles Peter and John in order that he might obtain supernatural powers like theirs.

much preferred to live the quiet life of a monastic scholar. The practical duties of abbot had, however, fallen to his lot, and he was now drawn into the still more active duties of archbishop of Canterbury. During several years he was engaged in a continual contest with the king, who on getting well from his sickness refused to complete the investiture of Anselm, held back part of the lands belonging to the archbishopric, insisted on a contribution toward



Norman Arched Gateway and Tower, St. Edmundsbury, built either in the Reign of William I or of William II

the expense of his wars which would have compelled the archbishop to overtax his tenants, and recklessly cursed Anselm when he rebuked him for his sinful life. After several years of such conflict, Anselm gave up the struggle and went into voluntary exile on the continent, carrying nothing with him except his necessary clothing and the manuscript of a half-finished Latin theological work, and hoping to be allowed by the pope to resign from his archbishopric and retire to his quiet scholar's life.

95. Hatred of William Rufus. —

The king gradually came to be very much hated by his subjects. His

military abilities and energetic campaigns saved his crown and his dominions, but the heavy taxes and oppressions which they required made the people almost desperate. The government was carried on apparently for the one object of getting money for the king's uses. His servants and soldiers were allowed by him to seize whatever they wanted from the people without any attempt at restraint. His offenses against religion and the church angered many others, though, as all the contemporary historians were churchmen, no doubt they have given him a worse reputation in history than he might otherwise have had.

William's principal minister and adviser was, strange to say, a churchman, Ranulf or Ralph "Flambard,"¹ one of the Conqueror's Norman chaplains. By his business ability, legal sharpness, and constant work he became practically head of the whole government under the king, and to him were attributed many of the oppressions which made William II so unpopular. Above all, it was he who made government a device for extorting money from everybody. Ralph was rewarded by the king by being made bishop of Durham. This position was practically a great earldom as well as one of the richest offices of the church, and had already lain vacant for three and a half years.

One day in the summer of 1100 the king's body, with an arrow through the heart, was found in the New Forest, where he had been hunting. Who shot the arrow has always remained a mystery, though early tradition declared that he was accidentally killed by Walter Tirrel, an intimate friend and favorite courtier, who in his horror at what he had done took to flight, and died long afterwards on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The king's body was brought to Winchester on a cart by some foresters and gamekeepers and buried in the minster there without religious services.

96. Henry I.—William's younger brother Henry was hunting with him in the forest when the death of the king occurred, while his older brother, Robert, was far away in Italy, slowly making his way home from the Holy Land. Henry was ambitious and energetic. He had been born in England during the reign of his father, and was now in the prime of early manhood, being but thirty-two years old. He had small difficulty therefore in inducing a number of the bishops and nobles to choose him king, notwithstanding the better claims of his older brother.

The questionable character of Henry's right to the throne led him to make every effort to obtain popularity and thus strengthen

¹ Flambard means "The Torch," presumably so called because he consumed men's goods.

his position. Therefore, in addition to the traditional coronation oath which his brother and father and their predecessors had taken, he drew up a charter or series of promises of good government, of which he had a copy made and sent to the sheriff of each county in England to be read in the shire court.¹ It includes a number of promises not to do certain things which were widely felt to be oppressive, and in it the king declared, "A firm peace in my whole kingdom I establish and require to be kept from henceforth. The law of King Edward I give to you again with those changes with which my father changed it by the counsel of his barons." The times before the Conquest were already coming to be looked back upon as a golden age, as the "good old times." Men forgot all the miserable confusion and barbarism of that period, and a promise of the law of Edward the Confessor was considered equivalent to a promise of good government. The charter also provided that the barons should give to their dependents the same good treatment which the king promised to the higher classes to whom it was directed, thus recognizing the right of the whole body of the people to be well governed. The king gave proof of the earnestness of his intention to keep order by arresting Ranulf Flambard and punishing disorderly nobles.

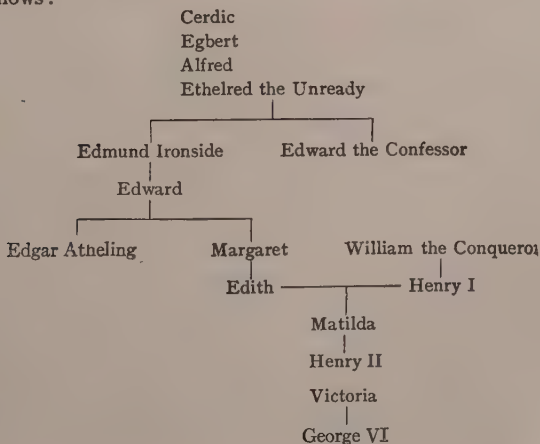
In other ways Henry sought popularity, especially with the English element among his subjects. He chose for his wife a lady descended from the old English royal line, Edith (Anglo-Saxon Eadgyth), who was renamed Matilda or Maud, her English name being unpronounceable by the French-speaking Normans. As a result of this union all the rulers of England since Henry, with the single exception of Stephen, his immediate successor, have been descended not only from William the Conqueror

¹ This charter may be found translated in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 5. The most important sections are 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, and 13. It was the first written restriction upon the despotism of the king, and long afterwards became the foundation of Magna Carta.

but from the kings of the old West Saxon line, running back to Cerdic, its founder.¹

Henry's natural abilities also helped to make him popular or at least successful as a ruler. He was a well-educated man for his time and was therefore nicknamed "Beauclerc," or the fine scholar. He could probably read and write French, his native language, read and write some Latin, and understand English when it was spoken. He was always fond of books and generous to men of learning. Another name sometimes applied to him was the "Lion of Justice," because of the sternness and yet fairness with which he settled disputes and put down all disorders on the part of the barons or other lawless persons. He was as good a soldier as his brother William, though not so fond of fighting for its own sake, and he was much abler as a peaceful ruler. Thus Henry was able to make good his position as king, and reigned for thirty-five years. He also obtained Normandy, partly by negotiation, partly by conquest, from his brother Robert, whom he kept in captivity during the remainder of his life.

¹ This line of descent, with the omission of many intervening links, is as follows :



97. Conflict with the Church.—Notwithstanding Henry's abilities and success the same two conflicts which had filled so much of the reign of William Rufus confronted him in the early years of his reign,—a contest with the church authorities and a contest with the great nobles.

The particular form of trouble in church matters that had been prominent in his brother's time was readily settled. Henry did not keep church positions vacant in order to collect and use their income, but filled them promptly and with capable if somewhat worldly men. He restored the archbishop of Canterbury, allowed church councils to be held, and helped the clergy to put in force the rules for church discipline enacted at them. His own religious habits and feelings were also regular, and his treatment of churchmen was respectful and pleasant. But other troubles soon arose.

The powers of oversight of church matters exercised by the central government of the church at Rome were at this time, as has been said before, great and continually increasing. They had never been asserted in their fullness in England. When the Conqueror refused to take an oath of allegiance to the pope and laid down the further rule that no representative of the pope or official letter from the pope should be sent into England without his consent, those claims were quietly dropped for the time. The church quarrels of William Rufus had been on internal questions not affecting the pope. Many church customs therefore still existed in England different from those approved by the pope and the general church councils. While Anselm had been in exile at Rome during the latter part of William's reign he had become fully imbued with a belief in the authority of the pope to enforce general church regulations in England as in other countries; and when on Henry's invitation he came back to fill his position as archbishop of Canterbury he came determined to carry out these rules. In many of them the archbishop received the support of the king. The observance of the vow of celibacy was now made more stringent. This vow was taken, of course, by all priests, but

was not taken by those persons who, although granted certain clerical privileges, had never received ecclesiastical orders. More or less fully this stricter rule was now enforced throughout England.

98. The Contest about Investiture. — One proposed change, however, brought Anselm and Henry into immediate conflict. This was in the matter of investitures. It had been customary in England for a bishop or abbot after his appointment to his bishopric or abbey to be “invested,” as it was called, by the king, with a ring and a staff as emblems of his office. On the same occasion he did homage to the king. That is to say, he knelt before the king and took an oath to be faithful to him. This was followed by the consecration, a religious service in which the new bishop or abbot was inducted by the archbishop or some other bishops into the religious functions of his position. The custom of investiture by the king before consecration no doubt arose from the fact that bishops and abbots were practically great noblemen, having extensive lands and powers, quite apart from their religious position.



Investiture of an Abbot (from a manuscript of the thirteenth century)

But in 1075 this custom of receiving investiture from kings or other princes and performing homage to them was forbidden by the pope, and Anselm consequently refused to pay homage to Henry, or to consecrate any bishops or abbots who had accepted investiture from him or done homage to him. Henry on the other hand refused to give up the old established custom of England in this respect and would not allow churchmen to be consecrated without previous investiture and homage. This dispute lasted for several years and led to innumerable conferences, embassies to the pope, and efforts at settlement. But all were without success, and for a second time Anselm left England.

As a matter of fact a bishop's or abbot's position was twofold. From one point of view he was an officer of the church, and it seemed natural that his appointment should be entirely a church matter. From another point of view he was a landholding noble, with vassals who must fight when summoned, and the king might fairly claim the right to insist on his taking an oath of faithfulness to him. Henry's moderation and reasonableness, and Anselm's goodness, notwithstanding his obstinacy, kept the quarrel from becoming as bitter as it might have been. Finally, in 1106, with the concurrence of the pope, a compromise was agreed to. All those who had already received investiture from the king should be consecrated to their offices by the archbishop. For the future the king gave up investiture, but retained homage. He acknowledged that investiture with ring and staff was the conveyance of a spiritual office and left it to the church authorities. On the other hand, the temporal rights of the king were acknowledged, and each bishop or abbot chosen was to swear homage to the king before being consecrated. Henry thus obtained what was practically a victory, and, to the general satisfaction, Anselm returned to England.

99. Contest with the Barons.—The great earls and barons, especially those with possessions both in England and Normandy, were no more ready to be orderly and submissive under Henry than they had been under William Rufus, and a rebellion soon broke out. The principal struggle was with Robert of Bellême, earl of Shrewsbury. This man possessed six castles and the broad lands dependent on them, on the borders of Wales and in the center and north of England. Two of his brothers who had joined with him also held extensive estates. He is said to have had thirty-four strongholds in his possession or under his direct influence in Normandy. Against this powerful nobleman and his confederates Henry waged two successful campaigns, in 1102 and 1106. In the first of these Robert's castles were besieged and captured, he himself banished from England, and his estates

confiscated ; in the second, in Normandy, he and all his adherents in the duchy were defeated and he was placed in imprisonment for the remainder of his life.

100. The Central Government. — But Henry's most effective method of keeping the strong and turbulent nobility in order was not by carrying on military campaigns against them but by strengthening the organization of the central government. He chose capable ministers and with their help made the government so strong and active that the barons were not able to resist it. They, like common men, had to pay taxes, keep the peace, and submit to the decisions of the courts, however much they might long for greater independence or chafe under such restrictions.

The central government had been stronger and better organized ever since the Conquest than it had been at any time in the Anglo-Saxon period, but its principal development was in the reign of Henry I. Great councils, the successors of the witenagemots, were held more frequently, though their power as compared with that of the king was really less. In addition to the ceremonial meetings which were held more or less regularly on the three great festivals of the year, councils of the nobles and higher clergy were called from time to time when matters of importance were to be discussed, and the king made a show at least of taking their advice and obtaining their consent to his more important actions.

101. The King's Ministers. — Several of the great nobles held hereditary offices of high honor. These were the marshal, steward, constable, and chamberlain. These offices, however, were largely honorary, with few duties or powers. The actual work of government was done by a number of ministers or officials who were chosen by the king not from the great noble families but from the lower baronage, or else were churchmen of no especial rank or position. The most influential minister was the justiciar. He was the king's principal representative, looked after the king's interest in all ways, gave him advice, and acted as regent when

the king was on his numerous trips to Normandy. Ranulf Flambard practically occupied such a position under William Rufus, though the name itself was not used. Under Henry a certain Roger, a native of Caen in Normandy, later rewarded by the king with the bishopric of Salisbury, rose through various degrees of power from a mere chaplain in the household to justiciar. He retained this position for many years, organized the government, and appointed able men to its highest positions.

The chancellor was the minister of the king who attended to the written work of the government. It was he who had charge of the king's seal and made out, or had made out by his clerks, all charters, grants of land, written summons to nobles, letters, and other documents. The king relied upon the chancellor for the knowledge of legal forms and for the preservation of official records.

The treasurer had charge of the government funds, and kept account of receipts and disbursements of them. When all money consisted of silver coins which had frequently to be weighed and counted, sometimes transported in boxes and at other times stored in safety, the treasurer necessarily required a large corps of assistants. Besides these principal officials and their immediate subordinates the king had in his employ other trained men who were known simply as ministers or justices, who performed various duties of government of a financial, judicial, or administrative kind.

102. The Curia Regis.—The various ministers of the king not only had each his separate work but they met from time to time to attend jointly to matters of importance which needed consultation and the united authority of all those who directly represented the king. When the ministers met in this way they were usually known as the "*curia regis*." This body must not, however, be confused with the occasional meetings of the great nobles and churchmen already referred to, though some of the men might, of course, attend both, and even the same name, "king's council," is sometimes applied to both. Before the *curia regis* lawsuits

between the barons were tried, and complaints against individual barons were brought by the king or in his name. There were also many suits about land or payments in which the king was interested. Sometimes, though rarely, the king himself sat with his ministers in the *curia regis*, took part in the discussions, and delivered the decisions. Gradually all the most important cases were taken out of the county and hundred courts to be settled in the *curia regis*. Thus it became more and more largely occupied with judicial matters and came to be more of a court in the modern legal sense of the word, less of a mere meeting of the king's ministers.

103. Justices on Circuit. — The ministers had to be with the king as much as possible, so they followed him in his more extensive journeys, and the meetings of the *curia* had to be held where he and his ministers happened to be. This caused great difficulty to suitors. Many lawsuits besides could only be satisfactorily tried in the neighborhood where the matters at issue were known about. To meet these two difficulties justices representing the whole *curia regis* were sent from time to time into different parts of England with authority to settle all suits. Their presence in that part of the country could be made use of to collect money, enforce military service, and in other ways carry out the rights and claims of the king. Gradually it became so customary to send royal justices through the country that regular circuits were established.¹ Thus the power of the central government, exercised through the king's ministers, was shown in every part of the country regularly and frequently and not merely when the king swept through with his fighting men on a military expedition. The power of the government was respected accordingly.

104. The Exchequer. — Two meetings of the king's ministers every year, one at Easter, the other at Michaelmas (September 29),

¹ These royal officials or judges were known as "justices in eyre." The custom of judges going on circuit has been customary in all English-speaking countries ever since.

were of special importance and were distinguished clearly from the ordinary sitting of the *curia regis*. These meetings were known as the sittings of the "Exchequer." The ministers and their clerks gathered around a long table on which certain squares were marked for ease of calculation of accounts by means of coins or counters laid upon them. The table and the meeting around it were called the Exchequer from this similarity to a checkerboard. Before this court the sheriffs of the shires and the representatives of the great nobles had to present themselves one by one and give account of the taxes, dues, and fines which it was their duty to collect or to pay. All disputes were settled then and there, the chancellor, treasurer, and others deciding on the law as it applied to the cases that came up. The Exchequer was, therefore, a law court as well as an accounting office. The payments and decisions were recorded on a wide strip of parchment which from its appearance when rolled up was known as the Pipe Roll, or Great Roll of the Pipe. The earliest of these account rolls which still exists is that which records the two meetings of the thirty-first year of Henry I, 1130-1131, all others of Henry's reign having been lost or destroyed. The condition of the account with each sheriff was shown by giving him one half of a tally, the other half of which was preserved until the next meeting of the Exchequer.

By means of the meetings of the Exchequer not only was the king's revenue kept in order and collected in its full amount, but the sheriffs, who were usually knights, were kept to a strict accountability, and forced to recognize the power and superiority of the government. By means of the *curia regis*, the circuit judges, and the Exchequer, the power of government under Henry I became almost irresistible.

105. The Succession.—The king's only son, William, was drowned in a shipwreck as he was crossing the Channel from Normandy in the "White Ship," with a number of his relatives and other nobles, leaving as Henry's only legitimate child a daughter

named Matilda. Henry tried the experiment of obtaining for her the inheritance of the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy. No woman had ever ruled in either of these countries. In those turbulent times it was impossible that she should actually carry on the warfare which was an essential part of the government, and the result would be that her husband, whoever he might be, would become practically the ruler. Nevertheless Henry induced or compelled the barons to take an oath of allegiance to Matilda as their future mistress and queen.

She was married to Geoffrey, count of Anjou, one of the most powerful princes of France. This connection was a valuable one for the English royal family, as it united the two greatest French provinces in their possession ; but it was extremely unpopular with the barons of both Normandy and England, as they had been in frequent warfare with the count and the barons of Anjou, and looked upon them as natural enemies. All that could be done to insure the acceptance of Matilda as queen was done by Henry, but on his death in 1135 all the arrangements fell promptly to the ground, and for a short time no one was proclaimed ruler.

106. King Stephen.—This condition of doubt was broken by the claim of Stephen, son of the count of Blois and of Adela, sister of King Henry. Stephen was the favorite nephew of Henry, but had never been mentioned as his successor. He was count of Mortagne and Boulogne, and held many estates in Normandy and England. His younger brother was bishop of Winchester. Soon after Henry's death Stephen sailed from the continent to England, appeared at London, and obtained the good will of the leading citizens there. He then went to Winchester, got possession of the royal treasure, and obtained from a number of the higher clergy and nobility a somewhat reluctant consent to his coronation. He also obtained recognition in Normandy. Like Henry, Stephen tried to increase his popularity and strengthen his position on the throne by issuing a charter of liberties which made the same promises as Henry had given.

Stephen's authority, however, proved to depend not on how much power he chose to keep and how much to grant, but on how much the barons would leave to him. The powerful earls and barons and the wealthy and influential bishops and abbots had only been kept in order, as has been seen, by the heavy hand, the constant activity, or the wise control of the Conqueror and his two sons. Stephen did not have the ability necessary for the task. He was handsome, good-natured, affectionate, and brave, but he was not a skillful general nor a wise ruler. He took everybody's advice, and he refused to punish severely those who rebelled against him and were captured. He was misled into quarreling with Roger of Salisbury, the old justiciar, and arrested him and two of his relatives who had been placed in the positions of chancellor and treasurer. He did not take any further decisive action against them, but their imprisonment broke up the administration of the government, as it had been carried on under Henry, and its reorganization amid the confusion of the time proved to be impossible. The meetings of the Exchequer were held less regularly, the *curia regis* seldom gathered, and there were no regular circuits of the king's justices. The government dropped back to the weak condition of Saxon times.

107. The Civil War. — Soon Matilda asserted her claim to Normandy and England. She came over to England, while her husband invaded Normandy in her name. Many of the barons took her side, others remained faithful to Stephen, and a civil war broke out which lasted for more than fifteen years. Earls, barons, and knights took first one side and then the other, holding their castles for Matilda at one time and for Stephen at another, according as their interests or their feelings might dictate. In fact, the barons made use of the disputed claim to the throne to live in practical independence of any king. They fortified their castles by permission of one or other of the contestants, or without permission. They led their armed knights and their tenants to take part on either side in the war or to fight against

other nobles with whom they had private quarrels. They coined money and forced the people on their estates and in the towns under their control to accept it. They refused to acknowledge the king's court or the decisions of the county and hundred courts. They killed the king's game in defiance of the forest laws.

In fact, instead of England being ruled by one government, there were hundreds of lords of higher or lower degree each acting as if he had no government above him whatsoever. This period is therefore often described as "the period of anarchy."



Castle Rising, one of the Baronial Castles fortified in Stephen's Time

Men were brutal and cruel at best in those times. Blinding was a common punishment for political prisoners of high rank, and the cutting off of hands and feet for culprits of lower degree. Besiegers of a castle, when they had made its master or some member of his family prisoner, frequently kept him without food, and displayed him to the besieged daily before the walls, so that the sight of his increasing misery might lead those in the castle to surrender. There were frequent instances of churches filled with men, women, and children being burned down with all that were in them.

When the weakness of Stephen and the confusion of the civil war reduced the regular government to powerlessness, this tendency to reckless brutality and outrage became vastly worse. Every narrative which has come down from that time describes the killing, burning, and ravaging which were prevalent. The castles of the nobles were places of violence, where the enemies or helpless victims of the lords were tortured and held in imprisonment. There was no power in existence which could protect the weak from the strong. Every one, especially every noble, did that which was good in his own eyes.

108. The Mediæval Castle. — The power of the nobles to act with such independence when a weak king like Stephen was on the throne was due largely to the strength of the castles they occupied. It is true that the king alone was considered to have the right to build fortified places. But many of the king's castles were occupied in his name by individual nobles; other nobles obtained the royal permission to fortify their houses; and still others, especially during the reign of Stephen, built strongholds without permission or authority from any one. Thus several hundred castles of greater or less size and strength were scattered over England. The baron's castle, indeed, was the most conspicuous object of the middle ages. On the crest of some rugged hill was built a square or round tower with thick walls pierced by narrow windows and doors. This was the *keep* or *donjon*, the place of greatest strength and last refuge in case of attack. Around it was a courtyard with various buildings, and around this a strong wall with towers and a protected gateway. Outside of the wall, if the place admitted of it, was a moat or wide ditch filled with water. This was crossed by a drawbridge, which could be opened or closed at will. The gateway also was protected by a portcullis or drop gate.

In ordinary times this castle was occupied only by a small number of persons,—the baron and his family and a few servants or dependents in various capacities. Or the castle might be one of

several in the possession of a great noble, and only occasionally visited by him, at other times being occupied by some official with a group of his men. Many men were, however, bound to come to the service of the castle in case of need ; and in time of danger the people of the neighborhood crowded within its defenses.

109. **Feudal Land Tenure.** — The baron who occupied such a castle drew his support and money income from landed estates. He did not, however, own these estates as a modern landowner



Richmond Castle, Yorkshire

does, but held them from some one above him, on certain conditions. The land which any man held from another was called his *fief* or, in Latin, his *feudum*. The custom of holding lands on certain special conditions instead of owning them outright, as in earlier and later times, is therefore known as “feudal landholding,” or “feudal land tenure.”

Most large fiefs and many smaller ones were held by barons, knights, bishops, or abbeys, directly from the king. Those who held their lands in this way directly from the king were called *tenants in chief*. But the fief of a great baron, monastery, or bishopric might consist of a score or even a hundred or more manors or

small farming villages. Some of these manors were usually in the direct possession and occupancy of the tenant in chief, but others were held from him by knights or other tenants. These were in the same relation to him as he was to the king. They were therefore called *subtenants*. Below these subtenants were men who held lands from them, and so through successive stages of subtenancy. The person from whom a man held his land was called his *lord*.

When a feudal tenant came into possession of his land either by inheritance or by a grant he had to swear *fealty* and do *homage* for it. "Fealty and homage" was a ceremony in which the tenant bent on his knees before his lord, placed his hands within the lord's, and promised to be his man,¹ to be faithful to him and dependent upon him, and to serve him in all proper ways for the fief which he received from him. By this ceremony he came to be the lord's vassal as well as his tenant, and a relation of personal attachment and faithfulness was created between them.

A vassal or tenant owed to his lord not only faithfulness but services and payments of a much more tangible character. He owed him military service in proportion to the amount of land he held from him. That is to say, he must himself serve his lord as a knight and bring with him a certain number of other fighting men according to the extent of his fief. The length of time and frequency of such military service were early restricted by well-understood custom to a period of forty days once in a year. The number of men he must bring was one for each knight's fee which he held.²

The vassal had also to help his lord by money payments at certain times when the latter had special need of money. Such payments were called *aids*. There were three occasions generally

¹ This was the origin of the term *homage*; from the Latin *homo*, a man.

² A *knight's fee* or *fief* was the amount of land from which the service of one knight was required. It was not of an exact extent or value, but in later practice in England was estimated at six hundred acres.

acknowledged as times when the lord had a right to collect an aid : (1) for the expenses of the ceremony when his eldest son was knighted, (2) for his eldest daughter's dowry when she was married, and (3) to pay his ransom in case he was captured in war.

~~When a feudal vassal died, his lands did not go back to the lord, but went by inheritance to his eldest son, or, if he had no son, to all his daughters equally. The heir had, however, to pay to his lord a sum of money in recognition of the lord's superior claim on the land. This payment was known as relief.~~

An heir who was a minor came under the guardianship of the lord from whom his lands were held, and the lands went into the possession of the lord until the heir became of age. The lord must, however, provide for his support and training. This right of the lord to the possession of lands during a minority is spoken of as the right of *wardship*. When the child who would inherit the land was a girl, the lord claimed the right to select a husband for her, and consequently to receive the money payment which the suitor was willing to pay for the hand and the estates of the heiress. This was called the right of *marriage*, and was sometimes extended to the widows and heirs as well as to the heiresses of vassals.

There were two cases in which the lands of a tenant or vassal came back into the lord's possession. If a vassal violated his oath of fealty, he *forfeited* his lands, and his lord might seize them ; and if he died without direct heirs his lands *escheated* to his lord.¹

The relations between a vassal and his lord were not all one-sided. The lord also had his duties to his tenant. He not only guaranteed to his tenant the possession of his land, but gave him protection against violence and injustice, and afforded him assistance in all ways that he could. The essence of feudalism was a contract or agreement by which the lord and vassal each gave and received something.

¹ Examples of all these payments and services are given in *Translations and Reprints*, "Documents Illustrative of Feudalism," Vol. IV, No. 3.

110. Feudal Personal Relations. — Landholding and personal relationship were thus closely combined. Fidelity and obedience were owed where military service and money payments were owed. Protection of the fatherless and the widow was incumbent upon the landlord who received the profits of the wardship. However poorly these personal duties were carried out, each tenant of land was bound by them to his lord, and his lord was similarly bound to him. All men were held together, in ideal at least, by the double bonds of land tenure and personal union. Moreover, every man above the peasant was lord of some subtenant who held from him, as well as vassal of some lord from whom he held. Homage and fealty, military service, the payment of relief and aids, wardship and marriage, forfeiture and escheat, all alike existed between each lord and his tenant in the same way that they existed between the king and his tenants in chief. Feudal tenure and feudal services, therefore, held together all classes of society, not the highest only.

111. Feudal Powers of Government. — Landholding during the middle ages not only brought with it these personal bonds between lord and tenant, but gave to the lord many powers of government over his tenants. The right to have soldiers under one is a governmental power. Yet every feudal lord could claim the military services of his tenants. Likewise authority to give decisions in legal cases and to punish offenses is a governmental power. Yet every lord could and did require his tenants to bring their disputes about land to him for settlement, and thus became their judge in civil cases. A large number of the tenants in chief of the king had also been given an hereditary right to hold courts over their tenants for criminal offenses. They were thus in possession of courts of justice to which all their tenants must appeal and submit. In times of confusion many lords coined money of their own standard which they required their tenants to accept. The right of lords to collect aids and other money dues amounted almost to a right of taxation. These powers of

military levy, courts of justice, coinage and taxation, are powers that in modern times belong only to the government. Under mediæval conditions they were not possessed by the government alone, but were exercised by all feudal lords over their own tenants.

The expressions "feudal," "feudalism," the "feudal system," are applied to the customs which have just been described. Feudalism was primarily one particular form of possession of land. But the possession of land was such an important matter in the middle ages that many other customs depended on and took their character from it. So we have seen that many of the personal interests of men and even the powers of government were included in feudalism. Long before the middle of the twelfth century it had placed its impress upon all the conditions of life.

112. Feudalism in the Saxon Period.—These feudal conditions came into existence only gradually, and to trace their growth in England it is necessary to go back over two centuries of history. There were few traces of feudalism in the middle of the tenth century, as will be gathered from the description of Anglo-Saxon society as it was at that time.¹ In the later Anglo-Saxon period, however, it became customary for the king to give a right to hold courts to the earls, thegns, or church bodies to whom he gave lands. This was the germ of the feudal power of jurisdiction over tenants. Large landowners also at about the same time began the custom of granting out lands to tenants not for a mere money rent but on more varied and personal conditions. This was the beginning of feudal land tenure. During the century before the Norman Conquest it became customary for men to *commend* themselves, as it was called, to more powerful men; that is, to take an oath of faithfulness and service in return for protection and patronage. Commendation was the origin of feudal homage and fealty. Men no doubt often received grants of land on commending themselves, or agreed to hold the land which they already possessed in dependence on the lord to whom they

¹ See chap. v.

had commended themselves. Thus the most characteristic feudal customs were evidently already coming into existence among the native English before the Normans came among them. Nevertheless these changes were slow and partial during the Saxon period. Fiefs doubtless existed, much like those of later times, but they were not universal and the conditions on which they were held were not yet settled.

113. Effect of the Conquest on English Feudalism. — When the Norman Conquest occurred, however, feudalism rapidly became more general. It was already the only familiar way of holding land in Normandy, and William's confiscations in England gave him an opportunity to require feudal service from all the forfeited land when he granted it out again to his Norman followers. All the feudal payments and services were not, of course, immediately established. These were settled gradually, no doubt largely by the influence of the regular meetings and policy of the Exchequer, during the reign of the later kings of the Norman line. But military service in proportion to the number of knights' fees held, which was the most fundamental feudal requirement, seems to have been universally required by William himself.

114. Peculiarities of Feudalism in England. — The Conqueror introduced one great principle which made feudalism in England very different from what it was in other European countries. In other countries a man's allegiance was satisfactorily fulfilled by giving it under all circumstances to his immediate lord. In England William's law required that loyalty to the king should take precedence of all other allegiance, even of a man's fealty to his feudal lord. At the ceremony of the Salisbury oath, imposed by William in the last year of his reign, in the words of the old chronicle, "All the land-holding men of all England, whosoever men they were, knelt to him and became his men, and swore solemn oaths to him that they would be faithful to him before all other men." Nevertheless this ideal was but poorly carried out. When the great barons rose in rebellion their tenants marched

with them against the king ; and more than once subtenants were excused for rebellion because they had risen in obedience to the command of the lord to whom they owed direct allegiance.

A second characteristic of English feudalism was its comparative orderliness. There was much in the feudal system which tended to cause disorder. The right to the military services of his vassals was a constant temptation to the baron to make use of these services. But the English kings were generally much stronger than their barons. The Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I were strong enough to keep feudal conditions tolerably orderly. No private warfare among the barons was allowed, rebellions were put down, the fulfillment of feudal requirements insisted on, and there was little systematic or long-continued oppression of the subtenants or of the masses of the people by their higher feudal lords. Of course this result was accomplished only by frequent campaigns, much ravaging of the country, and heavy taxation ; but it was accomplished. Nevertheless this good order depended entirely on the king. As feudal customs put great power into the hands of the barons, who dwelt in their fortified castles and possessed judicial and pecuniary rights over their tenants, feudal society at its best was not favorable to justice and good order. At its worst it was little better than anarchy. The weak hand of Stephen and the paralysis of the government during Matilda's contest for the throne let loose all the power for evil of the higher feudal nobles, and the terrible disorders already described ensued.

Feudalism was of such vast importance during this period that it has seemed best to give a systematic description of its main characteristics in this place. We must now return to the narrative of events.

115. Succession of Henry of Anjou.—The civil war dragged on for fifteen years, going sometimes in favor of Stephen, sometimes in favor of Matilda. After 1152 the interests of Matilda were represented by her son, Henry of Anjou, who had succeeded

his father as count of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. Matilda then retired from the contest, but Henry continued to win some successes for her side. Finally the death of Stephen's eldest son offered an opportunity for a compromise. This was arranged at Wallingford in 1153 by some of the most influential bishops, and consisted of an agreement that Stephen should be acknowledged by all as king during the remainder of his life, but should accept Henry as his heir. On these terms a general peace was made, known as the "Treaty of Wallingford." The partisans of Matilda and Henry took oaths of allegiance to Stephen as their lawful ruler, and Stephen's men did homage to Henry as their future king. A great council was held, where the late rivals met in amicable discussion and made certain regulations for the kingdom. Peace was at last attained. Stephen lived only one more year, dying in the fall of 1154 while Henry was absent in Normandy.

116. Literature of the Norman Period. — This period had seen more writing than might have been expected. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which had been continued in several forms from the time of Alfred, was kept up for a short time after the Conquest in two or three monasteries, but came to an end with 1154. In the later entries the language is incorrect and artificial. Anglo-Saxon was evidently unfamiliar to the writer. As a matter of fact, it had gone out of existence as a written language, though it was still spoken by the great mass of the people and was soon to come again into written usage in a somewhat changed form.

In Latin there was a great deal of writing during the century that followed the Norman Conquest. The philosophical and theological writings of such men as the two great archbishops Lanfranc and Anselm have already been mentioned. Scholars who had come from Normandy, and some who were of English birth, recorded the history of their own time from personal observation and inquiry, and that of earlier periods from the Anglo-Saxon chronicles. Notwithstanding their indebtedness to the latter, they considered the language in which they were written

barbarous, and held them in but small respect. William of Malmesbury, a Norman chronicler who lived in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, says patronizingly, "There are indeed some notices of antiquity written in the vernacular tongue, after the manner of a chronicle, and arranged according to the years of our Lord."

All the writers of this period were churchmen, mostly monks, who in the quiet of their monasteries found leisure and opportunity to write, notwithstanding the confusion and trouble of the outer world. Florence,

a monk of Worcester, Henry, an archdeacon of Huntingdon, and several others made up a group of writers who shared in the European interest in literature of that period and wrote quite voluminously. They chose, for the most part, history and biography as their subjects. Geoffrey of

Monmouth, who died in the same year as Stephen, wrote a fabu-

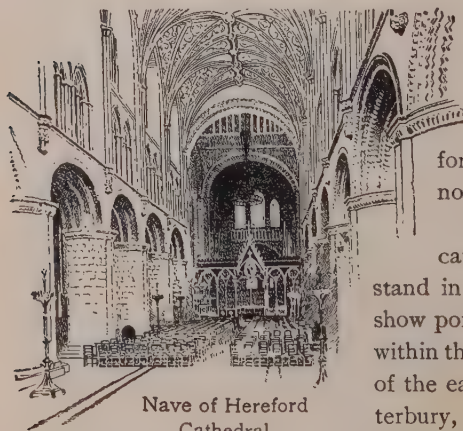
lous *History of the Britons*, which became the fountain head of the legends of Arthur and Merlin and many other stories of mediæval romance.



The "White Tower" of the Tower of London,
built by William the Conqueror

117. Architecture and Building.—The Normans were great builders. A contemporary writer says, "You might see churches rise in every village and monasteries in the towns and cities, built after a style unknown before." Castles and churches were almost the only buildings of importance in existence at this period. Baronial and royal fortresses were erected and enlarged from

time to time. The "White Tower," the oldest and most conspicuous of the group of buildings which now make up the Tower of London, is perhaps the most famous of William's castles. It was built in the early years of the Conquest, under the direction of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, a famous architect, who had already built a castle of the same general appearance in Normandy, and who began the building both of the castle and the cathedral of Rochester. Westminster Hall was built by the orders of William Rufus, and though since remodeled and frequently

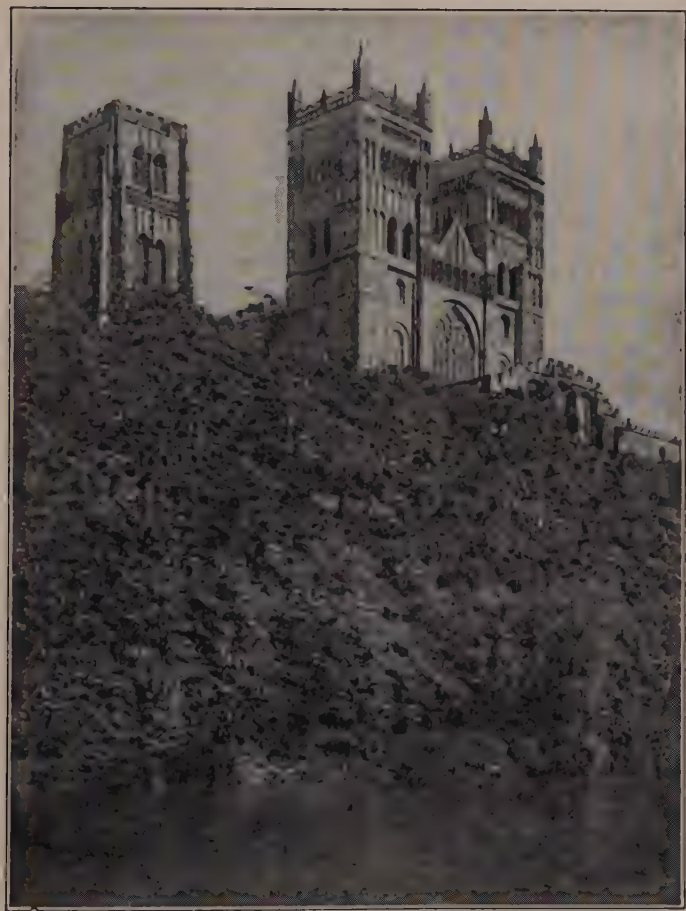


Nave of Hereford
Cathedral

repaired it still retains much of its original character. It was one of the first large buildings erected for uses neither military nor religious.

Of the twenty early cathedrals as they now stand in England, thirteen still show portions which were built within the Norman period. One of the earliest was that of Canterbury, which was begun by Lanfranc, but was destroyed by

fire and then rebuilt in the reign of Henry I. The architecture of the large and beautiful churches which the Norman bishops and many of the abbots began to build was of the style which is called "Norman," marked by round ornamented arches and heavy pillars. The work of building a great church took a long time and frequently required the efforts of several generations. Nevertheless many of the cathedrals, such as Durham, Hereford, Ely, Winchester, Exeter, and Norwich, were completed, at least in many of their parts, as we still see them, by the bishops who took part in the councils, and sometimes in the wars, of the Norman kings.



Durham Cathedral

118. Summary of the Norman Period. — The century that lay between the battle of Hastings in 1066 and the accession of Henry II in 1154 was for England in a certain sense a period of beginnings, or at least of such a transformation of old customs as to make them practically new. It was the beginning of a new line of kings and of a much more highly organized government. It was the beginning of a more universal and well-defined feudalism. It was the beginning of a much closer connection of the English church with the center of the church at Rome. It was the beginning of better architecture, better writing, better trade. The old Anglo-Saxon race, which was somewhat sluggish in its nature and backward in its civilization, was quickened and stirred and elevated by its conquerors. This was a partial compensation for the loss of their national independence and for the oppressive rule of a powerful government and aristocracy, all the more hateful because it was even yet to the great mass of the people a rule by foreigners.

General Reading. — FREEMAN, *William the Conqueror* (Twelve English Statesmen). JOHNSTON, *Normans in Europe*. HUNT, *Norman Britain*, is a good small book on this whole period. STUBBS, *Early Plantagenets*, chaps. i and ii, gives a short survey of this period preliminary to its special subject. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ii, sects. 5-6. RAMSAY, *Foundations of English History*, Vol. II, chaps. i-xxviii, is very full on this period. Still fuller works on special sides of the period are POLLOCK and MAITLAND, *History of English Law*, chaps. i-iv; and STEPHENS, *History of the English Church, 1066-1272*, chaps. i-viii. For feudalism on the continent, see ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chaps. viii and ix.

Contemporary Sources. — WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Chronicle*. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in one of its forms continues to 1154. Interesting extracts from this and other sources are given in LEE, Nos. 45-57; COLBY, Nos. 13-21; and KENDALL, Nos. 14-18. No. 47 in the first of these, No. 16 in the second, and the same number in the third is the striking description of William's character from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, year 1087. The charter of Henry I is printed in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6, and in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History*. For feudalism see documents in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3. Extracts from letters etc. in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 54-87.

Poetry and Romance.—The *Red King*, by Kingsley, and the *White Ship*, by Rossetti, are two ballads found in Miss BATES and Miss COMAN, *English History told by English Poets*, an interesting collection of historical poetry intended as a reading book for schools. KIPLING, *Puck of Pook's Hill*, contains several spirited stories of this period.

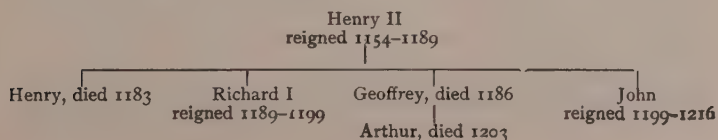
Special Topics. — (1) Effect of the Conquest on the English Language, LOUNSBURY, *English Language*, chaps. iv and v; (2) the Oath of Salisbury, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, year 1086; (3) Anarchy under Stephen, *ibid.*, year 1137; (4) the New Forest, BARING, article in *English Historical Review*, July, 1901, pp. 427-438; (5) the Cistercian Monasteries, Miss COOKE, *ibid.*, October, 1893, pp. 625-676; (6) Contest about Investitures in Germany, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 154-172; (7) Feudalism on the Continent, SEIGNOBOS, *The Feudal Régime*, translated by Dow; (8) the Exchequer, HALL, *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, chaps. iii and iv; (9) Norman Architecture, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 319-325.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL UNITY. 1154-1216

119. Accession and Character of Henry II. — When Henry of Anjou¹ became king in 1154 he was in a more independent position than any king had been since William the Conqueror. There was no other claimant for the crown ; he had already been acknowledged by both parties in the late civil wars ; and weary of the anarchy under Stephen all classes were ready to accept a strong ruler. Henry was, besides, one of the most energetic men that ever sat upon a throne. He was in constant restless activity, — traveling, fighting, listening to law cases, drawing up new enactments, conferring with his ministers, disputing with his opponents ; and taking his recreation only in the equally active form of hunting. His form corresponded to these traits of character. He

¹ Henry and the seven rulers who followed and were descended from him, reigning in all for nearly two hundred and fifty years, are known as the Angevin line of kings, the word Angevin being taken from Anjou in France, Henry's birthplace and paternal inheritance. They are also spoken of as the Plantagenet family ; Henry's father, Geoffrey of Anjou, having been given the nickname Geoffrey *plante de genêt*, from the broom flower (*planta genista*), either because he wore a sprig of that plant for a badge or because he was so fond of hunting and riding over the broom-covered heaths. The dates of the reigns of Henry II and his sons which are covered by this chapter were as follows :



was heavily built, with broad shoulders, thick neck, powerful arms and long bony hands, red hair, which he kept cut short, and a florid face. His voice was harsh, but his eyes were soft till he grew angry, when they blazed out, and his passion was terrible enough to frighten the boldest of his barons. He was frugal in his eating and drinking, an early riser, careless in his dress, devoted to business, and easily accessible to all who wished to speak to him. He was only twenty-one years of age when he came to the throne, but had already been engaged in the work of war and government in Anjou for six years. It is no wonder that a man of this nature, training, and position should leave a deep personal impression upon his own and later times.

120. Henry's Dominions. — England was only one of the lands over which Henry ruled. From his mother he inherited Normandy and Maine as well as England ; from his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine, and later obtained the overlordship of Brittany. He married Eleanor of Aquitaine and obtained thereby her magnificent paternal heritage of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony. He claimed also the overlordship of Scotland and Wales, and before his death became lord of Ireland. The dominions of which Henry was lord, directly and indirectly, extended from the Pyrenees to the Orkney Islands. He was sometimes in one part, sometimes in another, of this territory. Of the thirty-five years of his reign more than twenty-one were spent in France, and only thirteen in England. His trips to England were usually only a few months or at most a year or two in length, but each one of them was filled with an activity that accomplished what seemed the work of many times such a period.

121. Lack of Unity in England. — Even in England it was no united nation over which Henry ruled, the people being partly English and partly Norman. Some of the laws and customs of this twofold race were of Anglo-Saxon origin, some had been brought from Normandy, while still others had been adopted since the Conquest. The courts that carried out the laws and

enforced established custom drew their authority in some cases from the king, in some from the barons, in some from the church. Many cases were brought before the old local courts of hundreds and shires. Three languages were habitually used: the Latin of the churchman, the chronicler, and the keeper of records; the French of the noble, the merchant, and the lawyer; the English of the peasantry. These languages reflected the division of the nation into classes. There were two contending principles of government: that which would make the king and his council supreme over all, and that which would leave much of the power of government to the feudal barons; besides which must be taken into account the claim of churchmen to be practically independent of all government except that of the church. Thus England was far from being a single well-organized nation, with one law, one government, and a united national feeling. These things were only attained in their fullness after the passage of several centuries. Nevertheless the foundations at least of national unity were laid within Henry's long reign of thirty-five years; and the reigns of his two sons saw the conclusion of the process of national consolidation.

122. Restoration of Order. — The first step in the process was the restoration of order. As a result of the anarchy and the long-continued civil war of Stephen's reign, England was in a condition of indescribable confusion. The government, as it had been organized in the time of Henry I, had fallen greatly into decay. Taxation, justice, military service, and respect for royal powers and privileges had all been largely disregarded during the reign of Stephen. Hence the new king's first efforts were naturally given to the establishment of the authority of government.

Immediately on Stephen's death Henry came to England and remained there for more than a year. Within this year the old fabric of government was gradually built up again. Great councils were held, the *curia regis* was reconstituted, the Exchequer began to meet again with great regularity. An able justiciar,

Richard de Lucy, was appointed ; the old treasurer, the nephew of Roger of Salisbury, whom Stephen had imprisoned, was released and reappointed to office ; and Thomas of London, otherwise known as Thomas Becket, or Thomas à Becket, a brilliant young churchman, ~~was made chancellor.~~ Sheriffs were appointed, and the armed bands of foreigners who had served in the civil war were dismissed. The barons who had erected castles in Stephen's time were ordered to dismantle them or hand them over to the king. Powerful men who had seized lands unjustly from those who were weaker were ordered to restore them.

There was naturally some resistance to these reforms, but the disorders had been so great that almost everybody recognized the need for an assertion of authority. Those of the great nobles who resisted by force of arms, Henry defeated in 1155 and deprived of their castles. But, as in the time of Henry I, the greatest control was exercised over the nobles by subjecting them, like every one else, to the authority of the royal courts, requiring them to settle their disputes in the *curia regis* or before the judges on their circuits, and compelling them to pay the dues which they owed the king into the Exchequer and according to its rules.

123. The Judicial Assizes. — The courts, the jury system, and the common law, with the equal protection against injustice which they give to all, have been special objects of pride to the English race. It was at this time and by Henry II and his ministers that their bases were laid. The subject is a somewhat difficult one, but it is well worth trying to understand, as all the later history of England depends to a considerable extent upon it. In the following paragraphs, therefore, an effort will be made to explain as clearly as possible the main foundations of the legal system under Henry II.

Henry's reorganization of the government was not merely a restoration of the old system. Much that was new was introduced. The work of the *curia regis* and of its justices¹ as

¹ In England the word *justice* is used in cases where in America the word *judge* is more usual.



they went on circuit was not only regulated but improved and extended. The king's ministers had always exercised the right of deciding cases immediately interesting the king, such as disputes between tenants in chief and matters in which the king's rights were questioned. They had also inflicted punishment for murder, burglary, and other great crimes, where these had not been committed within the jurisdiction of some feudal lord with high judicial powers of his own. Now the king gave the justices instructions to carry their duties and powers still further. He laid down the fundamental principle that no free landholder could be sued concerning his land except in the king's courts. An edict called the *Great Assize*,¹ issued early in his reign, provided the means by which any freeman whose title to land was disputed might resort to the king's justices to have the question of the validity of his title decided. Even if the case was under trial in a baron's court or in a shire court, the king's judges might order proceedings stopped until they had time to take it up. Other assizes of a similar kind were issued to meet various needs until any case involving the possession of land, and many other cases, could be brought into the king's court. There were, however, many burdens and difficulties connected with the procedure. The fees demanded by the *curia* were very high. In fact the principal motive of the king in the extension of the system of royal courts was the increase of income it brought him. As the justices had to be with the king wherever he might be when he was in England, and even sometimes abroad, those who had suits before them were required to follow them up from place

¹ The word *assize* was used at this period to mean an edict or law issued by the king, usually with the assent of the great council. Some of the assizes were intended to be publicly proclaimed, but most of them were in the form of instructions or rules of action given to the king's justices. The word *assize* was also applied to the procedure under such rules. It is to be noticed that until this time most of the bodies of law issued by the kings professed to be merely a restatement of the old customs of the people. The assizes of Henry II deliberately introduced new laws.

to place, often from one end of England to another, with their witnesses, until a trial could be obtained, unless a justice of the king should come on a circuit in their part of the country and they could get the case before him while there.

124. **Origin of Trial by Jury.** — The decisions given by the king's justices were more valued than those given in a baron's court or in a shire or hundred court. The principal reason for this was that the king's justices, in cases under the assizes, used a new and better form of trial than ordeal, compurgation, or wager of battle. This was what was then called an "inquisition," or "recognition," but afterwards grew into the trial by jury now used in all English-speaking countries. As the justices of the *curia regis* wielded all the authority of the king, they had powers which were not possessed by other courts. One of these powers of which they made constant use was to require persons to attend the court and to give information upon oath upon any matter submitted to them by the justices. A "recognition" was a procedure under which the judges, when asked, issued an order for a number of men, usually twelve and usually neighbors of the parties engaged in the dispute, to investigate the case and give a sworn "verdict" ¹ as to which of the claimants had the better right to the land about which they were disputing. These selected men, called jurors ² because they had to swear to tell the truth, were generally required to be knights or men of equally high position in the community, and they were bound to decide in favor of one or the other of the litigants and to report to the judges at an appointed time and place. If they neglected to give the decision or could be proved to have given an unjust decision, they were heavily fined.

Disputants in land cases were thus given a decision based not on the barbarous method of ordeal or of wager of battle, but on the

¹ From *verum dictum*, a true statement.

² From *juro*, I swear. Any one who gives a decision on oath is a juror, such as a road-juror or a juror of awards.

sworn opinions of their own neighbors, who must generally have been familiar with the facts of the case. The men who gave a verdict were witnesses and jurymen combined. They discussed the matter among themselves and only reported to the judge the results they reached. In later times the system was gradually changed so that the whole proceeding had to be carried out in the presence of the judge, who decided all points of law. The jury also came, in the course of time, to be divided into two bodies. Those who possessed information on the matter were required to give their testimony under oath. Those who knew nothing beforehand about the facts were required to listen and give a sworn judgment based on what they had heard. The former were of course the witnesses, as they are called in a modern court; the latter alone are the jury. It is known as the "petty jury" or "trial jury." Thus the modern jury system was applied to the settlement of land disputes, and after a while of other civil suits. It was extended in time to a decision as to the guilt or innocence of a person charged with a criminal offense. Ordeals were forbidden by the Lateran Council of 1215, while compurgation and wager of battle were gradually superseded by this better system and in time became entirely obsolete. But the change only came gradually and was not completed until the fifteenth century. What was done in Henry's time was simply the substitution in certain kinds of cases of a sworn decision by neighbors for the earlier and cruder forms of trial.

125. Origin of Indictment by Jury. — In 1166 Henry issued a new assize, known as the *Assize of Clarendon*,¹ the object of which was to introduce a reform in the punishment of crimes, much as the *Great Assize* had been intended to introduce reforms in the settlement of land disputes. There had been in recent times an unusually large amount of crime. Murders, assaults, and thefts were of constant occurrence, and the criminals often

¹ This assize can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6; and its most important clauses, in *Readings in English History*, pp. 141-142.

remained undiscovered or unpunished. One cause of this was that there was nobody whose regular duty it was to accuse or prosecute offenders. Unless the person injured or his relatives or friends brought the criminal to justice, no one was especially interested in doing so, and the offender was never charged with the crime. Another cause of immunity was the inefficiency of the courts held by feudal lords who possessed the right to punish criminals under their jurisdiction. Long after this time there were still thirty-five private gallows in Berkshire alone, but the men who suffered on them were few compared with the number who had committed capital offenses.

Both of these difficulties were met by the Assize of Clarendon. It provided that when the king's justices came to the county court ~~twelve men from each hundred and four men from each manor in the hundred~~ should be put upon their oath and required to give the names of any men they knew in their hundred or manor who had been accused or suspected of having committed any of the greater crimes. In this way a jury had the public duty of making accusations, whether they had any personal interest in the matter or not. Such an accusation made by the neighbors of any man was considered to indicate the probability of his guilt. Therefore such a person was to be arrested and sent to the ordeal of water. If he failed in the ordeal he was to be punished. Even if he succeeded he might still be banished. As the law says, "If they are of very bad reputation and publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and lawful men, they shall abjure the lands of the king so that within eight days they shall go over the sea, unless the wind shall have detained them." The assize gave the sheriffs the right to go on the lands of any feudal lord to make arrests on this kind of accusation and to keep an oversight of the good order of the vassals even when they were not accused by a jury. Jails were to be built, fugitive criminals were to be sought for from county to county, and other provisions for efficiency were made. But the two points of special

originality and importance in the Assize of Clarendon were the jury of indictment, or grand jury of modern times, and the taking away of the independence of the feudal courts in criminal matters. Within the next century the custom arose of giving a "recognition" to accused criminals instead of sending them to the ordeal, and thus trial by jury as well as accusation by jury was introduced into the criminal procedure of the courts as it had already been in the decision of civil cases. These two processes of accusation and of trial by a jury make up what is known as the "jury system."

126. The Common Law and the Common Law Courts.—The *curia regis*, acting as a combined body, and its members when they went on circuit through the country, kept a record of the cases settled and the decisions given. The justices were highly trained, learned men, and their decisions were given on principles which were logical, consistent, and conformable to custom. This body of principles as understood by the king's justices and as shown in the decisions given by them came to be known as the "common law." The judges usually insisted upon these general principles even where they came into conflict with the special local customs or privileges of particular persons or communities, and enforced the decisions based upon them. This enforcement of the enlightened and universal common law by the justices who passed from time to time over all England, or decided questions brought before the *curia regis* from all parts of the country did much to bring about uniformity in both national law and custom.

The system of recognitions, the common law, the freedom from partisanship, and the powers of enforcement possessed by the king's courts gradually drew all cases into them that could readily be brought there, and made these courts busy, powerful, and, through their fees and fines, profitable to the king. Besides this activity of the great courts it became usual to think of all lesser courts as being dependent on the king. The county and hundred courts were brought more directly under the control of the king's officials. Twice a year the sheriff of each county went

from hundred to hundred through his county, holding a court in each hundred to inquire into certain matters of smaller moment. This circuit was called the sheriff's *tourn and leet*. The county courts continued to be held monthly as of old, also under the presidency of the sheriff. But from time to time one or two of the king's justices would come into the county on their circuit and hold a county court of especial dignity. Even those who were exempted from attendance at other times were bound to come on such occasions. The manor courts held by the feudal barons became gradually of less importance, with fewer cases and those of a more petty description.

127. The Assize of Arms.—Much of Henry's time and interest was necessarily given to fighting in one part or another of his scattered dominions. For war purposes, in his longer campaigns, he relied for the most part on mercenaries, soldiers by trade, whom he hired in Gascony, Flanders, or in fact where he could find them. For home use in England, however, and for wars on the unsettled borders of Scotland and Wales, the king seems to have thought that the body of the people might be effectually armed and organized into a sort of militia. The old idea of the Anglo-Saxon *fyrð* had never been entirely lost, and the common people had been summoned out occasionally by the Norman kings, and more than once by Henry himself or his justiciars. In 1181 the king made this more regular by issuing the "Assize of Arms."¹ This made it compulsory for every freeman in England to be provided with arms according to his means and station in society. Every man of the rank of knight was to provide himself with a horse and full armor; those of rank somewhat lower, with full armor without the horse, and so on down to the simple freeman or burgess, who must have a coat of mail, a steel cap, and a spear. These arms were not to be sold or put in pawn, and were to

¹ This assize can be found in Adams and Stephens's *Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History*. Its most important clauses are 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8, which are given in *Readings in English History*, p. 143.

be used only when their owner was called out for national service by the king's command. Thus in addition to the king's mercenary forces and the feudal lords and their subtenants, the freemen of the country were provided with appropriate arms and bound to hold themselves ready for military service if called upon.

128. Feudal Taxation. — The value of the military service owed to the king by the tenants in chief had never been very great. Probably the whole number of knights or fully armed horse-soldiers whom the king could summon was never greater than five thousand, and their service was often ineffective because of the short period for which it was owed. On the other hand, the money payment due from the tenants in chief as part of their feudal service was profitable to the king and could be made more so. The enforcement of these financial claims was the constant policy of Henry II and his ministers. Reliefs were rigorously collected; the guardianship of minor heirs and the marriage of heiresses and widows of tenants in chief were sold to those who would pay into the Exchequer the highest sums for them.¹ Infractions of feudal rules were punished by the imposition of money fines. An aid collected on the marriage of the king's eldest daughter was levied with new and strict completeness. Above all, Henry repeatedly made demands of a kind almost unknown before, under the name of *scutage*. This was a payment of so much on each knight's fee, demanded by the king from his tenants in chief when he was in special need of money for the purposes of a war. It is true that the king summoned the barons much less frequently to fulfill their direct military service to him than had been done before. Instead of this he used the money obtained by collection of the scutages to hire mercenary soldiers. Scutages thus came to be looked upon as payments made instead of military service. They were a natural result of the increasing amount of money in existence and the extended military needs of the king.

¹ Instances of such payments will be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 25-28.

In these various ways, by bringing suits into the king's courts, by transforming all feudal relations into the shape of money payments, by organizing armies without calling upon the barons, the king and his ministers were reducing feudalism in England to less and less importance. It remained scarcely more than a form of taxation and of landholding. The royal government was fast becoming absolute, and the king getting into his own hands all political power.

129. **The Church.** — There was one other organization in England, however, whose powers were on the increase, even while feudalism was becoming less important. This was the church. The division of England into two provinces, of these into bishoprics, of which there had come to be nineteen, and of the whole country into parishes, of which there were some eight or ten thousand, has already been described.¹ Since the Norman Conquest the organization of the church had become more complex. Churchmen were more separated from laymen and more closely united with one another. The expression "the church" had come to be understood not as the whole body of Christians of whom the clergy were merely the religious leaders, but the clergy alone, separated by powers and privileges, laws, and an organization of their own, from those who did not belong to their order.

The bishoprics were endowed with extensive lands and received rents and income from many sources. The center of each bishopric was its cathedral. Some of these cathedral establishments were monasteries, with bodies of monks; others were not so organized. Connected with each cathedral of the latter class was a group of *canons* or cathedral clergy. At some cathedrals there were as few as four or five canons, at others as many as forty or fifty. These canons fulfilled various duties connected with the religious work of the cathedral church, and when the bishop died it was they who elected his successor, though the man they elected was usually nominated by the king. As an organized body the

¹ See pp. 49-50.

canons were spoken of as the *chapter* of the cathedral. The head of a chapter was the *dean*. The bishop's position with its powers and duties, partly spiritual as a great officer of the church, partly temporal as a feudal landholder and baron of the kingdom, has already been explained. Some of his older functions had now come to be performed by the *archdeacons*, of whom there were usually several in each diocese.

130. The Church Courts.—The principal duty of the archdeacon was to take charge in the bishop's name of much of the judicial work of the church. The church courts had become of importance only since the Norman Conquest. It was one of the laws of William I that church matters should not be decided in hundred and shire courts as before, but by the bishops in courts of their own, as on the continent. Since that time church suits had become vastly more numerous. All courts at this time tried to get as many cases before them as possible. This was principally for financial reasons. The fees that were paid for the privilege of having suits heard and the money penalties that were inflicted went of course to the court before which the case came. Therefore, just as the king's court and the barons' courts were trying to get or keep control of as much jurisdiction as possible, the church courts, held by bishops and archdeacons, tried to extend the variety and number of cases that should come regularly before them. An additional motive was the desire to preserve the independence of the church from all control by lay powers.

During the century since the Conquest they had been very successful in extending the judicial powers of the church. Generally speaking, churchmen contended that all cases of the following classes had to be tried in the church courts: those in which clergymen were concerned; those in which church property was concerned; those which had to do with marriages, with wills, and with inheritance; and those which involved any question of a breach of an oath. The church courts had charge also of all matters of religious belief, and of punishment for many forms

of moral ill-doing which were not crimes in the eyes of the common law. This judicial power of the church was not an unnatural growth. The more confusion there was in the other branches of government the more were the services of the church courts needed. The inefficiency of secular government during Stephen's time was largely made up for by the growing activity of the ecclesiastical courts. Civilized life could hardly have gone on in early times if much of the work which in modern times is done by government had not then been done by the church.

131. The Canon Law. — The decisions in these church courts were based to a certain extent on English church customs. But gradually in Europe at large a great body of precedents and decisions of church councils, of popes, and of bishops grew up that belonged to all parts of the Christian world. This was known as the "canon law." About 1140 a collection of decisions and principles of the canon law, the "Decretum," was made by a monk of Bologna, named Gratian, and obtained a sort of official acceptance as having authority on the questions discussed in it. Afterwards from time to time new collections of decisions were made, and the canon law came to be a system and a study in itself. It had the same authority in the church courts in England that the common law had in the king's courts. Young clergymen went abroad to make a special study of the canon law, or spent years in the households of bishops, where it was studied and taught. Lawyers familiar with the canon law and pleading in the church courts often found that they had more business and better fees than those practicing before the common-law judges.

132. The Clergy. — The duties connected with the cathedrals, the church courts, and the parish churches required a large number of men. Not only bishops, canons, archdeacons, and parish priests, but many officials, clerks, advocates, messengers, servants, teachers, stewards of church lands, and others were needed to fulfill the varied duties and administer the large property and income of the church. All these were churchmen, admitted to at least

the lower degrees of the ecclesiastical order. Even boys who were studying at cathedral schools or at the universities were held to enjoy some of the privileges of the clergy.

Besides the secular clergy there was a great body of monks and nuns. There had been a revival of monasticism soon after the time of the Norman Conquest of England. The old Benedictine order was considered by many not to be strict enough in its rules. Several reformed orders arose, most of them starting from monasteries in France. The Cistercians, the Cluniacs, the Augustinian canons, and others were formed with more rigid rules of life and more complete separation from the world. Kings, nobles, and lesser men gave lands, and monastery after monastery was founded, often in remote districts, and filled with monks or nuns of one or other of the new orders. One hundred and fifteen monasteries were founded in England in Stephen's reign, and one hundred and thirteen in the reign of Henry II. Although this rapidity of foundation did not keep up, yet there were soon added to the two hundred or so early Benedictine houses a vast number of others large and small.¹ Each one of these had its group of buildings, its body of members, officials, and servants, and its landed property; some perhaps having only half a dozen brethren, but others with as many as a hundred monks, as many more other inmates, and a vast extent of chapels, cloisters, dormitories, hospital, schoolrooms, barns, and other buildings.

133. Appeals to Rome. — All these churchmen were organized under their proper authorities and according to established rules, but there was one ecclesiastical power above them all. This was the pope. Persons dissatisfied with decisions given by the church courts appealed to the court of the pope at Rome to have the decision reversed or reheard. Churchmen high in position frequently applied directly to the pope to have their suits settled. Such appeals and applications were increasing in number during

¹ See map of early Benedictine abbeys, p. 77.

the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. This was due partly to the higher claims of power and influence constantly being made by the central authority of the church at Rome at that period, and partly to the greater number and complexity of the cases coming up in the church courts in England.

Thus the clergy were coming to be a class of persons separate from the rest of the nation, closely bound together, governed by their own rules, tried by their own courts, subject to their own laws, supported by their own property, and, above all, apt to feel that their first allegiance was due not to the king but to the pope. The bonds of connection with the pope were not very many, but they were quite sufficient to make the clergy less submissive to the king than the laity were. The archbishops were required to wait till they received the *pallium*¹ from the pope before they exercised the duties of their office; abbots of the larger abbeys went to Rome to be confirmed in their offices after their election; certain regular and many occasional payments were made from England to the pope; special representatives of the pope came to England from time to time; and, above all, appeals were constantly being made from church courts in England to the court of the pope.

This organization and strength of the clergy as a class, and their connection with a power outside of the country, were certain to lead to conflicts with the government of the country; that is to say, with the king and his ministers and officials. Many cases of appeal had nothing to do with general questions of faith or of morals, the fundamental matters of church authority, but with matters of property or office; and it seemed therefore improper for such questions to go out of England for decision. Conflicts between king and clergy have been noticed already; but the most bitter dispute as to the respective powers of the church authorities and those which were exercised by the king

¹ This was a collar or cape of emblematic material and shape, conferred by the pope upon every archbishop at the time of his consecration.

or his ministers was in the time of Henry II. It was partly a personal quarrel between King Henry and Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, partly an unavoidable conflict as to the limits of power of the church and the state.

134. Thomas Becket. — Thomas, sometimes called Thomas of London, from his birthplace, sometimes Thomas Becket or à Becket, — his father's personal name being Becket, — and in later times known as St. Thomas of Canterbury, was the most famous churchman of his day. He had been educated first in a monastery school and then at Oxford. He was afterwards a member of the household of the archbishop of Canterbury. He studied canon law in France and Italy, had visited the papal court at Rome, but had returned and was acting as archdeacon of Canterbury when Henry became king. He was learned, brilliant, handsome, and full of life. Henry appointed him to the high office of chancellor, became closely attached to him, intrusted him with many important duties and enriched him with the gift of valuable estates. Many of the reforms of the early part of Henry's reign were due to the ability and energy of the chancellor. He had a nature that threw itself with entire devotion into whatever interest he was occupied with at the time. Fifty-two clerks were employed under him when he occupied the office of chancellor. He was at this time only nominally a churchman, as he had not advanced beyond the order of deacon, and had little personal piety or religious interest. His manner of life was gorgeous and worldly, even beyond that of wealthy noblemen or other great ministers of the king.

After Thomas had been chancellor for eight years, the archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant and Henry declared his intention of making him archbishop as well as chancellor. Thomas, who understood better than Henry the rising conflict between the church and the government, tried his best to induce the king not to place him in such a position of divided allegiance. Henry, however, insisted on the appointment, and Thomas was

ordained priest, and elected and consecrated archbishop. He now changed his course of life to that of a devout churchman, and threw himself as heartily into the work of his archbishopric as he had formerly thrown himself into that of student, judge, or minister. Much to the king's surprise and vexation, he soon resigned his chancellorship. The double position of chancellor and archbishop and the conflicting claims of king and church had proved to be unendurable to a man of Thomas's strenuous nature.

When the king in 1163 returned from five years' absence in France he found his former friend and minister in opposition to him. Discord gradually rose higher between the king and the archbishop. Henry's ambition to make his government supreme in England, introducing good order, royal control, and royal taxation everywhere, met an obstacle in the new archbishop as soon as any question of the position of the clergy arose. Thomas represented all the high ideas of the time concerning the independence of the church, just as Henry represented the power of the civil government. Both men were passionate and determined, and as one question after another arose in which they were opposed, the conflict between them and between the principles they represented grew constantly more bitter.

135. The Constitutions of Clarendon. — The points of dispute that came up most frequently were those connected with the church courts. The king claimed that they were doing many things that they had no right to do; that they were deciding questions of property which ought to be left to the king's courts, giving more lenient punishments to clergymen than they ought to suffer, and sending appeals to the pope on questions that belonged to English common law. After many disputes, a great council was called to meet at Clarendon in 1164 for the discussion and settlement of these matters. At this council, conferences were held between the king's ministers and the bishops, and between Thomas and Henry. Finally the king forced the archbishop to say, "I am ready to keep the customs of the kingdom"; and

the other bishops made the same promise. Then the question came up as to what were the "customs of the kingdom," and a group of the members of the council were ordered by the king to put them into writing. Some days afterwards they presented to the full council a document which the archbishop asserted to be the partisan work of the king's justiciar and of hostile barons, but which Henry asserted to be a fair statement by the earls, barons, and bishops of the old customs which were more particularly in dispute, and which the churchmen had sworn to obey.

The most important matters dealt with in this document, which became known as the "Constitutions of Clarendon,"¹ had reference to the respective powers of the church courts and the king's courts. The Constitutions restricted the rights of the church courts in many respects, requiring churchmen to bring their suits and to answer to suits in the king's courts in many classes of cases. One of the principal points of this kind was that which required that a clergyman accused of a crime, if found guilty in the ecclesiastical court, should be handed over to the ordinary courts for punishment. Another forbade appeals from the church courts to the pope without the special permission of the king. A vast amount of business usually carried on in the church courts was transferred with all its profits to the courts of the king.

Thomas refused to accept or to put his seal to the Constitutions thus drawn up. When the king called upon him to do so he cried out, "Never, never, while there is a breath left in my body." The other bishops followed his example. The proposed

¹ The Constitutions of Clarendon must not be confused with the Assize of Clarendon issued two years afterwards. Clarendon was a small palace or hunting seat belonging to the king, on the edge of the New Forest in Wiltshire, to which he summoned the two councils in which these laws were decided upon. The Assize of Clarendon established rules for the king's courts; the Constitutions of Clarendon were intended to regulate the actions of the church courts. The latter can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6. The most important clauses are 1, 2, 7, 8 and 13. printed in *Readings in English History*. pp. 148-150.

law really involved the whole question of the degree of independence of the church. If Thomas gave way to this interpretation of the law he would, as he claimed, not only be going back to a period when the church authorities had been too much controlled by the king, but doing worse. He would be accepting new laws which would make the church as dependent upon the government as if it had no higher claims and higher duties to uphold and perform. He felt that it was putting the church with its officers and courts and canon law, with all their enlightenment and superiority and religious authority, under the control of the mere physical power and arbitrary judgment of the king and his ministers.

136. Exile of Thomas.—The archbishop left the council, and protested against putting the Constitutions into force, though the king insisted that they had been properly drawn up and that they should be accepted as law. Both parties appealed to the pope, and a long contest ensued that became more and more bitter and more and more personal. After other councils and quarrels, in which Thomas claimed to be in danger of death from the king's attendants, he escaped from England secretly with a single attendant and went to France. Henry confiscated the estates of Thomas and all his adherents, friends, and relatives, and banished four hundred of them from England. Thomas in return threatened excommunication against the royal ministers who had opposed him, held a threat of excommunication over the king himself, and even tried to induce the pope to place England under an interdict. Several interviews were held between the king and the archbishop at different times and places in France, but they led to no satisfactory results. However, after more than six years of exile he obtained permission to return to England to take charge of his office, with its long unfulfilled duties.

137. Murder of Thomas.—The archbishop returned with a determination still to insist on the immunities of the church and to punish those who had been most active in the struggle against him. He proceeded to excommunicate without royal license three of

the bishops who had taken the king's side, and the soldiers of the king who had seized and ravaged the estates of the archbishopric. News of these actions of the archbishop was taken to the king, who was in Normandy, and in one of his habitual fits of wild anger he cried out, "What cowards have I nourished in my house that not one of them will avenge me on this turbulent priest!"

Henry can hardly have had any distinct intention when he uttered these words, but four of his knights took them seriously and vowed to kill the archbishop. They crossed immediately to England by separate routes, met again there, gathered a group of followers, and a few days afterwards brutally murdered the archbishop with their swords, in the transept of the cathedral of Canterbury.



The Murder of Archbishop Thomas (from a manuscript of Matthew Paris)

The whole of Europe soon rang with the news of the deed. Henry heard of it with deep regret and shut himself up, refusing for several days to eat anything or to see any one.

The pope likewise refused for days to see any one. The victory that Thomas had not been able to win in his lifetime he gained by his death. Murdered as it were on the very steps of the altar, he was immediately considered a martyr. The people of England grieved for him as though he had stood out for their universal liberties instead of for those of the church alone. For centuries he remained the most popular in the catalogue of English saints, and thousands of persons each year made pilgrimages to the shrine where his body was buried at Canterbury. Henry took an oath declaring his innocence of the murder, gave a large sum of money for pious uses, and withdrew several of the most important clauses of the Constitutions of Clarendon. A year afterwards the king made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and

entered the city, walking with bare feet and without eating any food for the whole day. He threw himself in prayer at the tomb of Thomas, then went to the chapter-house, where, on his knees before a body of bishops, abbots, and monks, he confessed his faults and, baring his shoulders, required each person present to strike him three times with the knotted cord used in monastic discipline. Afterwards he spent the night in prayer at the tomb, attended mass in the morning, and then took horse to London, cheerful in mind but so broken in body by his penance that he became ill immediately afterwards. Henry's personal penance seems to have been quite voluntary and self-inflicted, to relieve his own religious sense of wrongdoing. His submission in points of policy was wrested from him by the force of necessity, in order to recover some of his lost popularity, and he quietly reintroduced much of what he seemed to have given up.

138. Unpopularity of the King. — The popularity of Thomas with the great body of the people had arisen partly from the real services performed for them by the church of which he was the representative, partly from their sympathy with any form of opposition to the stern king. The church came closer than the government to the mass of the people. It did more for them, its lower clergy were members of the families of the common people, and its courts followed a milder code. The rigorous reforms of the king, on the other hand, however useful in putting down disorder and introducing unity in the nation, bore with great hardship on all classes of the people. The constant fines imposed by the courts, the severe punishments inflicted, the hard service on juries, the transformation of all duties into the form of money payments, were hard to endure. His firm government and new laws would bear fruit in the future, but their value was not recognized by the men of his time. Certainly Henry obtained no popularity, and resistance to him was always looked upon with sympathy by many people.

139. New Revolt of the Baronage. — In his continental dominions Henry had constant conflicts with the baronage. Thirteen

times in one period of two years he had to meet revolts of nobles in various parts of his French domains. In England, on the contrary, the heavy hand of the king when he was present, or of the justiciars in his absence, and the constant routine of the government kept almost uninterrupted good order. After the struggle during the first year of his reign eighteen years passed by without resistance to his power. Then in 1173 a new revolt broke out, gathering around Henry, the king's eldest son, who had been already crowned to secure his succession as the future king of England. But this revolt also Henry put down, required a new oath of fealty from all Englishmen, high and low, strengthened the power of the justices, and assembled the nobles in frequent meetings of the great council. Severe as were the struggles in which King Henry was engaged throughout his life, he was almost uniformly victorious, either by warfare or by policy.

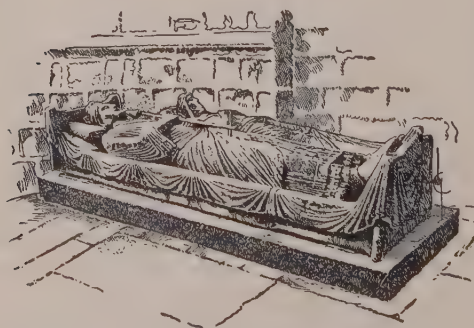
140. Scotland and Wales. — The king of Scotland had joined the rebellious barons of 1173 and invaded the north of England. He was, however, defeated and captured by the justiciar and sheriff with the people of the northern shires. Henry would not release him till he and his barons had done homage to the English king and acknowledged Scotland to be a fief of England. This agreement was made at Falaise, in Normandy, and forms an important link in the chain by which England tried to bind to herself the northern half of the island. Three times Henry invaded Wales also, in the effort to force the Welsh princes to submission, but with only partial success. The Welsh mountains and the wild methods of Welsh warfare then, as so often before and afterwards, made the English invasions fruitless.

141. The Conquest of Ireland. — In Ireland somewhat greater success was attained, although to the overlordship of both Scotland and Wales there were old claims, while there was no such basis for Henry's intrusion into Ireland. Justification for its invasion was found partly in a bull given by the pope empowering Henry to conquer Ireland and reduce it to a more orderly church

government, partly in the appeal for help of the native Irish king of Leinster, Dermot McMurrough, who had been driven out of his dominions. In 1170 a number of English nobles went over with McMurrough, defeated the Irish chieftains of the southeast, reëstablished the fugitive king in his dominions, and gained extensive lordships for themselves there in return for their aid. The next year Henry himself went to Ireland and received the voluntary homage of these English nobles and of a large number of Irish chieftains. After this time the English kings added "Lord of Ireland" to their other titles. A representative of the English king was appointed to remain in Ireland, and a group of officials were established there; but their power did not extend beyond the district surrounding Dublin, later known as the "English Pale."

142. Close of the Reign. — The last ten years of Henry's life were peaceful and successful years as far as his government of England was concerned, but his personal happiness was destroyed by rebellions in his dominions on the continent in which his sons

were engaged. He loved his children deeply, and his life was embittered by their entire want of affection for him and their readiness to join with his enemies. Time and again not only Henry, the young king, but Richard, to whom he had granted Aquitaine,



Tomb of Henry II and his Wife Eleanor in the Abbey of Fontevault

Geoffrey, who was duke of Brittany, and his youngest and best beloved son, John, leagued themselves together or with the king of France to fight against him. In 1189, when he was ill and

unprepared, combined forces of foreign opponents and Angevin rebels led by his sons Richard and John and the king of France suddenly invaded his French provinces, captured a number of his castles, defeated him in battle, and forced him to a humiliating treaty. When he learned that even John had been among the rebels he was broken-hearted, made no effort to rally from his illness, and took no further interest in anything. He died the same year, moaning, "Shame, shame on a conquered king." His tomb is still perfect in the nunnery at Fontevrault, in his native land of Anjou. His son Henry had already died in 1183.

143. The Literary Revival under Henry II.—The activity of this period showed itself in learning and literature as much as it did in the development of law and of institutions of state and church. A number of learned, gifted, and witty men gathered around Henry II or occupied offices in England in his time. The judges who gave the great decisions on the common law have already been spoken of. Many of these studied Roman law in Italy and France. Richard, bishop of London and treasurer of the realm, wrote a long description of the financial system of the government entitled the *Dialogue concerning the Exchequer*,¹ and Glanville, one of the king's justices, either wrote or helped in the writing of a corresponding description of the work of the *curia regis*. This is known as the *Treatise concerning the Laws and Customs of England*. Many of the churchmen of that time were learned theologians and philosophers. John of Salisbury wrote a book which he named the *Polycraticus*, discussing a great variety of moral, political, and educational questions. The prominent men of the time wrote a vast number of letters, many of which have been preserved. The old group of chroniclers who wrote in the time of Henry I and Stephen had died, but a new group of historians, many of whom were pupils, friends, or officials of Thomas Becket, arose in the latter part of the reign of Henry II.

¹ A translation of this can be found in Henderson's *Select Historical Documents*, pp. 20-134.

Some more varied works were written, such as those in which Gerald de Barry, or Giraldus Cambrensis, as he called himself, described Ireland and Wales and the campaigns against them during his time. There was also a body of verse, produced no doubt by various writers, but all usually attributed to Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford, which ridiculed the vices of the time, especially those prevalent among the clergy. These are called Goliardic poems, from the name of one of them, the *Confession of Bishop Goliard*.

All these works were written in Latin and could be read only by the learned, that is to say, by churchmen. But some of the classical Latin works were now translated into French and there was some original writing in the same language, which could be understood by the barons and their families and even by the better educated of the townsmen.

144. **Richard I and the Third Crusade.** —The greater activity of mind shown by this large amount of writing and reading was partly at least a result of the Crusades. Since 1096 the eyes of Christendom had been turned eastward towards Palestine, and great numbers of volunteers from the western countries of Europe had gone in armed bands to capture the Holy Land from the Mohammedans who held it, and to secure for themselves principalities and estates there. On the First Crusade, which succeeded in capturing Jerusalem in 1099, Robert of Normandy, the eldest son of the Conqueror, and many other French nobles had gone. Half a century later another great army was equipped and went to Palestine under the leadership of the king of France and the German emperor. Just at the close of the reign of Henry II, Jerusalem was recaptured by the Mohammedans, and a third expedition was organized in Europe to regain it for the Christians. The most prominent leader on the Third Crusade was Richard I, who succeeded his father, Henry II, as king of England in 1189.

Richard was like his father in his ungovernable temper and wild outbursts of anger, but in scarcely any other way. He was

call and long limbed. He had greater military genius, but less statesmanship. He was fickle instead of persistent, warm-hearted instead of calculating. He was proud, cruel, and treacherous. He had, however, the poetic gifts, the generous impulses, the mercurial temperament of the Aquitanian lands in which he had spent most of his life. He was called "Richard Yea and Nay," because he was so ready to change the plans on which he had before determined. His great power was in his physical and mental capacity as a soldier, and in his strenuous and irrepressible courage.

145. Richard's Capture and Ransom.—The king sailed with his crusading army, made up of volunteers from all parts of his dominions, from Marseilles by way of Sicily in 1190. The next two years were full of romantic and brilliant adventures in which Richard won his name of *Cœur de Lion*, or "Lion-heart," and left the reputation of a great warrior in all the eastern countries.



Richard I (from the figure on his tomb at Fontevrault)

But the effort to recapture Jerusalem and reestablish a great Christian kingdom in Palestine was a failure. Richard had also quarreled with the king of France, the emperor, and other leaders. On his journey home he was shipwrecked, captured, and held for ransom by the emperor in Germany. An enormous sum was demanded by his captors, and this was at last obtained, or enough of it to secure his release. His ministers in England not only levied the heavy feudal aid to ransom the tenant's lord when captured, which

could be justified by old custom, but laid new taxes on the property of clergy and common people. Many concessions were also granted by the king, or in his name, to persons who wished privileges from the government and were willing to pay for them.

146. Influence of the Crusades. — All the power which the government had secured under Henry II was needed to obtain the funds demanded by Richard. He wanted money for his Crusade, for his wars on the continent, and for his ransom. Richard himself was in his English kingdom but twice in his reign of ten years,—once for four months at the time of his coronation, and once again for two months, five years later. But the government was carried on in his name by a series of vigorous and powerful justiciars who had been officials of Henry II. The newly instituted procedure of government became well established; the action of the officials in carrying on the Exchequer, the king's court, the circuit courts, and the shire courts, was more regular and better understood and accepted; the enforcement of the common law and the use of juries were extended; the transformation of all services into the form of money payments was carried further. Thus although the personal influence of the king in English affairs was unimportant, his absence in the Holy Land and on the continent gave an opportunity for government to consolidate itself and for the different courts and departments to get in the habit of acting for themselves almost apart from the king.

Some other effects of the Crusades were even more important and far-reaching than those upon the government. The restless adventurers from England, in their journeys to the East and in their intercourse with the Greeks and the Saracens there, came in contact with a civilization far higher than they were used to in England. They brought back new habits of life and new ideas borrowed from these nations. They became used to the different kinds of food and dress, and to many conveniences previously unknown in western Europe. Besides, they were stirred by the experience of foreign travel and adventure. The isolation of England was lessened and she was brought by the Crusades more



Coat of Arms of
Richard I

into the general life of Europe, just at the time when the continental countries themselves were being awakened by the influence of the Crusades. Besides this, more active commerce between the East and the West came into existence as a result of the Crusades, and England had some share in this.

147. King John. — Richard had no children, and John, his youngest brother, succeeded to the throne of England.¹ John was one of the worst kings in English history. Nevertheless, the seventeen years of his reign included three occurrences of great importance. These were, first, the loss by the king of his dominions on the continent; second, a long contest with the pope which placed the church in a more independent position than before; and third, a rebellion, as a result of which the king was forced to accept for the future certain restrictions on his freedom of action.

148. Loss of the Continental Provinces. — The king of France was ambitious to extend his power more completely over the whole of that country. The territory immediately subject to him was comparatively small. The other provinces were held from him by great dukes, counts, and viscounts, who took oaths of feudal allegiance to him but otherwise ruled their own subtenants in practical independence. A large group of these provinces was held, as has been explained, by the king of England. The king of France now took advantage of the hostility to John of many of the barons of Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, listened to the

¹ Geoffrey, who was next younger than Richard and therefore older than John, was dead, but his son Arthur was living and according to the usual custom of inheritance had a better right to the throne than John. But he was a mere child, living in France, while John was a man thirty-two years of age, had lived long in England, and was preferred as his successor by Richard. Besides, the strict custom of inheritance of the crown by primogeniture had not yet been fully accepted, and it was felt that the great men of the realm might exercise some right of choice. Nevertheless, a large party of the barons of the continental dominions declared for Arthur, and his claims were upheld by the king of France. (See table on page 145.)

claims of John's nephew Arthur, and summoned John in 1202 to attend a feudal court made up of the dukes and counts of France. John refused to attend. The king of France then declared his territories forfeited by feudal law, and proceeded to march into Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, and to take them immediately into his own hands. John made no sufficient effort to resist him, the barons of those provinces accepted the French king, and thus all John's dominions in France except those in the far south were lost to him. England, which had been united through her kings with Normandy almost continuously for a century and a half, and with the other provinces for more than fifty years, was now separated almost completely from the continent.

This threw England far more on her own resources. The barons who had held estates on both sides of the Channel now had to dispose of either their Norman or their English possessions and become either Frenchmen or Englishmen. The kings too from this time forward had far the greater part of their interests in England, seldom visiting even the dominions which they still possessed in Aquitaine.

149. Disputed Election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. — The quarrel with the pope occurred in connection with the election of a new archbishop of Canterbury. According to canon law the election of a bishop or archbishop should be made by the canons of the cathedral of the diocese. In England the influence of the king had generally been sufficient to induce the canons to elect the man he nominated to them. In the case of the archbishop of Canterbury this was especially the case, as he was in the position almost of an official adviser to the king. Besides this the other bishops were much interested in the choice of their superior, and his selection had therefore often been a matter of discussion in a great council. The pope also had a certain degree of control of the choice of archbishops, as previously explained. Thus there were two parties interested in the election of any bishop, the king and the canons of the cathedral. In the

case of an archbishop there were two additional parties, the pope and the bishops of the dioceses which were in his province and would be under his supervision.

When the archbishop of Canterbury died in 1205, the canons of the cathedral, who had long been desirous of asserting higher claims to independence, met the night after his death and, without consulting the king or any one else, elected one of their number as archbishop. They sent him immediately to Rome to obtain consecration and the *pallium* from the pope. When news of what had been done reached John he was extremely angry. He appealed to the pope against the election, and immediately, without awaiting a decision from the pope, forced the canons by threats to hold a new meeting and elect another clergyman, one of his own ministers, to be archbishop. The king then put this nominee into possession of the estates of the archbishopric. The other bishops of the province of Canterbury also appealed to the pope. The appeals dragged on as usual at the papal court, till after a year and a half the pope with his advisers decided against all three parties: against the canons because of their hurried and irregular election; against the other English bishops because they had no claims by canon law to interfere; and against the king because his appointee had acted as archbishop while an appeal was pending. Under the circumstances, since the representatives of all parties were at Rome with power to act, the pope advised that they proceed to elect another man then and there, and recommended to them a learned and pious English clergyman living at the papal court, Stephen Langton. Under pressure from the pope this was agreed to by the representatives of the chapter of the cathedral, and all the forms of election of Stephen Langton were gone through with.

John, however, was again furious, and a long exchange of embassies and letters took place. The pope asserted that it was in his power and a part of his duty under the circumstances to see that Canterbury was provided with a proper archbishop. The

king, on the other hand, refused to accept the pope's nominee or to give up his own.

150. The Interdict. — After three years the pope laid England under an interdict: that is to say, all public religious services were ordered to be suspended. No church bells were rung, no church service was held, no marriage ceremonies were performed, no burial service was read over the dead, no wills were probated. The country ceased, to all outward appearance, to be a Christian land. The people were deprived of their religious services as completely as a famine would have deprived them of food. In a religious period like the middle ages the distress of the people must have been almost as great in the former case as in the latter.

It was expected that this distress on the part of the people would lead them to compel the king to give way, but John cared little for the suffering or distress of the people, and himself seemed quite without religious feeling. He seized the possessions of the bishops who obeyed the interdict and banished them from the kingdom. Year after year passed away and still the king refused to accept Langton, and continued to oppress the churchmen.

Then the pope prepared to excommunicate John,¹ to declare his deposition from the throne, to absolve the English people from their allegiance to him and to intrust the king of France with the carrying out of these decrees. Such a threat would mean little if an English king were strong and popular in his own country, but John had rapidly lost the respect and the love of all classes of the people. His failure to keep or to regain Normandy and Anjou had made the nobles look on him as either too cowardly or too indolent for a king. He was untruthful, dishonest,

¹ Excommunication was a solemn service of the church by which the man excommunicated was declared to be expelled from the society of Christians. He was deprived of all religious services and comforts, was pronounced incapable of being legally married or of inheriting or bequeathing property, and if he died without the excommunication being removed he was considered to be without hope of entering heaven after death.

and treacherous. He had inflicted private injuries on many of the barons and members of their families. He had divorced his wife, the countess of Gloucester, and married Isabella of Angoulême, a young girl who was already betrothed to one of his nobles on the continent. He was profane, tyrannical, and violent, and he had therefore neither the support of the clergy nor the love of the people. Of all the kings of England none has left the reputation of more complete failure as a ruler and greater unworthiness as a private man.

151. Victory of the Pope. — John knew his unpopularity, and as he heard of the plots against him and of wild prophecies of his death or coming deposition he suddenly gave way, surrendered every point for which he had struggled, and made terms with the



King John (from the figure on his tomb in Worcester Cathedral)

pope. In making this surrender of his claims the king humiliated himself far more than was necessary. He allowed an envoy of the pope to come to England, and agreed to receive Langton as archbishop, to reinstate the exiled bishops, and to restore all church property that he had seized. He even went one step further and transformed the shadowy acknowledgment of the pope as a superior ruler made by some former kings into a complete recognition of his feudal superiority. There was an old claim of the popes that all islands were under their direct control. This had been already acknowledged in a general way by the

king of Sicily and partially at least by Henry II and Richard for England and Ireland. John, however, now went down on his knees before the representative of the pope, resigning his crown into the hands of the legate and receiving it back from him in token that the king would be henceforth the pope's vassal.

He drew up and issued a formal acknowledgment of his feudal dependence on the pope for England and Ireland, and agreed to pay a certain sum to the pope each year as a recognition of it. The barons, the clergy, and the people of England made no opposition at the time to the king's action, the removal of the interdict being gladly welcomed by all. But it was too late for John to regain popularity if he had tried. By his unpatriotic subserviency he had only separated himself still more completely from all classes of Englishmen and obtained the favor of the pope alone.

152. Revolt against the King.—This unpopularity of the king proved to be of great importance during the remaining three years of his reign. The strong government built up by Henry II and carried on by the justiciars under Richard, with its heavy taxation, its severe justice, its laborious services, its universal obedience to royal officials, was hard for the people to bear even under strong and enlightened rulers and ministers or when partially rewarded by the glory won by a hero like Richard. When it was carried on under John it was not likely to be endured. He even increased the pressure of government by making the taxes and scutages heavier and collecting them more frequently. He summoned the barons to fulfill their military services and then did not lead them to war but kept them waiting till they paid to go home. He brought foreign mercenaries into England to overpower any resistance to his actions. He compelled the barons to put their sons into his hands as pledges for their own good behavior. During the interdict he used the courts and the Exchequer to plunder the clergy. Since in addition to these oppressions the king was personally hateful to so many, a rebellion against him was altogether natural.

In 1213, soon after the close of the conflict with the pope, at a great council held by the justiciar at St. Albans, while the king was absent in the north of England, it was determined by those who were present to demand from the king a return to the old laws of the country. At another council a few months later, held

at St. Paul's cathedral, London, the archbishop showed to the assembled barons and bishops the old coronation charter which Henry I had granted. The justiciar laid the demands for good government which the barons based on this charter before the king, but without result. Soon afterwards a conspiracy to rebel was formed among a number of the barons gathered at the abbey of St. Edmunds on pretense of making a pilgrimage. They agreed to take up arms and make war on the king unless he would grant their requests. A series of more strenuous demands for better government was then laid before the king by a committee of the barons headed by Stephen Langton, the new archbishop of Canterbury.

For the first time in English history a united demand by the great majority of the prominent men of the country was made upon the king. John refused it. Then the barons gathered their forces, united at Stamford in the north, marched through the midlands, gathering adherents from among the nobility, and finally proceeded to London, where the citizens opened the gates of the city to them. The king had no party in his favor except a few personal retainers. All deserted him except these and some government officials whose hearts were with the rebels, but who wished to prevent civil war if possible.

153. The Great Charter.—On the news that London had taken the part of the rebels, John gave way, as he had before given way to the pope, and agreed to accept the demands of the barons. He met them at Runnymede, a meadow along the Thames near Windsor Castle, a few miles west of London, June 15, 1215. There he granted the list of demands that the bishops, the barons, and the townsmen had drawn up. These were based on the coronation charter of Henry I, though extended to include sixty-three articles, including many matters that had come up since the time of Henry I. This document from its great length came soon to be known as *Magna Carta*, or the Great Charter. Later ages have based its greatness on other qualities than its mere size. The Great Charter

has always since been looked upon as one of the most notable documents of history. It has at least four claims to importance. The way in which it was obtained was significant. It was not given willingly and freely by a king who could choose whether to grant it or not, and choose just what he would grant. It was forced from the king by the people, or by the most influential classes of the people, acting unitedly. It showed that if a king did not rule as the people wished, he could be made to.

Secondly, it was important because it saved certain feudal principles of government from being superseded by the principle of absolute monarchy. Feudalism included the idea of an agreement between the king and his vassals that he would give them good government if they gave him good service. It was a contract which the king had no right to break. There were two parties to the bargain of government. On the other hand, the principle of the absolute government which Henry II, Richard, and John and their ministers had been building up was that government was a matter for the king only. The people must accept such government as the king chose to give them. The feudal theory of contract had been fast disappearing. But it was now revived. The Great Charter was an acknowledgment on John's part of the old ideal of agreement, and showed that the tenants in chief at least had the right as well as the power to call the king to account.

Thirdly, what it contained was important. It is true that when first read the Great Charter is almost sure to be a disappointment. There are no new arrangements about government, nothing but a return to old customs, for it is not, like the Constitution of the United States, for instance, a complete system of government. Many of its provisions are also insignificant and temporary. On the other hand, it contained a definite agreement to refrain from certain illegal actions. Whatever the king granted in the Charter to his tenants in chief, they were required to observe toward the men below them, and its benefits were therefore spread widely through the nation. The king promised also many things of a

more general and far-reaching character ; as, for instance, the famous clauses, "No free man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or banished or in any way injured, nor will we attack him nor send against him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land" ; "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice." Some of these general principles have come down as a part of the general stock of English liberties, embodied in many later documents and included among the early amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Although there is practically nothing about trial by jury or representation of the people or about many other valued elements in later English liberty, yet the tyranny of the king was effectually restricted by the provisions of the Great Charter, so that these new rights had a chance to grow up. As a matter of fact, the growth of many of the liberties of the people began with the adoption of the Great Charter.

Lastly, the Charter was of great importance for the service it fulfilled in later times as a definite statement of rights to which to refer. John declared, a few months after he had granted the Charter, that he did not intend to keep it, and he induced the pope to declare that it was void because the king had accepted it under compulsion. Nevertheless John's son and later successors swore time and time again to observe it. It was a great thing to have such a large body of the customs and laws of the country and such clear promises of good government set down in black and white, familiar to everybody and known to have been accepted by former kings. In earlier times, when the people appealed to the king for good government, they asked for "the laws of King Edward" or "the laws of Henry I" ; but these were vague expressions without very definite meaning. Now a king who violated the old laws or showed himself tyrannical was asked to confirm the Great Charter and to abide by its provisions. In other countries as well as in England the Great Charter exerted an influence and was appealed to as a standard of the rights of the

people against the kings. It was the earliest mediæval document defining or making any great restriction on royal rights.¹

154. Summary of the Period from 1154 to 1216. — The most characteristic and important occurrences of this period were those which prepared the way for the growth of a united English nation. These were largely the personal work of Henry II. At this time and for centuries afterwards it will be found that the personal character of the king is the most important single fact in the history of each successive period. The power and influence which he possessed and exercised were so great that his ability or incompetency, activity or indolence, prudence or heedlessness, made vastly more difference than in a modern monarchy. If he could not exercise much influence over the way the people made their living, he could give peace and order or else permit anarchy; if he could not change their national character, he could throw the weight of government in favor of some national tendencies and against others; although he could not control the personal character of his subjects, he could introduce new laws and disseminate through his officials his own enlightened ideas. The personality of the king is therefore of interest not so much for its own sake as for the permanent influence it exerted.

Henry II even more than most kings left this personal impress on his own and future times. The legal and judicial institutions which he introduced and the consistent pressure of the central government which he enforced did much to weld the English people into one body politic. The foundations at least of national unity were laid in his time.

The work of organization had been so well done in the time of Henry that the government remained strong even in the slacker hands of his two sons. The reign of Richard I, from 1189 to

¹ The Great Charter is translated from the Latin and published in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6; in the *Old South Leaflets*, No. 6; in Adams and Stephens's *Constitutional Documents*, pp. 42-52; Lee's *Source Book*, No. 80; and in *Readings in English History*, pp. 182-187.

1199, is famous rather for the knightly exploits of the absentee king and for the reflected glory which England obtained from them than for anything of importance in its internal history. The reign of John, from 1199 to 1216, is preëminently the period of the Great Charter. The date of the Great Charter, 1215, will always remain one of the most important in English history, not because it weakened the central government but because it took the first steps towards putting it under the control of the people.

The effort of Henry II to bind together his scattered European dominions, with no bond of union except his own personality and power, was as great a failure as his English policy was a success. It had no results beyond his own lifetime. At his death in 1189 there was no more union among the various states of which he was ruler than at his succession, and although during the time of Richard they were held together, in 1204, in the reign of John, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine were lost altogether to the English crown.

The effort to bring all the British Isles under one government was scarcely more successful. The submission of the Irish chieftains to Henry in 1171, the homage paid to him by the king of the Scots in 1175, and the assertion of English lordship over Wales were the bases of many later claims, but they **did not** really unite those countries with England. The literary activity **also** was but a temporary reflection from the vigor of Henry's rule. The jury system, the assizes, the common law, the overmastering central government remained, therefore, the permanent work of the time.

General Reading.—GREEN, A. S., *Henry II* (Twelve English Statesmen); STUBBS, *The Early Plantagenets* (Epochs of History); and HALL, HUBERT, *Court Life under the Plantagenets*, are especially valuable and interesting. GREEN, *Short History of England*, chap. ii, sects. 7 and 8, chap. iii, sects. 1-3. RAMSAY, *The Angevin Empire*, is a continuation of his *Foundations of English History*, and is, like it, accurate, full, and scholarly. NORGATE, *England under the Angevin Kings and John Lackland*. Church

affairs, which fill so much of this period, are described in great fullness in STEPHENS, *History of the English Church, 1066-1272*, and satisfactorily but less fully in WAKEMAN, *History of the Church of England*, pp. 107-131.

Contemporary Sources.—The principal chroniclers for this period whose works are accessible in English are ROGER OF HOVEDEN and ROGER WENDOVER, *Flowers of History* (Bohn's Library). A number of extracts from these authors are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 64-79. Lee has a number of additional documents illustrating the contest between Henry II and Becket, and between John and the pope, Nos. 58, 59, 61, 66-79. COLBY, *Sources*, Nos. 22-30, covers a somewhat wider range of subjects. In both of these collections as well as in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6, the principal assizes of Henry II, and the Great Charter are given. ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Documents Illustrative of English Constitutional History*, includes these and a larger body of such documents than any other collection. ARCHER, *Crusade of Richard I* (English History by Contemporary Writers), is of much interest. A number of extracts from GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS and contemporary accounts of the life of Thomas are given in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 88-110.

Poetry and Fiction.—SCOTT, *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*. TENNYSON, *Becket*. SHAKESPEARE, *King John*: the historical character of this play is not so good as that of those which describe later periods, but it represents especially strongly the patriotic spirit of Shakespeare's own time. *The Robin Hood Ballads* properly belong to this period. A number of these and other early ballads are in GAYLEY and FLAHERTY, *Poetry of the People*, and in ALLINGHAM, *The Ballad Book*. YONGE, *The Constable of the Tower*. BULFINCH, *The Age of Romance*, contains many of the stories borrowed from GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH. HEWLETT, *Richard Yea-and-Nay*.

Special Topics.—(1) Personal Character of Henry II, Mrs. GREEN, *Henry II*, pp. 1-20; (2) the Mabinogion, BULFINCH, *Age of Romance*; (3) the Conference at Runnymede, "Roger of Wendover," year 1215, in LEE, Nos. 77-79, and GREEN, *Short History*, chap. iii, sect. 3; (4) Leprosy in England, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 367-371; (5) Trial by Jury, *ibid.*, pp. 285-295; (6) Richard in the Holy Land, ARCHER, *The Crusade of Richard I*, pp. 132-175; (7) Henry II and the Clergy, MAITLAND, *Canon Law in England*, pp. 132-147.

CHAPTER IX

THE FORMATION OF A UNITED ENGLISH NATION 1216-1337

155. Accession of Henry III.—The period that followed the grant of the Great Charter was a confused and disorderly one. The union of the barons against the king lasted only long enough to secure his submission and then it gave way to divisions among them. This enabled John not only to revoke the charter he had just granted but to collect troops, to gain adherents, and to make war on his principal opponents. They in turn united their forces again and offered the throne of England to Louis, eldest son of the king of France. He accepted the invitation and sent over an army to help the barons. In the midst of this struggle, less than a year after the grant of the Charter, John died, and his son Henry, a boy of nine years of age, was proclaimed king under the guidance of the loyal party of the barons. The Great Charter, with some changes, was regranted by his guardians in his name, and soon Louis of France returned home, all contending parties having acknowledged Henry as king.

Henry III had one of the longest reigns in English history, covering fifty-six years, from 1216 to 1272. In character and temperament he was weaker than his predecessors. The kings since the Norman Conquest had been men of more than average ability. They were all of vigorous nature even when this character was accompanied with great vices. Henry III lived a better life as a private man and was more refined and kindly than any of the preceding kings; but he had no military ambition or capacity, no independence of judgment, no clear policy. He was, moreover,

weak, frivolous, unwise, and false to his promises. His influence over events during his long reign was therefore very slight.

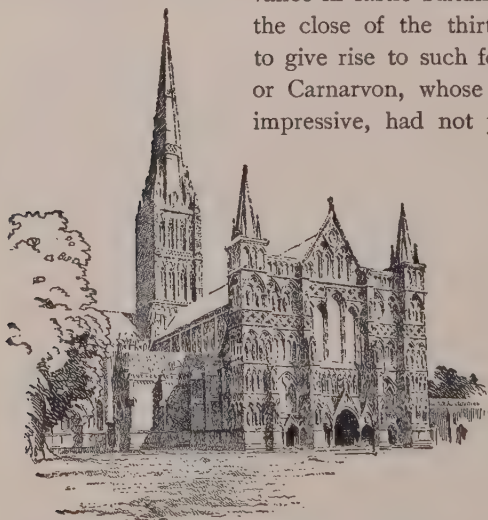
156. Architecture. — As a matter of fact the changes which were in progress in England in the thirteenth century were of a kind in which the part even of the most vigorous and ambitious of kings could be but small. In architecture, which usually reflects national life very clearly, this was the period of the introduction of the first truly national style of English building, that which is called Early English. In building churches and other sacred structures, instead of the heavy piers, thick pillars, low round arches, and general impression of strength, solidity, and sternness which had belonged to the Norman period, the English architects through the reign of Richard and John developed a very different style of building and ornament.¹ In this form of architecture the pillars are made up of groups of light, airy shafts; the arches are tall and pointed; while vaulted stone roofs take the place of those built flat and of timber. Crockets, a sort of half-unrolled leaf form, were used along the arches, and other flower and leaf forms took the place of the lozenges and zigzags of the earlier sculptors. The whole character of the buildings and their ornamentation was tall, graceful, slender, and elegant.

Nevertheless the skill of the builders was such that there had been no real loss of strength with this increase of lightness of appearance. The Early English buildings were even more strong and permanent than the Norman. Salisbury Cathedral was built in the middle of the reign of Henry III, between 1220 and 1258, and is an example throughout of this Early English style. The king pulled down almost the whole of the earlier Westminster Abbey church, and built it anew on a larger scale. In this reconstruction, however, as in everything else which Henry did, he submitted himself to French influence, and the proportions of the Abbey are therefore hardly characteristic of the English church

¹ Compare the figure of Salisbury Cathedral shown on the next page with that of the interior of Hereford Cathedral shown on page 142.

building of the time, though the building is so in other respects. The beautiful chapter house at Westminster became the model for many such structures throughout England.

In the building of castles there were no such great changes. The keeps were now sometimes built round instead of square, and were surrounded by more extensive walls, but the great advance in castle building that was to mark the close of the thirteenth century and to give rise to such fortresses as Conway or Carnarvon, whose ruins are now so impressive, had not yet come.



Salisbury Cathedral (an example of the Early English style of architecture)

157. The Universities. — The life of this period did not run so largely in military as in more peaceful lines. A proof of this is to be found in the rapid growth of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. During the earlier middle ages instruction was

given to pupils at most of the cathedrals and larger monasteries. Education was in the main a survival from the teaching of the schools of the later Roman Empire, and had been reintroduced into England from the continent along with Christianity during the Saxon period. It was altogether in the hands of the clergy, and was intended principally for the training of clergymen. Pupils were taught, besides reading and writing, three primary subjects of study : grammar, the use of words ; rhetoric, the forms of

writing and speech; and logic, the forms of reasoning. These three subjects were called the *trivium*. Four more advanced subjects made up the *quadrivium*, that is to say, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the science of music. These were known as the seven liberal arts, and lay at the basis of further studies in philosophy, divinity, law, and medicine. Teachers became famous at certain cathedral or monastic schools, and large numbers of pupils gathered around them. In certain places also, quite independent of cathedral or monastery, teachers gave instruction, made reputations, and attracted students.

In this way the beginnings of the great universities of Oxford and Cambridge seem to have been made. As early as 1150 there were many teachers and students at Oxford. These teachers or masters adopted some sort of organization among themselves, and it was to this group of masters that the word *universitas* or "university"¹ was applied. In King John's time a special official, the chancellor, was appointed to exercise authority over the masters and scholars at Oxford in the name of the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese the city lay. At about the same time a similar body of masters and scholars was springing up at Cambridge. From these beginnings the organizations gradually developed, statutes came to be regularly adopted and recorded, officers elected, rules enforced, and the universities assumed definite form.

The next step was the foundation of separate colleges in the universities. In 1274 Walter of Merton, bishop of Rochester and chancellor of England, gave Oxford certain estates as an endowment for the support of a warden and several scholars or fellows. He laid down rules, according to which they were to devote themselves to study and to live together like a body of monks in a

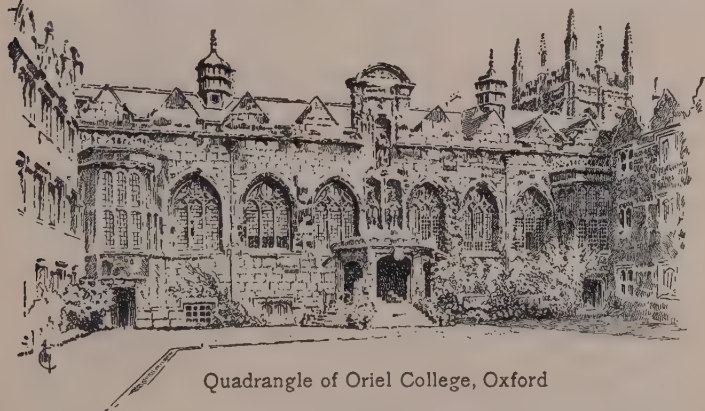
¹ At first the word *universitas* meant any kind of an organized body or group of persons, and was applied frequently to the merchants of a town or to the clergy of a cathedral. It was, however, gradually restricted in meaning to a body of persons organized for purposes of higher study and teaching.

certain group of buildings which was erected for them at Oxford. In these buildings other students were also to be educated, and some were to be supported from the endowment. This was the first separate college within a university. Soon others were established. Merton served as the model on which Oriel and other new colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge were planned. At Oxford three were founded before the end of the thirteenth century, and nine during the fourteenth. Nevertheless the great majority of students continued to live not in colleges but in halls or inns managed by independent masters, or simply in lodgings. Taken as a body the students at the universities made up a turbulent mass of several thousand men and boys of all ages, with very little discipline or order. They were claimed by the church as belonging to the clergy and therefore only amenable to the ecclesiastical courts. For all matters except the most serious they were nominally under the authority of the chancellor of the university and the congregation of masters or graduates. As a matter of fact they were but little submissive to any authority. The universal use of Latin by scholars both for speaking and writing made it easy and common for students to go from one country to another to study, and the absence of any fixed period for graduation left the student to wander at will over Europe, seeking a teacher or teachers whose reputation might attract him.

158. Learned Men.—There was no lack of famous scholars. Gathered around the universities and in the position of bishops or other church officials were at this time a large number of unusually learned men. The thirteenth century was a century of great men in England, as it was in other countries. At no time previously, during the middle ages, and scarcely since, have men thought in many fields more deeply or reasoned more closely. Indeed, many of the men who made the continental universities famous came from England. Roger Bacon and a number of other learned Englishmen made a group of Oxford trained men, all of whom afterwards became famous as lecturers at Paris, Bologna,

or other European universities. One of the greatest of them, however, Robert Grosseteste, as head of one of the schools at Oxford, as bishop of Lincoln, and as adviser of the great men of the kingdom, lived the whole of a long life and exercised great influence in England itself.

159. Law Writers.—All the learned men of the time were not, like those who have just been mentioned, students of philosophy or theology, connected with the universities, or even principally occupied in the church. For instance, the greatest of the early English law writers, Henry de Bracton, wrote during



Quadrangle of Oriel College, Oxford

the reign of Henry III. He acted for many years as one of the king's justices, collected a vast number of decisions given by the great royal judges of the time of Henry II, and made notes of his own important and typical cases. He then used these as authorities for his conclusions as to what the common law of England really was. At the same time he had studied Roman law and the discussions of its principles by the law lecturers and writers of the University of Bologna, so that he was familiar with the forms into which that body of law had been thrown. With this preparation he wrote a long work, borrowing some general principles as well as its form from foreign treatises, but making it a systematic

statement of the English common law as it was then and as in the main it has remained since. Still other works were written at about the same time, describing the procedure and customs of the lower courts.

160. The Historians.—The thirteenth century also saw abler chroniclers than any that had preceded them. The new group of historical writers who had sprung up in the reign of Henry II was continued by men who knew better how to classify the events they recorded, and to tell the causes and effects of actions as well as the occurrences themselves. The best of these were the successive annalists who lived and wrote at the monastery of St. Albans, a Benedictine abbey situated about twenty miles from London. This abbey had been founded before the time of Alfred, and had become larger and richer since the Norman Conquest. It was on the old Roman road running northward from London, which was still the main line of travel between the south and the north, and was therefore well situated for news of what was going on in the world. Here a record of current events was kept, as in so many other monasteries, and some industrious or ambitious chronicler prefixed to it an account of earlier history from the creation of the world, drawn from some other sources. During the early part of the thirteenth century Roger of Wendover became the historiographer of the abbey, rewrote the earlier chronicle, added to it the events of his own time, and called his work the *Flowers of Histories*.

His successor, Matthew Paris, was the best of mediæval writers of history. He used the writings of his predecessors at St. Albans for earlier periods, but wrote the history of his own time—the twenty-five middle years of the reign of Henry III and of the thirteenth century—independently. His work was of course in Latin. That part of it which was written by himself was about three times the length of this text-book. He was personally acquainted with King Henry, Bishop Robert Grosseteste, and many of the other leading men of the time, and evidently knew

a great deal of what was going on in France, Germany, and Italy. His style is bright, and he is full of keen observations about the things of which he wrote.

161. The Scriptorium of a Monastery.—The historiographer of a large monastery was provided with a special room, known as the *scriptorium*, where he and his assistants worked. This room was provided with desks or tables, and an official in charge kept



Remains of the Scriptorium of Fountains Abbey

parchment, ink, and pens for a group of monks or other clerks who were busied with much copying or writing. The keeping of the official chronicle was only a small part of the work done. Charters and letters were written or transcribed, service books for the chapel, portions of the Bible and other religious books were copied, and transcripts of the classics and of other famous writings were prepared, to be used as presents for great men or to be placed in the monastery library.

In those times, before printing was invented, the multiplying of books required many hands, and skill in clear, ornamental handwriting brought a high reputation. Some of the writers in the scriptorium, therefore, copied the main body of the manuscript, while the initial letters and other ornamentation was left for persons skilled in drawing and in the use of gilt and colors. Matthew Paris had a reputation for illustration and handwriting as well as for his historical work.¹

162. The Friars.—The monasteries, which were in this way literary centers, were either old Benedictine abbeys, or Cluniac, Carthusian, and Cistercian reformed monasteries founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the reign of Henry III a new group of religious orders arose, and members of them soon made their way into England. These were the Dominican, Franciscan, and other friars.² The first two were founded by St. Dominic, a Spaniard, and St. Francis of Assisi, an Italian, just at the beginning of the thirteenth century. They differed radically in their objects and in their methods of life from the older monastic bodies. Their main duty was missionary work. Their vows required them to visit and help the poor and to teach and preach to those who needed intellectual and spiritual rather than material help. They were not to live retired from the world in monasteries, nor to draw their support from endowments of land, like the older orders, but were to establish their houses in populous towns, and laboring there or traveling from one town to another, depend on the free gifts of the people for their support from day to day. They were therefore called “mendicants,” or “begging friars.” The Dominicans were also called the “preaching friars,” or, from the color of their gowns, the “black friars.” The Franciscans were known as the “friars minor” from the humility they professed, or the “gray friars” from their gray robes.

¹ See on p. 165 an example from a manuscript still existing.

² So called from the French word *frères*, or Latin *fratres*, brothers, which was what the members of these orders called themselves.

Another similar order, the Carmelites, were known as the "white friars," and still another body as the "Austin" or "Augustinian friars" because they followed the rule of St. Augustine.

The Dominicans and Franciscans established their first homes in England at Oxford, just at the beginning of the reign of Henry III. There they were drawn, both by their location and by the objects of the foundation of their orders, into higher teaching, as well as into popular instruction, preaching, and charitable work among the poor. Their Oxford and later their Cambridge houses were practically equivalent to colleges in those universities, and many of the most famous teachers and learned men of the time, including several of those already named, and more than one archbishop of Canterbury, were members of one or other of the orders of friars. They paid especial attention to medicine and physical science, as the training of their own younger members was intended to fit them especially for practical usefulness in mission work.

Prominent as the friars were in the educational and learned world, they were most active as popular preachers, wandering from place to place, speaking in the language of the common people, and telling pathetic, humorous, or marvelous stories to enforce their teaching. They worked often amidst still more obscure surroundings, in the crowded towns, like the Salvation Army of modern times.

163. The Towns. — The need for the philanthropic work of the friars is only one of several indications that town life was coming to be more customary among the English people than it had been in earlier times. At no time since Britain had been a province of the Roman Empire had any considerable part of the people lived in cities or boroughs.¹ Only quite late in Saxon times, and principally where there were many Danish traders, did people feel attracted to town life. The Norman Conquest seemed at first

¹ A town which was the seat of a bishop, that is, where a cathedral was situated, was called a city; any other considerable town in England was called a borough.

unfavorable to the size and prosperity of towns, for right in the midst of many of them the Conqueror had hundreds of houses torn down in order to put up the stone castle in which he wished to place soldiers to keep the people of the remainder of the town and the surrounding country from rebellion. There are only too many such entries as the following in Domesday Book, which describes Oxford in 1085: "In this town there are four hundred and seventy-eight houses so wasted and destroyed that they cannot pay any tax." However, houses of the Norman time were easily replaced, being only slight affairs, built with a light framework plastered over on the outside. We find one townsman complaining that the constable of the castle has taken his house and moved it into the castle yard; and an old law says that if any one has harbored heretics in his house, it is to be carried outside the town and burned. The timber-built houses came later, and stone houses later still.

The security from foreign invasion and the comparative good order kept by the Norman and Angevin kings gave an opportunity for towns to become more numerous and populous. Many foreigners of greater skill in trade and handicrafts than the English came to dwell in the towns and to increase their wealth and enterprise. Their growth was of course mainly dependent on this extension of trade and handicraft. The townspeople still had their cattle and small bits of cultivated land beyond the built-up streets, but their principal occupation was either buying and selling, or making articles for sale. Those places which were situated on some good harbor on the coast or on some navigable river within easy reach of the sea came to have trade with the merchants of the continent. Towns grew up likewise at well-known fords over rivers, at favorable locations on the old Roman roads, or where some monastery rich in sacred relics brought crowds of pilgrims together and thus made a market for goods. The greater activity of life, the increase of wealth, and the more frequent intercourse among men passing from one place to another for purposes of trade, all favored the

growth of the towns of England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

164. Town Charters. — Some of these towns had always been directly under the king. Others, in the feudal organization of the country, were growing up on land belonging to some earl, baron, or church body. Customs grew up among the people of a town, which they valued and felt to be necessary to their prosperity. They found also that their money could obtain for them from the



Old Town Hall of Leicester

king or their other lord, whoever he might be, recognition of their customs, and still other advantages in the way of settling their own internal disputes without interference, or of carrying on their government in their own way. The need of Henry II for money to carry on his wars on the continent, of Richard for his crusade, and of John and Henry III for their various uses led them to grant charters to towns very readily when good sums were offered. And the townsmen were now rich enough to pay well for their privileges. Thus one after another the towns obtained charters, guaranteeing to their citizens the right to enforce their local

customs, to make new regulations, to pay their taxes in one sum to the government, collecting them among themselves as they saw fit, and many other privileges. A town valued its charter above all things, and from time to time offered and paid to the king a large sum of money to obtain a new charter with more extensive rights. Nevertheless, the townsmen always had to appear before the king's justices when they came on circuit, to keep the assize of arms and other such national laws, and in other ways constantly to recognize the supremacy of the royal government.

The towns were mostly small. London was a large city, but others, such as Bristol, Southampton, Exeter, Leicester, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, and York, were places with not over three or four thousand inhabitants. Surrounded by walls, crowded, and often dirty, they were nevertheless busy and filled with well-to-do traders.

165. The Gild Merchant. — The citizens were organized for trade purposes into what was called the *gild merchant*. This organization consisted of all those who took part in trade, and was usually authorized by the town charter. The gild made rules to preserve the trade of the town to its own citizens, or to grant it to strangers on payment of fees or tolls, and it enforced its trade regulations by fines or by expulsion. All trade and commerce was in this way controlled and directed by the gild merchant. It had its meetings for good fellowship also, and made charitable contributions not only to its own members who fell into misfortune but to others.

166. Craft Gilds. — Later in the thirteenth century the gild merchant became of less importance, and in its place in each town a number of organizations came into existence made up of the men working in each particular kind of industry, such as weavers, dyers, carpenters, leather workers, etc. Most of these bodies had received the authorization for their existence from the authorities of their towns, although some had secured charters¹ directly from

¹ A charter was a formal document granted by the king or in the king's name by the chancellor or some other official, giving a right to the persons receiving it to do something or to hold certain powers and privileges which

the king. These companies, fraternities, crafts, or craft gilds, as they were variously called, had the oversight of each particular occupation, and included all who worked at it in that town. They made rules for work and prosecuted before the town authorities those who violated them. Like the gild merchant they had their social and religious side, holding meetings and banquets, going to church in procession, attending the funeral services of their deceased members, looking after their widows and orphans, and in other ways serving as brotherhoods as well as trade organizations. Probably far the greater number of the inhabitants of the towns were members of some such organization.¹

167. Fairs.—Much of the buying and selling of the country was done not in the towns but at the fairs. The fairs were gatherings held at various places yearly or oftener. The right to hold a fair was dependent on a charter which had been granted by the king to an abbey, bishop, baron, or even a town government. The bishop of Winchester, for instance, had a charter granted to him by William II, allowing him to hold a fair every year, lasting two weeks. It was held on a hill not far from the town of Winchester. Booths or wooden shops were put up and rented to merchants, who came from different parts of England and from other countries to buy and sell. Tolls were charged by the bishop on everything that changed hands. While it was being held, nothing except food could be bought or sold in the city of Winchester itself or for several miles around.

they could not have except by this grant from the government. A baron's right to try and to punish his tenants; the right of a town to have a court of its own, to collect its own taxes, or to exclude strangers from trading in its markets; and the right of the carpenters, weavers, or bakers of a town to have a separate organization and powers, were only a few instances of the many forms of royal charters constantly being granted. A substantial fee was usually paid to the government for the privilege of obtaining a charter, and it had to be renewed frequently and a new fee paid.

¹ Illustrative instances of town and country life can be found in *Readings in English History*, pp. 195-217.

The bishop's officers held a court at the fair for the immediate settlement of disputes that broke out among the merchants, and for the punishment of offenses committed there. This was called a court of "pie-powder," which was an English mispronunciation of the French words *pied poudré*, "dusty foot." The court was so called because of the promptitude of its action. Men might come to it just as they were, without even stopping to brush the dust from their shoes. There were six or eight fairs in England as famous as that of Winchester, and several hundred of lesser importance, many of them being held in mere villages and only for the sale of live stock or of some special article. More than a hundred charters for fairs were granted in King John's time, and more than two hundred in the time of Henry III.

168. Country Villages.—The great mass of the people of England, however, knew nothing about either fairs or town life. They lived, as they had lived for centuries, in small villages in the country. Most of them are described in the records of the time



Plowing in the Thirteenth Century (copied from a manuscript)

as either villeins or cotters. The cotters were laborers who occupied cottages in the village, each perhaps also having an acre or two of land, or even less, somewhere near the village. The villeins made up the great body of the ordinary villagers. They were small farmers, having their land in the fields surrounding the village and living probably much as they had done in Saxon and in still earlier times. The ordinary villein seldom had less than ten or more than thirty or forty acres of land. This was quite as much as he could, with the aid of his family, attend to, in addition to his performance of the services required

by the landlord, for each village and its surrounding fields were subject to certain rights of ownership of some "lord of the manor." The lord of the manor might be a noble or knight or other substantial landholder, a monastery or bishopric or college, or it might be the king himself. Much of the land in each vill¹ belonged directly to the lord of the manor. This land was called the *demesne*, and although scattered about in separate pieces in the open fields surrounding the village, was carried on as one large farm, the produce going directly to the lord of the manor. The cotters and villeins were bound to furnish an amount of labor which was generally sufficient to cultivate the demesne without cost to the lord of the manor. Each cotter had usually to devote one day's labor in each week, and each villein three or four days to working on the lord's land, for which labor they received no pay. At certain seasons of the year they had also to do much extra plowing, harvesting, threshing, and hauling for the lord of the manor.

In addition to these labor services the villeins and cotters had also to make payments to the lord in money and in kind. They had also to attend the court, which the lords of the manors kept up, and to submit to the decisions given and fines imposed there. The manor court met every few weeks under the presidency of the lord's steward, settled various kinds of suits, and punished offenses of the tenants of the manor.²

169. Serfdom. — The villeins and cotters were bound to stay upon the manor, or to leave it only on being given permission by the lord of the manor. The land which they held was, at least

¹ "Village," or "vill" (Latin *villa*), and "manor" meant practically the same thing at this time, although the word *manor* is generally used when the rights of the lord over it are being discussed, *vill* when the people and their land are referred to.

² Instances of the services required from villeins, of the amounts of land they held, and of the proceedings of the manor courts can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. III, No. 5, "Manoria¹ Documents."

nominally, the property of the lord. In the eyes of the common law they were not free men but serfs. They could not have their suits heard in the hundred or shire courts or in the courts of the king, but only in the manor courts of their lords. They were bound to do what the lord or his representatives required them to do on the days when custom required them to work for him. *Villeinage* or serfdom consisted of a group of burdensome requirements, including both the payment of money and the performance of services, of limitations on a man's freedom to come and go when and where he chose, of a general uncertainty as to his title to his property, and of exclusion from the protection given by the public courts of the country. Probably two thirds of the whole population of England in the thirteenth century were in this position of serfdom. The rest were either citizens of towns, churchmen, lords of manors, or the common freemen of the country.

170. Freemen. — These freemen lived in the villages, along with the villeins and cotters already described. Like them they were tenants of the lord of the manor, holding their land from him. They were also subject to many of the same payments as the villeins. They were often required also to attend the manor court. Those who had small holdings must have shared much of the village life of villeins and cotters. On the other hand, every freeman could dispose of his land and leave the manor if he chose; he could bring his suits into the king's court instead of that of the manor if he wished to; he was independent of the lord of the manor in regard to everything except his land; he was not burdened with the payment of servile dues; and, above all, in the eyes of the law he was free. He was not free because he had more land than the villeins, but because he belonged to a different class. Some freemen probably held even less land than some of the villeins, though usually they held more. It was these freemen or freeholders in the country, along with the citizens of the towns, who had to be ready for military service according to the Assize of Arms, who had to form the juries to accuse

criminals according to the Assize of Clarendon, who formed the greater number of the suitors in the king's courts, and the greater number of substantial taxpayers. They made the rank and file of the nation in the eyes of the government. The villeins and cotters, although they made a majority of the population, were looked upon as in a certain sense the property of the lords of the manors, and were not taken much account of by the government.

If a freeman had as much land as would bring him in an income of twenty pounds a year, he must by law become a knight; that is, he must either be dubbed a knight or at least pay feudal services for his land and in other ways do the services expected from a knight.¹ The class of freemen in this way led up from those who were scarcely distinguishable from villeins to the feudal and noble classes, with scarcely a break anywhere between. It was one of the striking characteristics of the English nation that the different classes shaded into one another, from the peasantry all the way up to the barons and earls.

171. Written Records. — The thirteenth century was in peaceful matters one of the greatest centuries in English history. The long reign of Henry III was a period in which architecture, learning, education, law, trade, and many other occupations and interests were advancing rapidly and taking the form which gave shape to much of later history. Our knowledge of the period is likewise greater than of any earlier time. We are no longer dependent on the chronicles and royal charters alone for our information about contemporary events or conditions. Early in the thirteenth century, that is to say in the reigns of John and Henry III, it became customary for very many more records to be kept. Each branch of the royal court kept a record of its decisions; charters granted in the name of the king were recorded

¹ This requirement was known as "distrain of knighthood." An income of twenty pounds a year would probably mean that a man had at least four or five hundred acres of land. He would therefore in most cases be the holder of a whole manor.

on the "patent rolls"; the bishops began to keep written registers of their business; and the stewards of the manor courts kept rolls of the doings at their meetings. Lords of manors from time to time drew up surveys giving the names and services of all their tenants. Many town documents and gild records dating from this period give an insight into that side of life. The bulk of documents still existing from the thirteenth century is enormous; and such study as has yet been devoted to them gives us a much clearer picture of those times than is possible for any earlier period.

172. Reign of Henry III.—The personal history of the king and the political events of this period were very troubled. The unpopularity of Henry III after he grew to be a man, which has been referred to before, was due largely to two things,—his habit of choosing foreigners as advisers and officeholders, and his subservience to the pope.

Most of the barons could now fairly enough be called Englishmen. Since the loss of Normandy and Anjou they had estates in England only, and their interests were necessarily at home. Men whose ancestors had been born and had lived on English soil for several generations felt that they were natives of the country, even if their forefathers had gotten it by conquest and even if they still usually spoke a language different from the native language of the country.

173. Foreign Favorites of the King.—The men to whom Henry gave his confidence were, on the other hand, recent immigrants from Poitou and other districts of France. Peter, a Poitevin, who had been made bishop of Winchester and at one time chancellor, was for a long time the principal adviser of the king, and used his influence for the protection of foreigners and their appointment to office. The king's marriage with Eleanor of Provence brought the relatives of the new queen and their dependents flocking from that country into England, expecting and obtaining high offices in church and state, titles and grants

of royal land. Among these Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle, became archbishop of Canterbury. When Henry's liberality to foreigners became known a similar invasion of the relatives of his mother by her second marriage came from Poitou and were similarly welcomed.

England was becoming a rich country, but its people were behind those of the continent in quickness of mind and business ability. Many of the foreigners who sought Henry's patronage had much shrewdness and skill in money matters. They had better ways of borrowing, buying, and bookkeeping. They were also brighter in conversation, more polished in manners, and more familiar with literature than Englishmen. Over the king, with his intellectual but easy-going and pleasure-loving disposition, they had therefore great influence. By the English nobles and churchmen whom they displaced in position and influence, on the other hand, they were heartily disliked.

The English nation as a whole had even better grounds of complaint against them. Through their influence the king was led into great expenditures which were not of national interest or benefit. The foreign clerks and officers were skillful in borrowing money, in buying things that pleased the king, and in making the necessary arrangements for the collection of taxes and the transmission of money abroad ; but in the long run the English people paid all the bills. This was the more hateful because the expenses had been incurred not through the ministers but through the mere clerks whom the king employed.

174. Henry's Relations with the Pope.—The popes of this period were unusually able and ambitious men. Innocent III was successful in the long struggle with John ; he had been earlier engaged in a similar contest with the king of France, and was concerned in the political affairs of most of the countries of Europe. Those who followed him were strong popes, who kept up a long contest with the German emperors and finally humbled them and obtained their desires. The dependence of England

on the pope had been increased by John's action, and Henry had been under the protection and guidance of papal legates during all his early life. It was not strange, therefore, that the pope's power in England should be great; but Henry allowed it to increase far beyond what it had ever been before.

Time and time again during his reign the papal court imposed taxes upon the English clergy, and several times it demanded large contributions from clergymen and laymen alike towards the expense of certain projects carried on by the pope and his advisers outside of England. The pope claimed that these projects were for the common good of all Christendom, and that the Christians of all lands should therefore contribute towards them; but to Englishmen generally they seemed to be largely for the private objects of the pope as a man, engaged in personal quarrels, or as the ruler of an Italian province carrying out a policy which had no interest or importance for Englishmen. King Henry was almost alone in England in approving of this taxation of Englishmen for papal purposes and by papal collectors.

175. Papal Representatives in England.—Several times also papal legates or ambassadors came into England. One of them, Cardinal Otho,¹ came at the invitation of the king and stayed for years, engaged in a general reform of the English church, exercising high powers and exacting large sums of money for his own expenses and for the needs of the pope. The representatives who were in England simply for the collection of money were still more objectionable and riots sometimes occurred because of their exactions.

¹ "Cardinal" is a title of honor given to certain prelates who are the nominal holders of the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical positions in the city of Rome and its suburbs. Apart from the office which gives them the title of cardinal, however, they are usually archbishops or bishops in the various countries of Christendom. Their number has varied at different times from twenty to seventy. They are the advisers of the pope and the highest church officials. On the pope's death they meet in conclave and elect his successor from their own number.

176. Italian Holders of English Church Positions.—As the part played by the pope in Europe became a larger one, a great number of churchmen connected themselves with the papal court at Rome and served as officials of the pope. These he desired to reward or support by having them appointed to church positions in various countries. At one time he urged Henry to agree that no churchman should be appointed to any vacancy that should occur till three hundred Italians had been provided with English church positions. This practice was opposed by the most devout English churchmen as well as by those who were not ecclesiastics, but the king made no serious opposition to it. Henry also allowed appeals to be taken from the English church courts to the papal court without opposition, and paid regularly the sum of money which John had agreed to give the pope in recognition of his overlordship of England.

Finally, in 1257, Henry agreed to let the pope grant to Edmund, his second son, the kingdom of Sicily, the pope having just declared the dethronement of the former king of that country. It would require a war, called by the pope a crusade, to drive out the former king and place Henry's son in his position, and the English king agreed to pay the expenses of the war.

177. Growth of the Power of the Great Council.—The Great Council had met throughout the reigns of John and Henry III with greater frequency than in earlier times, and the earls, barons, bishops, and abbots who attended it took a larger part in the discussions. Gradually the name "parliament"¹ came into use to designate the Great Council. By the middle of Henry's reign it met almost every year, and sometimes even more often. Many of these meetings were occasions for sharp disputes, in some of which the king himself took part. The barons frequently refused

¹ From the French word *parler*, to speak, having reference to its being a meeting for speaking or discussion. It had formerly been frequently and was still occasionally called by one or other of the terms council, convention, colloquy, or convocation.

the taxes demanded by the king, and complained of his policy and bad management of the duties of government and of the finances.

178. Simon of Montfort, and the Provisions of Oxford.—The leader among the barons for many years was Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester. He was in reality one of those foreign adventurers who had come from France to the English court. His family were nobles from the south of France, but through his grandmother he inherited the earldom of Leicester in England. When he came he succeeded in obtaining the earldom and married the sister of the king. Instead of remaining a foreigner, however, he threw himself into all the interests and feelings of the English baronage, and had much intercourse with the English bishops and abbots, especially with those whose national feelings were opposed to the constant interference of the pope in English affairs. Little by little Earl Simon became the acknowledged leader of the baronage, and over and over again he led their opposition to the king.

At last, at two successive parliaments held in 1258, the barons, led by Simon, took such a decided stand that the king was forced to agree to a series of changes by which many reforms were introduced into the government. Foreigners were to be removed, other ministers appointed, various committees of bishops and barons authorized to carry out reforms, and a permanent governing council of bishops and nobles chosen. This council was to control all the actions of the king, appoint ministers and office-holders for him, and have possession of the royal castles. These arrangements were known as the "Provisions of Oxford," from the place where parliament met when they were finally drawn up. Ali concerned, including the king, took an oath to conform to the Provisions.

Henry found the restrictions very hard to endure and tried to free himself from the Provisions. When he threatened to revoke them Earl Simon and many of the barons armed themselves and prepared for civil war. Various efforts at settlement were made. At one time the whole dispute was referred to the king of France,

Louis IX, or Saint Louis, as he was called. With his high ideas of royal power and duty Louis decided all points in favor of Henry and annulled the Provisions of Oxford.¹ The barons, however, refused to accept this award and war broke out in 1263. The king, his son, Prince Edward, and a part of the barons were on one side, Earl Simon and another party of the barons, supported by the general approval of the nation, were on the other.

A great battle was fought in 1264 at Lewes in Sussex, where the rebellious barons were victorious. The king was captured and held in imprisonment by them, while Earl Simon carried on the government in the royal name. Next year, however, war broke out again. At the battle of Evesham the barons were defeated, and the three years of fighting ended with the death of Earl Simon and the victory of the king, or rather of his eldest son, Edward. The king made some concessions which were announced in a parliament. Edward and many of the nobles went away on a crusade, and things remained peaceful until the death of Henry in 1272, and even during the two years that followed while Edward was still absent in the East.

179. Accession of Edward I.—Edward made his way homeward through Italy and France, visiting the pope and doing homage to the king of France for his French dominions on his way. He reached England, was crowned in 1274, and reigned thirty-five years. The most noteworthy feature of this period was its intensely national character. Edward, in striking contrast to his father, was strongly English. Along with his old English name he had a decided preference for Englishmen and English ways. Henry II had looked upon England only as one of a group of countries in each of which he had the position of ruler; Richard had thought of it merely as a source of money to enable him to go on crusade or to live in his other dominions; Henry III had lived most of the time in England, and only occasionally

¹ This decision was known as the "Mise of Amiens," and the wars that followed are known as the "Barons' Wars."

visited his possessions in the south of France, but his intimate friends and his personal tastes were all French. In Edward, however, the English people at last had a truly national king, who loved England ; one whose aim it was to carry out an English policy, to make England the center of his interests, and to choose Englishmen as ministers of his government. This attitude of the king was in harmony with the condition of the country. The English were becoming more distinctly a single nation. The foreign elements of the population were being absorbed into the mass of the people. The days had gone by when foreigners ruled over England and when the people were separated into different nationalities one superior to the other. The people of one region were likewise brought much more into contact with those of other parts of the country, and various causes were bringing classes more into union.

180. Parliament. — One means by which this unity was accomplished was the representative character given to the parliament. Judged by its influence in after times on England and on other countries the completion of the organization of parliament was vastly the most important event of this time. Even during the time of Henry III parliaments had become occasions for discussing the policy of the government. No great change was introduced by the king, no important action was undertaken, nor did he try to collect any tax without obtaining the agreement of a Great Council, that is to say, of parliament.

The king and his ministers felt that the general approval of all the influential classes of the people was desirable and even necessary for the successful carrying out of any measure. This approval by the influential classes of the nation could be obtained only by calling a parliament and consulting with it. In one of his proclamations Edward laid down his policy by declaring that "that which affects all should be approved by all."

Who were the "influential classes"? Who were the "all" whom the king had in his mind? In earlier times it had been

simply the nobles and prelates. But a change had come over the country. The earls and barons and great churchmen were no longer the only people of influence. The number of freemen below these ranks who yet had land, money, position, and intelligence was very great. In the country districts there were many knights. There was a still greater number of substantial freeholders who held some land but not sufficient to make them of knightly rank. These classes represented a large part of the solid strength of the country. In the cities and boroughs, which had been growing in number and size, there were many rich, enterprising, and intelligent merchants.

181. Introduction of the Middle Classes into Parliament.—If it was desirable for the king to obtain the agreement of all the important classes of the community to public measures these substantial middle classes could hardly be neglected. Especially was this so when it came to a question of taxation. Land was no longer the only form of wealth in the country. There was a great deal of money, of personal property, of wool and similar articles raised for export, and of goods brought in from foreign countries. Therefore the feudal payments of the barons were only a small part of the contributions that might be levied for the purposes of the government. All these other forms of property might be taxed, and vastly the greater part of them were in the hands of the well-to-do middle classes in the country and the towns. Therefore from the point of view of taxation these classes were even more important than the nobles or the great churchmen.

The knights and freeholders of the country districts could be reached through the county courts, the merchants through the town governments, and for some time no better way had been found of obtaining their agreement to taxation than for the king's justices and exchequer officials to appeal to each county court and to the officials of each town directly. This was usually done by the justices when they went on circuit. At each county court they demanded a certain rate of taxation previously decided

upon at a parliament or merely by the king's ordinary council. But this was a cumbrous, uncertain, and vexatious process. A better one was soon devised.

182. Representation.—The choice by a large body of a few persons to represent them had become a familiar custom in England. In some obscure forms it had been practiced far back in Saxon times, but its distinct use was introduced by the government during Norman and Angevin times. According to the Assize of Clarendon the accusing jury represented the people of a locality, and a trial jury in the same way represented the body of neighbors of the person charged with an offense. When taxes were to be collected each county court elected representatives to assess the sum to be paid by each person. During the thirteenth century this custom of having all the people of any one locality represented by a few was becoming almost universal in local affairs. It was not long before the same plan was introduced in national affairs.

This plan was as follows. The king required each county and each town to send representatives to the general meetings of parliament so that the agreement of those they represented could be obtained at the same time as that of the barons and clergy. Several times during the reign of Henry III the county courts were ordered to send representatives to parliament; and once, in 1265,¹ while the king was under the control of Simon of Montfort, representatives of both counties and towns were summoned. The custom was not regularly followed, however, and most parliaments contained only the old classes, — earls, barons, bishops, and abbots.

¹ This date is sometimes spoken of as the "beginning of parliament." It is only so in the sense that it was the first time that representatives of both the counties and the towns, in addition to the nobles and churchmen, were called to attend parliament. Parliament of course was the same as the Great Council of the king, and had always existed in one form or another from the Anglo-Saxon witenagemot downward. The name parliament, as already stated, had been used for the Council for some time before 1265. The new classes were not regularly called again after 1265 for some thirty years.

Edward was a great constitutional reformer. He was not only interested in obtaining his own immediate ends and the money for the needs of his government, but he was devoted to the work of governing for its own sake, and anxious to introduce permanent arrangements for good government into England. He had been as a young man in the thick of his father's contests with the barons, and seems to have learned lessons of political wisdom from his experiences. During the early part of his reign, therefore, he summoned representatives of the towns and county courts



Ruins of Chapter-House of Margan Abbey

repeatedly for consultation, although not according to any invariable plan. Frequently still the barons and clergy only were called to a parliament, according to the old custom.

183. Parliament of 1295.—In 1295, however, a more regular system was adopted, which became the standard and model for all later parliaments. The king summoned as usual the archbishops, bishops, greater abbots, earls, and barons, by a special letter or writ¹ addressed to each, to come to a parliament to meet at Westminster on a certain day. Then a writ was sent to the

¹ A summons issued by the king or in the king's name for such purposes as this was called a *writ*. The wording of the writs sent out in 1295 can be found in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6.

sheriff of each county ordering him to see that two men of the rank of knight were elected to represent the whole county, and two townsmen to represent each city or borough in that county, all of whom were to come to the appointed place to the meeting.

Thus when this parliament met in the winter of 1295 its membership consisted of the two archbishops, eighteen bishops, about seventy abbots, seven earls, and forty-one barons; and in addition to these some seventy representatives of the shires and some two hundred representatives of the towns. After this time all these classes were regularly summoned to parliament.

184. The Houses of Lords and Commons.—There was much to draw the representatives from the shires and those from the towns together. Both classes were newcomers in parliament, both were elected deputies of other men, both were humble in position compared with the barons and clergy. Therefore they acted together and were frequently treated as one class. They became known as the “commons” in parliament. The commons were the representatives of the middle classes, or those next below the nobility and higher clergy.

So far as is known, no regular custom of sitting in parliament was followed at first, but as time passed on the difference of position and interests between the older classes in parliament and the commons led to the custom of sitting in two different rooms and being organized as two separate bodies.¹ These became known as the House of Lords, including the nobles and clergy, and the House of Commons, including the representatives of the shires and the towns. The House of Commons elected a “speaker,” to represent them in conferences with the king and to preside over their meetings. The lord chancellor presided over the House of Lords. Each house grew to have somewhat different customs, powers, and privileges.

¹ This is often spoken of as the “bicameral system,” or system of two chambers, and has been imitated in modern times in the United States and in most other countries.

The bishops and abbots sat in parliament not only as great churchmen but as representatives of the whole organized church. The nobility of England were the earls and barons who were summoned in person to parliament. The commons were considered to represent all the rest of the nation, though of course the great mass of the people had no influence in their election or over their actions in parliament.¹

185. Statutes. — Edward was not only a great constitutional reformer, but was also a great legislator. His time was a period of important lawgivers. Louis IX of France issued many decisive statutes and had the feudal law of that country put into formal shape. Frederick II of Sicily issued one of the most famous legal codes in history, and Alfonso the Wise of Castile did the same for his country. All these great lawgiving kings lived within the same half century.

Edward's reign was marked by a series of laws that stand in the forefront of the long line of English statutes. Statutes are written laws, not simply arising from custom, as the common law, nor issued as instructions to royal officials, as were the assizes of Henry II, but regularly drawn up and agreed to by both the king and his parliament. Almost at the beginning of the statute book come a series of long statutes adopted at various times during Edward's reign, some of them directed towards single specific objects, others including a vast variety of matters. From this time onward statutes became more numerous. Edward has sometimes been called the English Justinian, because like that Roman emperor he did so much to develop and codify the laws of the country.

186. The Confirmation of the Charters. — There were many disputes between Edward and various classes of his subjects,—at

¹ The three classes, lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons, were often called the "three estates" of the realm. The word "estate" is from the Latin *stare*, to stand, or to be established, and therefore mean an established class.

one time with the baronage, at another time with the clergy, at another with the merchants. His government was a strong one and often bore so hardly on certain classes of the people as to arouse their resistance. "By God, Sir Earl," the king once said in an outburst of wrath against the earl of Norfolk, who had refused to go outside the realm to fulfill his feudal military service, "you shall either go or hang." "By God, Sir King, I shall neither go nor hang," was the reply of the haughty nobleman.

Taxation was none the less heavy because the people were induced to agree to it in parliament. Indeed under the pressure of his needs Edward was not satisfied with the regular grants of taxes made in parliament, but in opposition to the spirit if not the letter of the law demanded many other payments from the towns, from the merchants, and from the peasantry on the royal estates.

In 1297 resistance to the king rose so high that advantage was taken of his immediate need of money and troops to require him to agree to a document solemnly confirming the Great Charter and the Forest Charter,¹ and making some additional promises by which he gave up all right of taxation except "by the common consent of the realm." Although the charters were confirmed many times afterward, as they had been before, yet this action has been called in a special sense "The Confirmation of the Charters." The additional articles now agreed to made it necessary for the king to consult parliament before collecting any taxes. Thus that body was placed in a position of far greater power than before, and, if the "Confirmation" should be faithfully maintained, parliament would be enabled to control the king's actions by limiting the funds at his disposal. Like all other far-reaching laws, however, it was only enforced in part, and kings still found opportunity to secure money without a special grant.

1297. The Jews. — One of the best known actions of Edward was the banishment of all Jews from England. There do not

¹ The Forest Charter had been issued by Henry III to limit the rigor of the forest laws.

seem to have been any Jews in England in Anglo-Saxon times. After the Conquest, however, they came in with other immigrants and their numbers had since become large. Their religion set them apart from the rest of the population of the country, who were all members of the same organized Christian church. Every Englishman was considered to belong in some parish and in some diocese. Not only his religious interests but his marriage, the inheritance of his property, his burial, were matters for the control of the church. The whole of ordinary life was conducted on the supposition that men were members of the same religious body.

The Jews did not fit into this framework and so had to live a life apart. They were allowed to live only in certain wards of the larger towns, which were known as "Jewries." They were required also to wear a special dress or a badge of yellow cloth on the breast. They were considered to be living in the country not by common right but by the special consent of the king and under his protection. They were subject, therefore, not to the common law but to special regulations made for them by the king or his officers. In ordinary life they were to a considerable extent under the government of their own leading men.

The ordinary occupations were closed to the Jews by popular hatred and by the religious customs followed by the people in these occupations. Jews could not be members of merchant or craft guilds in the towns, or farmers in country villages. They were of course shut out from the clergy, and generally speaking from official positions. On the other hand, they had superior abilities. Some were of widespread repute as physicians and many were famous for their learning. Their keenness in financial matters was a race characteristic and they were the only class who at that time had any considerable capital. They were also freed by their religion from the universal law binding upon Christians in the middle ages prohibiting the lending of money on interest. As a consequence the great occupation of the Jews was the unpopular trade of money lending.

Unfortunately money was not usually at that time loaned for purposes of productive use. Business was all on such a small scale that men carried it on by their own labor or with the small amount of capital which they themselves possessed. When men borrowed money it was merely to free themselves from pressing debts or other difficulties, to equip a marauding or crusading expedition, to obtain funds necessary to carry on an expensive lawsuit, to pay a sudden demand for taxes, or some such unproductive use. They were willing therefore to offer, and the Jewish money lender was ready to demand, enormous rates of interest. When the money was not repaid, as was frequently the case, the land or whatever else had been given as a pledge fell to the lender. They were also accused of "clipping" the coin, that is, cutting thin strips from the edges of the silver coins and selling the metal thus obtained. Religious prejudice alone was sufficient to make them hated by the ignorant classes of the people, the whole race being held responsible for the crucifixion of the Saviour. Stories went around that they seized and sacrificed Christian boys in their religious services, and that they continually uttered blasphemies against Christianity.

188. Royal Protection of the Jews. — The unpopularity of the Jews was therefore very great. They lived as an alien element in England, subject to a popular dislike which occasionally rose, on some sudden rumor, to a wild hatred that led to the sacking of the Jewries and the murder of their inhabitants.

The kings, however, valued the Jews as a body of men among whom there was much wealth which could be drawn on in various ways. They were required to make heavy payments for protection and privileges. Regular poll taxes were collected from them, and special taxes laid upon them whenever the king felt that this could be done without too greatly impoverishing them or causing their departure from England. During the time of Henry III a more enlightened policy was adopted, many efforts being made for their conversion to Christianity and regulations

issued for their holding of landed property. A special building was erected at London as a dwelling place for poor Jews who should become converts to Christianity. Edward at first carried this policy still further, imposing upon the friars the special duty of preaching to the Jews, and offering to each convert the legal possession of at least one half of the property which had formerly been at the uncontrolled disposal of the king. A law was also passed opening all occupations to Jews and allowing them to rent land, but at the same time forbidding them to lend money on interest.

189. The Expulsion. — These measures, however, met with little success. There was no perceptible change in their habits. The wave of popular hatred was rising higher, so in 1290 the king issued a proclamation ordering all Jews to quit the kingdom before a certain day under pain of death. He allowed them, however, to take their goods and money with them, and sent royal officers to the ports from which they were to go to protect them from the injuries of the people. He even provided free passage for the very poor. It is said that 16,511 Jewish emigrants left England at this time.

190. The Conquest of Wales. — Although Edward both by nature and opportunity was inclined to devote his best efforts to the problems of government, most of his time, like that of every other strong king in the middle ages, was necessarily spent in warfare. He was engaged during much of the latter part of his reign in a contest with the king of France to retain Gascony, the sole remainder of the wreck of the old dominions of the English kings in France. His two greatest series of wars, however, were with Wales and Scotland.

The people of Wales had never been completely conquered or united with the people of the rest of England. The mountainous nature of their country, their fierce character, and their pride in their Celtic blood had enabled them to preserve their political independence under their native chieftains. The Welsh princes

had, it is true, been forced from time to time to acknowledge the supremacy of the English king, but it was only a formality, and the people of Wales continued to live in practically independent barbarism. These half-independent Welsh princes frequently gave help to the enemies of the king, whether these enemies were rebellious nobles or invading foreigners. They also made frequent plundering raids into England and in turn suffered from similar raids in retaliation by the English nobles on the borders.¹

Soon after Edward's accession one of these periodical conflicts arose under the Welsh prince Llewelyn, and Edward determined to settle the Welsh contest once for all. He therefore called a parliament and obtained from it a grant of taxes, collected a large army, marched into Wales, and, after a desperate struggle, put down all resistance, defeated and killed the prince, and brought his judges and Exchequer officials to the border to begin the work of transforming Wales into a part of England. He issued a long code of regulations known as the "Statute of Wales," which divided that country into shires on the model of England and introduced English laws and customs. His infant son was given the title of "Prince of Wales," which the eldest son of the king has borne since that time.² The work of conforming Wales to England was only partly successful and was accomplished very slowly, but the foundation for it had been laid by Edward's expedition.

191. The Question of the Scottish Succession.—The claims of the English kings to supremacy over Scotland were even more indefinite and unreal than those over Wales had been. Scotland really included two different nations, — the Highlanders, who were

¹ The frontiers between England and Wales and England and Scotland were called the "marches," and the nobles who held estates in these border districts were called "lords marchers."

² According to an old story Edward promised to give to the Welsh people as prince a native of Wales and one who could not speak a word of English. He then presented to them his infant son who had just been born at the Welsh castle of Carnarvon.

mainly Celtic and lived among the rugged districts of the north, and the Lowlanders, who were partly Teutonic, like the north of England people, partly Celtic invaders from Ireland. A long line of kings had ruled over these various elements without bringing them together very successfully. From time to time the Scottish kings had paid homage to the English kings, acknowledging a kind of supremacy on their part, but the English kings had not interfered in any way with the internal affairs of either the Lowlands or the Highlands.

192. **The Award of Norham.**—The ambition of Edward I, however, extended so far as to plan for the real union of all the island of Britain; therefore, when the inheritance of the kingdom of Scotland descended to a little girl, Edward immediately



Remains of Carnarvon Castle, Wales, the Birthplace of Edward II

arranged for her marriage to his eldest son. Unfortunately the young queen of Scotland soon died and there was no unquestioned heir to the throne. Several Scotch nobles were descended from the royal family and claimed the inheritance. Edward was called upon to act as arbitrator. In 1292, therefore, he went to the

castle of Norham on the border between England and Scotland, attended by the nobles of the northern counties of England, to meet representatives of the nobility, clergy, and commons of Scotland and to render his decision as to who had the best claim to the throne.

Before he gave his award he demanded that the Scotch should all acknowledge his feudal superiority over Scotland and its king. This was done somewhat reluctantly by the Scotch representatives and claimants for the crown.

There were three principal competitors, John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings, each of them descended from the royal house of Scotland by the female line, each of them a Lowland noble, and each holding estates in the northern part of England also. Edward, after full discussion and investigation of documents, gave his decision in favor of John Baliol. This nobleman, therefore, was acknowledged by the Scotch representatives, received possession of all the Scotch royal castles, and again did homage and swore fealty to Edward as his superior lord.¹

A vigorous national ruler like Edward was not likely to allow his supremacy over the king of Scotland to remain the mere formality it had previously been. According to his view, Baliol held practically the same position toward him for his Scottish monarchy as he did for the various lands which he held in England. Scotland, like Wales, was looked upon by Edward as simply a feudal lordship held by one of his barons, just as the earl of Norfolk, for instance, held his estates. The king of England was supreme over them all alike. The Scottish king and

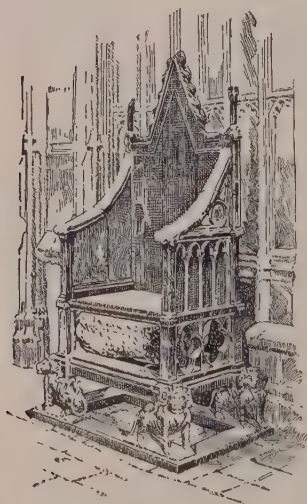
¹ The words of Baliol's oath of fealty were as follows: "Hear you this, my lord Edward, king of England and sovereign lord of the realm of Scotland, that I, John Baliol, king of Scotland, do fealty to you for the realm of Scotland, which I hold and claim to hold of you; that I will be faithful and loyal to you, and faith and loyalty will bear to you of life and limb and worldly honor, against all who may live and die; and loyally I will acknowledge and loyally perform the services that are due to you for the aforesaid kingdom of Scotland. So help me God and these holy gospels."



Scotland in the Thirteenth Century: the Highlands and Lowlands, the Scottish and English Marches, Lothian, and the Principal Towns and Castles

people, on the other hand, like the Welsh, had been practically independent and felt themselves to be a separate nation from the English.

193. The Defeat of Scotland. — Naturally, therefore, disputes soon arose, and within a short time the Scots and their king were at war with Edward. They were, however, no match for the



English Coronation Chair

English king with his military ability and training, the veteran warriors among his nobles, and the well-equipped armies he was able to bring into Scotland. The Scotch king was defeated, deposed, and banished, resistance was beaten down, and English officials were established throughout the country. Scotland was treated, according to Edward's views and after the example of Wales, as a dependency, almost as a part of England. The crown and other emblems of royalty were taken away to London and the "stone of Scone," a square block of stone upon which the Scottish kings always sat to be crowned,

was carried to London and fastened under the seat of the English coronation chair, where it still remains.¹

194. William Wallace and the Wars of Scotch Liberation. — Scotland was temporarily conquered, but resistance showed itself

¹ Many old traditions gathered around this stone, among them one that it had been brought to Scotland from Ireland, and to Ireland from Egypt by a certain daughter of Pharaoh; and that it had come to Egypt from Palestine, where it had been hallowed by being the stone on which the head of Jacob had rested when he saw the vision of the angels ascending and descending between earth and heaven.

whenever Edward or an overwhelming English force was not present. One of the principal leaders of the opposition among the mass of the Scottish people was William Wallace, who has stood in later stories as the representative of the Scottish struggle for independence, and the great national hero. He was according to all traditions a bold, chivalrous, and daring warrior. Most of the leaders made their peace by submission to Edward. Wallace kept up the struggle, was successful in many a fight, and won castle after castle from its English garrison. But he was an outlaw, with only such volunteers as he could gather around him, and after some years, in 1305, he was captured, taken to London, tried for treason, and executed.

Yet the national resistance had been growing steadily ever since Edward's first invasion, and notwithstanding his kingly qualities a permanent conquest of Scotland became evidently impossible. War surged to and fro through the Lowlands and up to the very entrance to the Highlands, continually embittering the native feeling. In 1306 Robert Bruce, a grandson of one of the earlier claimants of the crown, declared himself king, and, making use of the growing feeling of nationality, called all classes of Scotsmen to arms for a last great struggle. For some time the Scots gained but little. Bruce was often a mere fugitive in the mountains, though he always returned to the attack. Finally the tide turned. The Scots had no longer to contend with the warrior and statesman, King Edward I. He died in 1307, as he was about to enter Scotland with a new and still more powerful army. With his last breath he enjoined upon his son and successor, Edward II, the completion of the conquest of Scotland. Edward II, however, was unwarlike and indolent, and followed up the contest with little vigor or interest. A series of partial successes gave the Scots command of most of the Lowland cities, castles, and fortresses, and Bruce finally laid close siege to Stirling, one of the last and strongest of the English strongholds. The English brought a fresh army into Scotland to its rescue, and in 1314, near Stirling

Castle, was fought the decisive battle of Bannockburn. The Scots, drawn up in solid squares and masses of men, resisted the first attacks of the English, threw them into confusion, and then overwhelmed them and won a brilliant victory. Bruce had at last succeeded in making good his position and he soon obtained the recognition of Scotland as a kingdom independent of England.

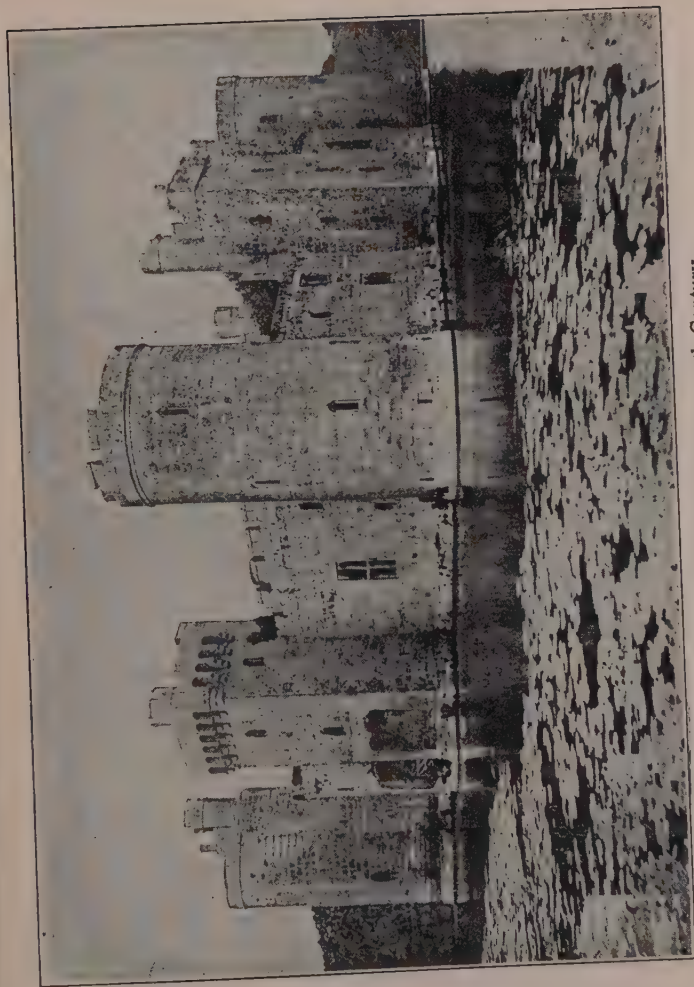
The feelings of hostility engendered by this contest gave rise afterward to almost interminable border warfare between England



Stirling Castle

and Scotland. Bodies of raiders continually passed from the English side of the border over into Scotland, or from the Scotch side over into England, burning houses, destroying crops, seizing cattle, plundering villages, and killing people. The plan of Edward I had been to create a single, united, well-governed nation including the whole of the island of Britain, but this had failed. The national desire of the Welsh and Scotch for independence, as well as their state of barbarism and their different interests, could not be overcome and made the plan impracticable.

When Edward I died in 1307 he was sixty-nine years of age, having reigned thirty-five years. He was one of the greatest of English kings and, notwithstanding the failure of his "imperialistic" plans, he left a deep impression upon the history of England.



Bodiam Castle, built in the Fourteenth Century

195. Edward II. — Edward II was, on the other hand, of comparatively insignificant character and exercised little influence upon history. During his reign of twenty years he was alternately under the guidance of favorite friends and ministers and the control of rebellious parties of barons. In 1310 a great meeting of the nobles and prelates, much like the gatherings that forced the Great Charter on King John in 1215 and imposed the Provisions of Oxford on Henry III in 1258, forced Edward to put the work of reforming the government into the hands of a group of twenty-one nobles, who were known as the "Lords Ordainers." The Ordainers drew up a long series of ordinances introducing various reforms and banishing the king's favorite ministers. Edward's efforts for the rest of his reign were largely devoted to freeing himself from the ordinances, while the barons repeatedly rose in rebellion to enforce them.

During the last of these revolts, which occurred in 1327 and was directed in the first place against the king's favorites rather than against the king himself, Edward was captured and imprisoned. Under the influence of his opponents a parliament was called and a bill passed declaring the king incompetent and guilty of many offenses. He was therefore formally declared to be deposed from the throne. He died soon afterward, having doubtless been murdered.

196. The Minority of Edward III. — Edward III, a boy thirteen years of age, was placed on the throne when his father was deposed. During his minority and the early years of his reign there are no great matters to chronicle. But beginning with the year 1337 a series of events of much greater importance took place, which will be described in the succeeding chapter.

197. Summary of the Period from 1216 to 1337. — The great permanent change which occurred during the period included in this chapter was the consolidation of the English people into one well-defined race. For a time after the Norman Conquest there were two distinct peoples in England, — English and Norman ;

but the process of union by intermarriage began early, and the distinction between the races was gradually broken down. Within a hundred years of the Conquest it was often impossible to tell whether a man was English or Norman. All men except the villeins, who were mostly pure English, were apt to be part English, part Norman. This process of union of races had now become complete.

The different customs of government of Saxons and Normans were also coalescing and combining to form new national institutions. For instance, the old Anglo-Saxon division of the country into shires and hundreds and the new Norman and Angevin royal ministers and officials were combined into one new system of Exchequer and court sessions. Old English customs and the new doctrines of the royal judges were combined into the common law of England. The various claims of the nobles and local bodies to separate customs and separate rights were giving way to the powers of the king and of the one central government. The old position of the king as elective head of the nation and the new idea of the king as feudal lord over the barons were combined into the limited monarchy of Henry III and the Edwards. The gradual increase of the power of the Great Council, or parliament, marks the reign of Henry III, and the final admission of the commons in 1295 makes that date one of the most important in English history. Men from all parts of England and from all classes of the people now met almost every year and exercised a strong and growing influence on the government.

Likewise during this period a national form of architecture was developed; the English language had gone through most of its changes of form and was fast displacing French and Latin in spoken usage; and the two great universities were drawing students from all parts of the country.

Therefore, instead of different races with different languages, various kinds of law, and various kinds of courts, the English people were now to a great extent one united nation with similar

customs and a single government representing the whole people. This national union was of course new as yet, but it was real. England was more united, more truly a nation, than any other country of Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. iii, sects. 4-7; chap. iv. This portion of Green's work is particularly valuable. RICHARDSON, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III*, and PROTHERO, *Simon de Montfort*, are very good accounts of the early part of this period. Of the latter part, TOUT, *Edward I* (Twelve English Statesmen), and JENKS, *Edward I* (Heroes of the Nations), give good accounts. The conditions of life in town and country can be read in CHEYNEY, *Industrial History*, chaps. ii and iii. The rise of the friars and the condition of the church can be read in full form in STEPHENS, *The English Church, 1066-1272*, or in LEA, *History of the Inquisition*, Vol. I, or in brief form in JESSOPP, *Coming of the Friars, and Other Essays*, essay i.

Contemporary Sources. — MATTHEW PARIS, *Chronicle* (Bohn's Library). A number of extracts from that chronicle are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 25, and COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 31. Documents concerning the summoning of parliament are in *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 6; concerning towns and gilds, in Vol. II, No. 4; and concerning rural life, in Vol. III, No. 5. HUTTON, *Misrule of Henry III* (English History Illustrated from Contemporary Sources), and FRAZER, *English History Illustrated from Original Sources*, contain much scattered material. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. III-134, illustrate this period.

Poetry and Fiction. — JANE PORTER, *The Scottish Chiefs*, is a spirited and interesting story of the time of the Scottish wars, but its characters of Wallace and other heroes are quite imaginary. PALGRAVE, *The Merchant and the Friar*, although in the form of a story, is almost all drawn from contemporary records. MARLOWE, *Edward II*, is a tragedy written long afterwards but with a plot drawn from trustworthy chronicles.

Special Topics. — (1) The Origin of Parliament, MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 58-81; (2) Roger Bacon, COLBY, *Selections from the Sources of English History*, No. 32; (3) St. Francis and St. Dominic, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 225-232; (4) the Expulsion of the Jews, ABRAHAM, *The Expulsion of the Jews from England*; (5) Architecture and Art, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. I, pp. 415-427; (6) Universities, *ibid.*, pp. 429-440; (7) Fairs, *ibid.*, pp. 460-470; (8) a Mediæval Village, JESSOPP, *Coming of the Friars, and Other Essays*, essay ii.

CHAPTER X

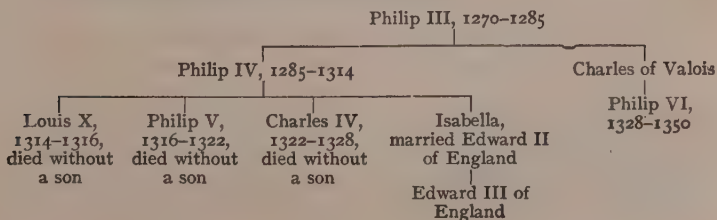
THE FIRST HALF OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR 1337-1399

198. Possessions of the English Kings in France. — National unity had been growing in France as in England during the thirteenth century, although more slowly and against greater obstacles. One of the results of this growth was to make the possession of the southern provinces of France by the English king seem unjust to the French rulers. The English had of course lost Normandy and the central French provinces, but the territories which they still held in the southwest of France made up at least a quarter of that country. The two most important of the provinces held by them were Guienne and Gascony, which together with some smaller provinces of the southwest were all frequently spoken of together as Aquitaine. The English king held them only as a vassal of the French king, and each successive sovereign from Henry II to Edward III had performed homage to the king of France for them. But they did it reluctantly. It was almost too much to expect an English king, used to being supreme in his island dominions, to kneel and in the forms of feudal humility promise to be the man of another ruler. He would naturally consider his dominions on one side of the Channel much the same as those on the other. The French kings, on the other hand, could not abate their claims. They must even take advantage of every excuse to extend them, because the English holdings in France stood in the way of their national unity. An irreconcilable conflict was therefore impending over the two countries so long as the English continued to hold Aquitaine.

199. New Causes of Conflict. — During the reigns of the three Edwards several subordinate causes of conflict were becoming stronger. First, the French had given constant help in money, men, vessels, and protection to the Scots in their wars against the English. Secondly, the sailors of the growing fishing and trading towns on the English side of the Channel were in constant petty warfare with those of similar towns on the French coast. The kings of England and France were not strong enough to keep their own subjects in order and each blamed the other for these attacks in time of peace. Thirdly, the interests of England and France clashed in Flanders. Flanders was under the dominion of a count who was a vassal of the king of France; but, on the other hand, all its trade interests and connections were with England, for the wool used by the weavers in their manufactures was imported from England and many of the articles manufactured in Flanders were exported to England. It was to the interest of the Flemings and the English to keep this trade open, but the French often closed it.

Edward III had also a more personal dispute with the king of France. This was his claim to the inheritance of the French crown. His mother Isabella was the daughter of the French king Philip IV. Three brothers of Isabella had reigned successively but died leaving only daughters. Edward might therefore have hoped to inherit the French crown through his mother.¹ But the feeling in France against the rule of a foreigner, especially if the

¹ Edward's claim to the inheritance of the French crown may be shown by the following genealogy of the French kings.



foreigner were an Englishman, was very strong. It was therefore declared by the French nobles and lawyers to be a principle of French law that women could not inherit the throne, and conse-



The Principal Wool-Raising Districts of England and Wool-Manufacturing Towns of Flanders and Brabant

quently could not transmit the inheritance of it to a son. This custom was known as the "Salic Law," from an obscure provision of the code of the old Salian Franks excluding women from the inheritance of land. From these causes of conflict the two

nations, France and England, were gradually becoming embittered against one another, and when war should arrive it would evidently be a real national conflict. It would be no mere feudal struggle between the English king and his overlord, the king of France, or a border war, such as had often occurred before, concerning the possession of some petty castle, but a great national struggle.

200. Outbreak of the Hundred Years' War.—In 1328, when the last of the sons of Philip IV died, a cousin, Philip, count of Valois, was declared to be king of France, and was accepted by the whole French nation. After some hesitation Edward also acknowledged him and did homage to him for his French provinces, although with some reservations. For almost ten years, during Edward's minority, there was little more than a series of disputes between the two governments, but in 1337 Edward began to make preparations for war and laid open claim to the throne of France. England had stood with her back to the continent for more than a century while struggles between king and barons, and the conquests of Wales and Scotland, had absorbed the great interest of the king and the people. Now, however, an apparently endless war with France brought England into much closer intercourse with the rest of Europe. "The Hundred Years' War," as it came to be called, may therefore be taken as the principal thread of the history of the time.



The English Royal Arms as adopted by Edward III in 1338 (the French *fleur-de-lis* quartered with the English lions)¹

Edward and his ministers made every effort to obtain the approval and interest of all the people in the war, and found little difficulty in doing so. The circumstances that brought on the war were explained by the king's ministers in parliament,

¹ See royal arms on p. 173.

by the sheriffs in the county courts, and by the clergy in the churches. Taxes were readily granted. Ambassadors were sent over to the continent to make alliances with Flanders and with the nobles great and small along the eastern borders of France.

Edward himself went over to the Netherlands with an army in the summer of 1338, and a year afterwards invaded France. There was some fighting and much plundering, but little was really accomplished for several years. The methods of warfare at this time consisted more in the devastation of an opponent's territory than in actual fighting. English marauding expeditions pressed far into the heart of France, burning towns and villages, driving off flocks of sheep and cattle, destroying crops of grain, cutting down orchards, and leaving desolate behind them whole districts formerly fertile, prosperous, and thickly inhabited. The French retaliated by sending fleets to ravage and burn the English coast towns along the Channel, pillaging their shops and killing and maltreating the people.

201. The Battles of Sluys and Crécy. — Occasionally, however, serious battles occurred. After two years Edward made a visit to England and on his return, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty vessels gathered from the seaport towns of the southern and eastern coasts, met a great French fleet in the harbor of Sluys on the Flemish coast. A long and bitter struggle took place. The English weapons and plan of attack proved their superiority, most of the French vessels were captured, their crews slain or driven into the water, and a proof given of the English national capacity for sea warfare.

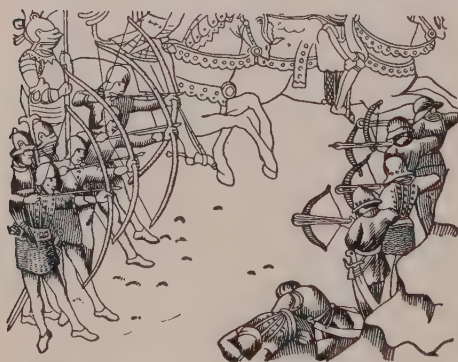
In 1346 there was an even more brilliant victory on the land. Edward had taken a small but well-equipped army over to France, and had entered upon a reckless and brutal plundering and burning campaign through the duchy of Normandy. The French king with a vastly larger army at last intercepted his march and forced him to give battle. King Edward took his station in a position where the flanks and rear of his little army

were protected by woods and the village of Crécy, and where the French would have to charge up the rising ground in front. The French army was large but poorly disciplined and disorderly. A thunder shower swept over the opposing armies, wetting the bow-strings of the Genoese crossbowmen who made up the advance guard of the French, but leaving unhurt the strings of the long-bows which the English archers carried and which they kept in their cases until the storm was over. The afternoon sun also shone in the faces of the French but on the backs of the English. Under these circumstances the French were poorly fitted to resist the shower of arrows which the English archers poured into their ranks as they approached. When the crossbowmen wavered, the fiery French knights dashed among and over them in their efforts to reach the English, till much of the French army was a struggling mass into which the English could pour a steady and destructive fire. Even when it came to hand-to-hand fighting, the position and discipline of the English gave them success. Finally they were able to press down the hill and drive the great French army into a confused flight. It was an overwhelming victory for English good generalship, good discipline, and good weapons, over the poor military organization, vainglorious bravery, and insubordination of the French.

202. The English Long-bow. — In all the early contests of the Hundred Years' War the superiority of the English national weapon, the long-bow, had made itself manifest. This form of the bow, five feet or more long, aimed from the eye with the arm above the shoulder,¹ had come into use in England during the preceding century and had become the popular weapon for use in hunting, in shooting at the target, and in actual warfare. Boys learned to use it from their earliest years and attained wonderful skill with it. It could be shot with great accuracy of aim and for a long range, but its greatest value in warfare

¹ The bow of earlier times was much shorter and was aimed from below the shoulder. See illustration of Norman archers on p. 97.

was its rapidity of firing. While the crossbow had to be laboriously reversed and wound up after each discharge, the long-bow could be held in the hand as the archer with a single motion picked an arrow from a sheaf thrown on the ground at his feet or from a quiver at his side, fitted it into the string, drew the bow, and discharged it again. The rapid, galling, unending pour of the English arrows, "like snowflakes," is mentioned in connection with all their battles and settled the fate of



Long-Bows and Crossbows in a Battle of the Hundred Years' War (from a manuscript of the fifteenth century)

many of them in favor of the side which had the long-bow. At Sluys it was concentrated from the vessels of the English line upon the decks of the French vessels till they were cleared so that English men at arms might board them. At Crécy it was the flight of arrows that made the cavalry charge of the

French more and more slow and disorderly till it came to a stop and left them at the mercy of the English attack. In almost every recorded battle of this time the long-bow played a similar part. It is no wonder that it became an object of pride and romance. "The cloth-yard shaft," "the crooked stick and the gray goose wing," and other expressions for the bow and arrow became familiar in song and story.

203. The Organization of the English Army. — The superiority of the English in a military way did not lie wholly in their weapons. The armies which were taken to the continent were comparatively small, but they were compact and well organized. All the troops

were paid regular wages. A knight received two shillings a day, an esquire one shilling, an ordinary archer threepence. Usual wages for workmen in the country were at that time from one to two pence a day, so the archers who took service in the army were paid almost twice the usual wages, besides what they might hope to get as booty. They were also volunteers, — they joined the king's forces at their own will. Many of them were in uniform and served under the noblemen with whom they had volunteered. The government went to great labor to provide proper equipment; bows, sheaves of arrows, food, and drink being continually sought by the king's officers. The armies were much more like modern armies than any that had fought before in either England or France since the time of the Roman legions. It was an expensive force, but so long as the English treasury could stand the strain it was far more effective than the armies which it met.

204. The Capture of Calais. — After the battle of Crécy the English continued their retreat to the coast. There they laid siege to the town of Calais, whose harbor had long been a retreat from which French sailors had come out to attack English vessels and coast towns. During the early campaigns the English army had almost invariably failed to capture French towns. They had been forced to retreat from before city walls and betake themselves to the miserable business of plundering and burning the villages and open country while awaiting a pitched battle. Now, however, the good organization and equipment of the English army made it possible to keep up a long siege, and after almost a year of close investment Calais surrendered. Edward had a long account against the townsmen and garrison of Calais, not only for their vigorous resistance to his siege, but for their piracies of earlier times. He was therefore inclined to impose harsh terms of surrender. The most that he could be prevailed on to grant was that all should be given their lives if six of the principal citizens would appear before him bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes

around their necks, bringing the keys of Calais. Eustace de St. Pierre and five others volunteered to sacrifice themselves for their fellow-citizens. Although they delivered the keys kneeling and begging for mercy, Edward at first ordered them to instant execution. The expostulations of his nobles and the prayers of Queen Philippa, who was in the camp, prevailed upon him, however, to remove the sentence and set the prisoners at liberty. The French were all expelled from Calais and the town thrown



The Black Prince (from the effigy on his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral)

open to English settlers. It remained practically an English city for more than two hundred years. By the close of 1347, the year in which Calais was captured, both the English and French were nearly exhausted, so a truce was agreed upon which with occasional interruptions lasted for several years.

205. The Black Prince.—Part of the fighting at Crécy and before Calais had been under the leadership of the king's eldest son, Edward, then a boy of fifteen years and commonly known as the "Black Prince," from the color of the armor which he habitually wore. He became more and more prominent as the war continued, fighting beside his father in hand-to-hand battles on sea and land, leading successful ravaging expeditions through the heart of France, and contending in tournaments during the short periods when there was no actual warfare in progress. He was passionately fond of fighting, brave, and venturesome, yet skillful as a general. He was courteous and kind, at least to men and women of the noble class, whether they were his own companions in arms or his defeated enemies. He fully satisfied the ideal of a chivalrous knight as that ideal was held at the time.

206. Knighthood.—The fourteenth century was the golden age of chivalry. The word "chivalry" is somewhat vague in meaning and belongs perhaps to romance rather than to sober history. It is nevertheless true that in the later middle ages a group of ideals and practices grew up among knights and nobles which influenced their actions and feelings and did much to soften the repulsiveness of an age filled with brutality.

A young man born from the class of feudal landholders was expected to serve for some years as page to a nobleman, knight, or noble lady, learning to wait at table, to ride, to use weapons, to play music, and to have good manners. Next he acted as squire or attendant on a knight till he had obtained practice in the tournament, in war, and in the ways of knighthood, and had come fully to man's age. He might then hope for an opportunity, seldom long lacking, to show his bravery and skill in war, when perhaps his feudal lord or some other knight would dub him knight on the field of battle. Often, however, knighting was a matter of more ceremony than this. A festival was made of the occasion and a sword was girded upon him; he received the accolade, or stroke with a sword on the back, head, or neck, and then leaped upon his horse and rode away to show his skill in horsemanship or in arms. Religious services accompanied the ceremony, the arms of the new knight were solemnly blessed, and sometimes the candidate even fasted all night, watching in the church, then bathed, attended mass, and took an oath to fulfill all knightly duties. All present took part in girding on his armor and became witnesses of his oaths. To become a knight thus required considerable means, and many men of good birth never passed from the rank of squire to that of knight.

The more highborn knights, after the time of the First Crusade, wore special emblems and mottoes on their shields, banners, or robes, and the science of heraldry grew up, of which these coats of arms were the subject. Two or three orders of knights who were also monks were founded in the twelfth century, the most

famous of which were the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers. Some knights traveled from land to land looking for adventures. These were known as "knights-errant."

207. **Rules of Chivalry.** — There were certain rules of courage, faithfulness to one's lord, honorable treatment of enemies, respect for ladies, and religious devotion which were supposed to be known and practiced by every squire or knight. A good knight should be brave, truthful, and generous.¹ He should be ready to fight at any time and should always be in love with at least one lady. The rules and customs of chivalry were repeated in poetry and romance till they became familiar throughout all Europe. The fame of many knights and nobles celebrated in the middle ages was founded on their perfect observance of these rules.

Many of the ideals of chivalry were high. Much of its practice and some of its ideals, on the other hand, were gross and brutal. None of its rules were considered to apply to any one not of the knightly class. It glorified fighting for its own sake and it condoned many forms of immorality. Above all, chivalry was hollow. It was largely pretense, — a fashionable form of speech rather than of real feeling or of real action.

Yet in the fourteenth century there was a great deal of brave fighting, much gorgeous ceremonial, some good romantic literature, and much show, at least, of devotion of men to their wives, ladyloves, or mistresses. Much of this can fairly enough be credited to the rules of chivalry.

At the court of Edward III, and above all in the person and among the followers of the Black Prince, it reached its height in England. In 1344, for instance, the king held a great tournament at Windsor to which knights from all Europe were invited, and which he called, in remembrance of King Arthur, a "Round

¹ See the description of Chaucer's knight on page 258, and, further,

He never yet no vileinye ne sayde,
In al his lyf, unto no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit gentil knight.

Table." About 1346 Edward founded the famous "Order of the Garter," a body of knights which still continues as one of the oldest and most honored knightly orders of Europe. Tournaments were a favorite pastime of this period and a frequent amusement of the king and his courtiers. In the narrative of Froissart, the chronicler who has most fully described the events of this period, it is this knightly, chivalrous side of life that is especially displayed.

208. The Battle of Poitiers. — Chivalry, however, lost rather than won the great battles of the Hundred Years' War. The reckless, unrestrained desire of the French nobles to get into personal combat with their enemies was responsible for most of the defeats which the French army suffered. The most striking instance of this was in the battle of Poitiers, fought in 1356. Upon the renewal of fighting after the last truce, the Black Prince led an English and Aquitanian army from Guienne northward through the heart of France, pillaging a part of the country not before reached by the war. The French king formed an army many times larger than that of the English, and succeeded in throwing himself in the way of their retreat. The English were in such a hopeless position that they were willing to retire on almost any terms they could get, but the desire for military glory on the part of the French nobles prevented them from accepting the English offers without having the pleasure of a battle. The same feeling led them into a reckless disregard of the advantages of their position and numbers, and the little English army under the Black Prince again won an overwhelming victory. The king of France, his son, and a great number of the highest nobles of France were taken prisoners, while many more were left dead upon the field. The king, the dauphin, and a long list of dukes, counts, and gentlemen were carried away to England, where they were held for ransom.

209. Peace of Bretigny. — After two or three more years of alternate truce and fighting, a peace was agreed upon at Bretigny, in 1360, between the English and the French governments, which,

it was hoped, would close the war. Edward III agreed to give up his recent claim to the French throne and the older claims to Normandy, Anjou, and the other northern provinces. On the other hand, the southern provinces were to be separated from France altogether and handed over to the English king. No oath of fealty or homage was to be any longer due the French crown. Calais also was to be left to the English. A large ransom was to be paid by the French for the release of their captured king, and hostages were to be given until this sum was paid. The southern provinces which were thus surrendered to the English were made into a separate principality by King Edward and given, under the name of the duchy of Aquitaine, to his son, the Black Prince.

210. Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire. — From the middle to the end of the fourteenth century a number of laws were passed which mark another of the frequent conflicts with the papacy. For some time the pope had been extending his claim to the right of appointment of church officials in the various countries of Europe. In England a parish priest was usually appointed by the lord of the manor in which the parish church lay, a bishop was elected by the canons of his cathedral, and other church officials were appointed by the king, the bishops, or the heirs of those who had originally endowed their benefices.¹ The pope by his supreme authority frequently gave "provisions," that is, direct grants of appointment to such positions, to persons whom he wished to favor or who sought such appointments from him. Persons who held provisions from the pope were called "provisors of benefices." Papal provisions were always unpopular in England. They took away from Englishmen the right of making these appointments; they were frequently given to foreigners who either did not come to England at all or could not understand the language of the people when they did come; they caused the carrying away of much money that should have remained in

¹ Benefice means a position in the church producing an income, such as that of cathedral canon, parish priest, or nobleman's chaplain.



England. This opposition became still greater when the long war began, for the popes of the period were all Frenchmen, living at Avignon, and much under the influence of the French crown.

As a result, in 1342, the king forbade any one to bring into England provisions for benefices, and annulled all those which had recently been given. In 1351 the matter was brought into parliament, and the first "Statute of Provisors" prohibited the practice, declaring that all rights of election or appointment in England should remain in the free possession of their ancient claimants. This law and a number of others which followed it down to 1390 were poorly enforced. One reason for this was that disputes on such questions were apt to be brought into church courts, where decisions were naturally given in favor of the pope's appointee. To prevent this last practice a "Statute of *Praemunire*"¹ was passed in 1353 and another in 1393, forbidding appeals in such cases to the church courts and making it an offense punishable by loss of life and property for any one in England to act under authority obtained from the pope except with the king's consent.

211. The Black Death.—Just after the capture of Calais a terrible and widespread calamity fell upon England, as it did indeed upon all Europe. This was a series of attacks of a new pestilence, or epidemic, beginning in the year 1348, increasing in violence in 1349, and dying out in 1350, but visiting the country from time to time afterward. This disease was the bubonic plague, and this first and most destructive visitation is usually known as the "Black Death." From one town, monastery, or country district to another throughout England the disease spread rapidly. Far the greater number of those attacked by it died, often with terrible suddenness. It has been carefully estimated that instead of about one person dying out of twenty, as would be the rate in an ordinary year, one of every two died during this epidemic.

¹ *Praemunire*, to warn beforehand, is the first word of the writ by which this law was to be carried out.

The plague seldom lasted more than a year in any one locality. Thus half of the population, including members of the royal family, of the high nobility and clergy, as well as of the middle and lower classes, were swept away. Such a sudden and great decrease in population brought about many changes. So many of the clergy died that their places had to be filled with men less carefully trained and chosen; the monasteries, because of the loss of tenants on their lands, became poorer and able to support fewer inmates; fewer students went to the universities, and much of the building and enlargement of churches ceased for a time.

212. The Statutes of Laborers. — But the most distinct effect was on the position of the laboring classes, especially those in the country districts. As the demesne lands were still to be cultivated, and as the number of the population who were available to work upon them was much diminished, laborers were of course in great demand. Naturally those who survived asked higher rates of wages for their work, and the employers in their need for workmen felt themselves bound to pay the higher wages demanded. The king, however, issued a proclamation, which was followed up, when parliament next met in 1351, by a regular statute, forbidding laborers to ask any more for their services than the customary wages in the years next before the pestilence. This was the first of a series of laws known as the "Statutes of Laborers," which were reënacted time and time again for the next two centuries. They were very hard to enforce, as the lords of manors would in many cases rather pay the high wages than run the risk of letting their crops go ungathered and their cattle untended, while the laborers felt that it was an injustice to forbid them to ask what their labor seemed to be worth. The government, however, was entirely in the hands of the upper classes, the laws were made more and more severe, and fines were imposed both for paying and receiving higher wages than the law allowed. The effort to put the Statutes of Laborers into force was therefore a constant source of hard feeling between the employing and the employed classes.

213. Improvement in the Position of Villeins. — Several other changes, which were to a great extent the result of the pestilence, gradually showed themselves. Many tenants of small farms had died leaving no heirs, and landlords were therefore almost as much in need of tenants as they were of laborers. Under these circumstances it was a great temptation to villein tenants to run away from the manors to which they belonged, and where they lived under heavy payments and many burdens, and betake themselves to other places where they would be welcomed and given easier terms. In order to prevent them from leaving, therefore, the lords of manors had to agree to diminished payments and services, and thus the condition of the tenants became better.

Where the tenants had before this time been compelled to do two or three days' work in every week on the demesne land, the lord of the manor in many cases now felt himself compelled to let them pay small amounts of money instead, rather than have them depart altogether. An old chronicler says, "Those who received day's work of their tenants throughout the year, as the custom was with villeins, had to give them more leisure and remit such works, and either entirely free them or give them an easier tenure at a small rent."

Under these conditions of difficulty — scarcity of laborers, high wages, and diminished services — the lords of manors gradually gave up the practice of cultivating their own demesne lands and rented them to tenants for money rents. The most important result of this change was that the landlords, now that they had no need themselves for laborers, took little interest in keeping them bound to their manors, and so one of the harshest rules of villeinage, that which restricted villeins to the manor, gradually ceased to be enforced. From this time onward serfdom became less general and less burdensome. The villeins became laborers or tenants, who might or might not be prosperous but who were at least free.

214. Renewal of the War. — Every effort had been made by solemn oaths, the exchange of hostages, and papal guarantees to

make the Treaty of Bretigny permanent. Nevertheless it could hardly be expected that it would be so, when France had been deprived of almost one third of her territory, burdened with a heavy debt, and left smarting under defeat and disgrace. Within a few years, therefore, war broke out again, and ran on in the form of indecisive campaigns alternating with periods of truce during almost all the rest of the fourteenth century. The fighting was on the whole more favorable to the French than the early campaigns had been. A group of French leaders had learned the lessons which the war had taught. They fought with more caution and skill, and for the time at least drove the English out of many of their earlier conquests.

215. Parliamentary Agitation. — The ill success of the war during this period made the people of England more and more restless and dissatisfied with the government. King Edward himself as he grew old took little part in the management of affairs, and they were much mismanaged by the ministers and courtiers who governed in his name. The man who had most influence in the government was the third son of the king, John, duke of Lancaster, known in history and literature as “John of Gaunt”;¹ but he showed little ability in statesmanship, and little attention was given to anything except the meeting of immediate needs. Taxes were heavy, the judges were open to bribery, and the king’s officers throughout the country violated the rights of the people. Parliaments, however, were called almost every year to grant taxes, and thus an opportunity was given to present complaints against evil customs and to obtain promises from the king to introduce reforms and to change the laws. These repeated concessions to parliament confirmed its right to take part in almost all matters that concerned the government, although the laws made were by no means all carried out and discontent continued among all classes.

¹ He was so called because he was born in the Flemish town of Ghent, which the English pronounced *Gaunt*.

216. The Good Parliament and the Accession of Richard II. —

The parliament which met in 1376 drew up a specially long and bold series of complaints covering almost the whole field of action of the government, its courage extorting from the king a promise to redress most of the grievances. This parliament also gave the first precedent for impeachment of the king's ministers by ordering the arrest and punishment of those men who had been guilty of unlawful actions while in the service of the king. The bold efforts of this parliament to introduce permanent reforms into the government caused it to be known as the "Good Parliament."

In the midst of its sessions the Black Prince died. He had returned from Aquitaine two years before, broken in health and depressed in spirits. He had encouraged the adoption of the reforms of the Good Parliament, but did not live to secure their enforcement. On his death Richard, his young son, was at the request of parliament brought before them and declared to be heir to the throne. Edward himself, who had already lost his mind, died in the next year (1377), and his young grandson succeeded him as Richard II.

217. The Poll Taxes. — Notwithstanding the fact that the English people had now all become one nation, with the same language, the same customs, a centralized government, and engaged in a great national struggle with France, yet there were many causes of bad feeling between the upper and lower classes. The improvement in the condition of the small farmers and laborers already described was prevented by the Statutes of Laborers from progressing as rapidly as it should have done. The villeins who were suffering under the burdens of serfdom felt even more impatient of them when some of their class were being emancipated. In many places there were old disputes between the landlords and their tenants, which had run on for long periods, but which now when the fortunes of the peasantry were rising became more bitter. The heavy taxation pressed upon all the people alike, but, as usual, the poorest suffered from it the most

The discontent among the mass of the people was kept up and their restlessness increased by popular preachers who traveled through the country discussing the conditions of the time in their sermons. Curious rhymes were repeated from mouth to mouth, starting from no one knew where, but expressing in popular language the sense of misery and hardship, and increasing the widespread, sullen irritation among the lower classes. One preacher called attention to the natural equality of all men by crying,

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

In 1379 this feeling became more intense when parliament introduced a new kind of tax, the so-called poll tax. Previously taxes had been laid upon land, upon the personal property of all freemen, and upon goods which were exported and imported. But now a direct tax was laid upon each person above twelve years of age. There was no chance of escaping it, since the collector came into each house to collect it from the head of the household. It was imposed upon freemen and villeins alike, and upon rich and poor. This tax was laid twice in three years, and when the second tax did not produce as much as was expected the collectors were sent around a second time to find who had avoided paying it.

218. The Peasants' Insurrection of 1381. — This second collection of the second poll tax was in the early part of 1381, and seemed to be the spark to set on fire all the long-piled-up material for a great conflagration. In one village after another the people began rioting and attacked the tax collectors. They next turned against manor houses, castles, and monasteries. This rioting extended through much of the southeastern half of England. At the same time several great bodies of the rioters set out for London to reach the young king and induce him to redress their wrongs. Some made their way into London from the east; others came across the river from Kent. They had no difficulty

in making their way into the city, as some of the London council and many of the citizens were in sympathy with them.

A born leader came to the front, Wat or Walter Tyler, from whom the whole insurrection is often called "Wat Tyler's Rebellion." There was no resistance and for two or three days London was at their mercy. They burned the city palace of the duke of Lancaster and a number of other buildings owned by unpopular nobles or by the Knights Hospitallers. They invaded the Tower, seized and, after the form of a trial, beheaded Archbishop Sudbury, who was lord chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, who was lord treasurer, and some lower officials. They attacked foreigners and unpopular citizens in the streets and put many to death.

In the meantime King Richard agreed to meet the rebels, at their request, at Mile End, a village just east of London. There were said to be sixty thousand of them present with Wat Tyler at their head. The rebels asked for freedom from serfdom, the abolition of labor services, low rents, the repeal of the Statutes of Laborers, and some other reforms, and begged that they should be granted pardon for their rebellion. The king agreed to their demands, although, as it afterwards proved, without intending to be bound by his promise. Boy of fifteen as he was, he recognized the powerlessness of the government, and determined to promise everything and then withdraw his promises when he should again have the power.

Some of the rioters then returned to their homes, but many others with their leaders remained in the city. The next day another interview with the king was arranged for, at which some further requests were to be made. The king with the mayor of London and a group of attendants met them in the evening at Smithfield. Tyler rode forward and laid the new demands before the king, who promised to grant them. But the tide soon turned. A dispute broke out between the companions of the king and the leader of the rebels. This became so violent that one of the

nobles sprang forward, stabbed Tyler, and dragged him from his horse, while the others stabbed him to death as he lay upon the ground. As the rioters drew their bows against the royal party, the king, with great presence of mind and capacity for deception, rode forward toward them, crying out, "Are you seeking a leader? I will be your leader." The peasants, confused and without guidance, followed him outside the city gates, where they were suddenly surrounded by a force of troops which had been gathered by some of the king's officers. Here they were disarmed and sent away, while the gates of the city were shut and all strangers ordered to leave.

While London was in the hands of the rebels, rioting had been in progress in many parts of the country. The manor court records kept by the landlords were burned by the peasants; stewards of estates, judges who had enforced the Statutes of Laborers, collectors of the poll tax, and foreign merchants were mobbed and in many cases killed. Monasteries were attacked and the abbots forced to grant to their tenants new charters giving privileges and freedom from old burdens. For a few days or even weeks everything seemed to be in the power of the insurgents.

219. Failure of the Insurrection. — Their power fell as rapidly as it had risen. After the death of Wat Tyler and the departure of the insurgents from London the government began to take action, the nobles in different parts of the country put down the rioters in their neighborhood, and so the storm began to abate. Many of those who had taken part in the revolt were tried and executed by the king's judges. The charters of liberty which the king had given were withdrawn by proclamation, and those given by abbots and other landlords declared by parliament to be invalid. Things were placed as far as possible in exactly the position they had been in before the insurrection had broken out. After a few months a general pardon was issued to all those who had taken part in it and had not yet been punished.

The rebellious laborers and small tenants had had no very clear idea of what they wished; they were not well organized and had

few capable leaders. It is therefore difficult to perceive any permanent results of the rebellion. The poll tax was given up, and serfdom probably passed away more rapidly than had been the case previously. On the other hand, there are indications of a more embittered feeling between the lower and the upper classes than there had been before, and the latter made successful efforts to get more complete control over all forms of government in parliament, the church, the counties, and the towns.

220. Wycliffe. — One of the causes of the restlessness among the people that led to the Peasants' Rebellion was a religious revival which was in progress at that time. John Wycliffe, a clergyman and a learned and popular teacher at the University of Oxford, was in the habit of calling frequent attention to the lack of earnest religious life on the part of most of the clergy. He complained that the bishops, abbots, and other higher clergy were engaged in the service of the government or occupied with the administration of the large property belonging to their churches. Priests of the parishes were neglectful of their charges, and the friars had become lazy, ignorant, and avaricious. The cure for this condition of affairs, he thought, was to be found in a life of poverty on the part of all clergymen, in less attention to ceremonies, and in a more intense religious earnestness.

He taught that no one had any right to property unless he obeyed the laws of God, who granted all their possessions to men on condition of obedience to Him. If any churchman committed sin his property might be rightfully taken from him by his parishioners or by the government. When these teachings were opposed by other churchmen, especially by the bishops, he declared that the higher officials of the church had no real authority over other churchmen, and that all priests had an equal right to teach and act as they saw fit. He opposed the authority even of the pope.

Like other learned men of the time, Wycliffe was much given to making fine distinctions in the use of words and expressions, and to disputing often for the mere sake of disputation and for

the enjoyment of keen argument. But he was also an earnest and self-reliant student of theology. In his disputations and writings he touched upon many of the doctrines of the church, and expressed views which were opposed to those generally held by churchmen. He thus made himself guilty of heresy.¹

Wycliffe was in opposition to most of the churchmen of his time in three respects : first, in charging them with evil and unworthy lives which could only be amended by taking away from the church all its property ; secondly, by refusing to acknowledge that the pope and higher officials of the church had any authority over the lower ; and thirdly, in teaching religious doctrines which they considered heretical. He was, however, very popular in the university, and had many admirers among the learned and prominent men of the time.²

221. The Poor Priests and the Lollards. — To do the work of preaching the gospel, which the clergymen were leaving undone, to teach the people in their own language and to arouse them to a more earnest religious life, many men now began to go through the country wearing plain clothes and living on poor fare. They were known as “poor priests,” and were probably sent out, and certainly encouraged and instructed, by Wycliffe, whose teachings they spread far and wide by their preaching. They were listened to with interest by the people, did much to awaken them, and gained wide acceptance for the views of Wycliffe. Those who

¹ Heresy consists in holding religious views which are declared by the proper authority to be untrue. In the fourteenth century this authority, of course, was the Catholic church. There was difficulty sometimes in obtaining an authoritative statement of what the teaching of the church really was, and until a decision had been given by the pope or a council there was room for much dispute.

² Wycliffe was a most voluminous writer. A society exists for the special purpose of providing for the printing of his Latin works. So far they have published twenty-five volumes, and several of his works still remain in manuscript. Four volumes of his English works have also been printed.

believed in the teachings of Wycliffe were given the nickname of "Lollards," a term long used in Germany and Holland for heretics, and now introduced into familiar use in England.

222. The Bible in English. — Besides their teaching and preaching the "poor priests" placed in the hands of the people the Bible translated into English. English and French translations of parts or the whole of the Bible were already in existence, but only in the possession of the learned and in a small number of copies. Such knowledge of the Bible as the people had was obtained from its use in quotations and in the church service. The translations now made by the Wycliffites were spread widely by the work of copyists, and all who could read them were encouraged by Wycliffe and his followers to do so. It is generally supposed that Wycliffe shared in this translation, and he certainly gave it his countenance; but there is no proof that he did any of the work of translation himself.

223. Persecution of the Lollards. — The church authorities were in no haste to take action against Wycliffe and those who agreed with him, and some of the bishops may have sympathized with his teaching. As the movement spread, however, Archbishop Arundel, who had succeeded Sudbury, the victim of the rebels of 1381, began a vigorous resistance to the Lollards. Wycliffe was brought before a church court and finally, in 1382, was ordered to withdraw from teaching at Oxford. He retired to the parish of Lutterworth, of which he was rector, where he spent the remaining two years of his life. He wrote many of his theological and philosophical works and religious tracts at this time, and issued directions and advice to the "poor priests." Soon after Wycliffe was silenced, his active partisans at Oxford were brought before a church council and forced to acknowledge their errors and to cease teaching his views. Some of the most prominent Lollard preachers through the country were also summoned before the bishops for examination. Most of these early leaders of the Lollards gave way when they were brought to trial, and recanted.

They were thereupon subjected to temporary punishment and then restored to the church. The authority of the church was still so completely unbroken, the doubt in the minds of these men as to whether they could be right when the whole church was against them was so strong, and their isolation was so complete that it is not a matter of wonder that in most cases they gave way when brought to the test.

224. The Statute against Heretics. — Nevertheless, the awakened religious feeling among the people could not be so easily lulled to sleep. Many continued to hold the views of Wycliffe, or opinions even more opposed to the teachings of the church. Even at Oxford many of the students and masters held Lollard views. The same was true of members of the upper classes and of individual clergymen and laymen throughout the country, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the bishops to punish all who held heretical beliefs. In 1401 a specially strong effort was made to stamp out heresy. An act was passed by parliament forbidding any preaching or religious teaching without the authority of the bishop of the diocese, and any holding or spreading of opinions which had been condemned by the church. Persons suspected were to be arrested by the officers of the bishops and held in prison until they could prove their innocence or would recant from their errors. If they could not or would not do so, they were to be handed over to the sheriff of the county or other proper official and burned to death in some high place as a warning to others. In the very year of the new statute a Lollard priest was burned at the stake, and during the next few years three or four others suffered in the same way.

Some years later, in 1414, the Lollards had become so numerous and their opinions had gone so far beyond those of Wycliffe that a group of them planned an insurrection. This was discovered and punished and was followed by more violent laws against them. In the next half century a large number, probably as many as sixty or seventy, were burned or hanged, either for heresy

or for heresy and treason combined. After that time the Lollards are heard of less and less, and their opinions either died out altogether or sank into obscurity.

225. Increasing Use of the English Language. — It was one of the notable characteristics of the Lollard religious revival that Wycliffe and his companions preached and wrote largely in English. In doing so they were appealing to all classes of men. The language of the common people was in the fourteenth century fast becoming the language of all Englishmen. Latin was still the language of the learned at the universities and in the church, and French was still understood and spoken by many of the nobles and the merchants. But more of them understood and spoke only English. In 1362 a law was passed requiring that the pleadings in the courts should for the future be carried on only in English. The next year the chancellor's speech at the opening of parliament was for the first time given in English.

Literature responded to this change. There was much religious writing in English by orthodox churchmen as well as by the Lollard teachers. Several translations were made of parts of the Bible into English besides that connected with the name of Wycliffe.

226. Piers Plowman. — Popular poems were also written in the language of the common people. The longest and most famous of these was the *Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*. It is a dreamy and somewhat confused series of allegorical descriptions and dialogues, in which Pride and Gluttony, Virtue and Reward, and other personified virtues and vices tell their experiences and make their confessions. It has, however, the charm of picturesque description and fiery earnestness. It is written in the homely, everyday language of the people, in a kind of alliterative verse similar to that of the old Anglo-Saxon poetry. It has a swing and a rhythm which made it catch the ear as well as the heart of the people. Its author seems to have been named William Langland, although nothing else is known about him than can be learned from the poem itself. He was

apparently a man of some learning, but evidently one of the common people, deeply, even bitterly in earnest in his condemnation of the special follies and evils of his time. The popularity of this poem, long and serious as it is, was very great. There are still in existence some thirty-six manuscript copies of it made before the invention of printing, a century afterwards. "*Piers Plowman*" became the common name to apply to a poor laboring countryman. Composed in its first form about 1370, it was rewritten by the author in two later forms with an interval of several years between each. Its English can still be read without much difficulty, as its opening lines will show.

In a somer sesun whon softe was the soun,
I schop me into a schroud a sheep as I were;
In habite of an hermite unholy of werkes,
Wende I wydene in this world wondres to here.
Bote in a Mayes morwynyge on Malverne Hulle
Me bifel a ferly, a feyrie me thouhte;
I was weori of wanderinge and wente me to reste
Under a brod banke bi a bourne syde.

227. *Chaucer*.—*Piers Plowman* was a poem of the common people, written by an unknown author. It was stern and religious in its character, representing the feelings of a period of popular excitement, and reflecting the oppressions, the hardships, and the coarseness of the poor. In quite another class of society and representing quite different surroundings and feelings was Geoffrey Chaucer, the most famous poet of the period and one of the most popular of English poets of all time. He was the son of a well-to-do London merchant, brought up as a page in the service of one of the ladies of the royal family. He took part in the war in France, traveled to Italy, and during most of his life was engaged in various government offices and in embassies to the continent. He was familiar with the French and Italian literature of the time, and wrote his English poems under the influence of these better models. His most famous poems

are the group called *The Canterbury Tales*. They describe thirty pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, all starting out from the Tabard Inn in Southwark, across the river from London, and each agreeing to tell two tales to while away the time during the journey. His poem is principally made up of these tales, told by the knight, the shipman, the wife of Bath, the miller, and all the rest of the merry party that he brings before us so vividly.

The poet's good humor and brightness never fail, his use of language and formation of verse are skillful, and the stories include a large group of romantic mediæval legends and many of the classical tales he had learned in Italy. There is a certain genial spirit of carelessness and even recklessness running all through Chaucer's poetry that strikes one as strange amidst the harsh realities and the popular excitement of his time. But it is to be remembered that he belonged to the upper classes, and that he represented the prosperous, traveled, chivalric, and lively element in English society. Yet even Chaucer had his earnest side. At the end of *The Canterbury Tales* he asks forgiveness for what is merely worldly in his book, and closes it with a prayer of penitence. Chaucer was England's most popular poet, and long afterward, when the art of printing was introduced into England, his *Canterbury Tales* was one of the very first books printed. His English is still more like that of modern times than the ruder language of "Piers Plowman," as can be seen from the following passages from the prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*.



Chaucer (from a contemporary portrait)

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
 That fro the tyme that he first bigan
 To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
 Trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisye.

There was also a Nonne, a Prioress,
 That of hir smyling was ful simple and coy;
 Hir gretteste ooth was but "by seynt Loy";
 And she was cleped madame Eglentyne.

.

At mete wel y-taught was she with-alle;
 She leet no morsel from hir lippes falle,
 Ne weete hir fingres in hir sauce depe.
 Wel coude she carie a morsel, and wel kepe,
 That no drope ne fille upon hir brest.

228. Personal Career of Richard II. — Richard was but twelve years old on the death of his grandfather, Edward III, in 1377, and he did not take firm hold of the reins of government till he was twenty-three. During this long minority the government was controlled by successive parties of nobles and by ministers appointed by parliament. They cannot be said to have ruled the country wisely or successfully. The Peasants' Rebellion stirred the nation to its depths, expensive and ineffective campaigns in France wasted without result the force of both nations, the poll tax and other heavy burdens were laid upon the people, and there was a continual cry of misgovernment, disorder, and oppression.

In 1389 Richard suddenly appeared in the council, declared himself of age, asked for the resignation of the ministers, and announced his intention of managing the affairs of the realm, choosing his own councilors, and being the king of England in fact as well as in name. For seven years after this he carried on a moderate and popular government, following the old customs, calling parliament frequently, asking for but small taxes, encouraging the adoption of good laws, making a long truce with France, and respecting the rights of individuals and classes.

But the natural inclinations of Richard were to the exercise of absolute power. In 1396 he visited the French court and married the daughter of the king of France. Whether the long effort to rule moderately had at last wearied him, or whether he had been carried away by the greater freedom of action of the French king, or whether his mind was affected, as has been sometimes believed, from this time forth his character and actions changed. He began to collect money in various illegal ways, surrounded himself with a bodyguard of archers, brought about the trial and execution or banishment of several nobles for offenses which they had committed years before, and exercised such influence over the elections to the parliament of 1397 that when it met it was ready to do his bidding in all things. He induced it to repeal certain laws and pass others which made him practically an absolute monarch. For about two years he was in a position to rule as he pleased. His government, however, was unwise. He angered the people by extortionate taxes, made the extravagant expenses of the court still heavier, and committed many other acts of despotic power, which, together with the recent executions, banishments, and interference with the freedom of parliament, took away all the popularity which he had formerly enjoyed.

229. Deposition of Richard II and Accession of Henry IV. — Finally he banished his first cousin, Henry of Lancaster, son of John of Gaunt, and afterwards confiscated his estates, which were the most extensive of any noble of England. Henry was a man of much experience and ability. He had fought in a crusade in Poland, traveled to Jerusalem and through much of Europe, was well known and popular in England, and therefore was not likely to submit to permanent banishment and disinheritance. He waited in France till times should be better.

In 1399 when King Richard went on a campaign to Ireland, leaving England in the hands of a regent, Henry suddenly appeared with a small party in the north of England, declaring that he had come back to claim his estates. His popularity and

the unpopularity of Richard were so great that as he passed through the country he soon had an army at his back and extended his claims to the throne itself. When the king returned from Ireland he found himself deserted and all England in the hands of Henry. He recognized that all was lost and promised to resign the crown. He was imprisoned and required to sign a paper renouncing his position and power as king. Parliament was called, the abdication of Richard read, charges against him drawn up, and an act deposing him passed. Then Henry of Lancaster arose, stepped forward to the vacant throne, signed himself with the cross on his forehead and breast, and made a speech claiming the throne as being of royal blood and sent by God to restore the realm. Parliament immediately acknowledged him as king. He was then crowned with the title of Henry IV. He and his successors are known as the "House of Lancaster," or the "Lancastrian branch" of the Plantagenet line of kings. Richard was placed in captivity in a castle in the north of England and died within the next few weeks, from a cause then unexplained and always since unknown. Henry has of course been charged with bringing about his murder, but no proof has ever been given of it.

230. Summary of the Period from 1337 to 1399.—The period which has now been surveyed saw the English nation, which had been brought into complete union during the previous two hundred years, use its united strength in a great national war against France. The brilliant victories of Sluys (1340), Crécy (1346), and Poitiers (1356), and many smaller successes gained in this war furnished a fund of glory on which the English drew for centuries afterwards. Yet, notwithstanding the favorable Treaty of Bretigny (1360), the effort to put the English king on the throne of France or to gain any considerable part of France and make it permanently subject to England was a failure. The effort was plainly opposed by those two powerful factors in the evolution of history—geography and race. The indirect effects of the war were, however, very important. England was drawn into

closer connection with the continental countries, with great advantage to her trade, industry, and intellectual progress; and the excitement and successes of the war aroused the people in all respects.

Parliament grew stronger and obtained a recognized right to share in many of the powers of the government. Those classes of the people which were represented in its two houses now had a chance to be heard and to have their interests attended to, and there was consequently much legislation for their advantage. The lower classes of the people, however, had no influence over the government or opportunity to make their grievances heard in any peaceful way. It was because of this that they rose in the desperate insurrection of 1381. Although this revolt was completely put down by the king and the upper and middle classes, the time was nevertheless one of progress for the lower classes. The effects of the great pestilence of 1349 and other changes were quietly relieving the villeins of their serfdom and making some of them into free yeomen or small farmers, and others into free laborers.

Despite the war abroad and restless disorder in England itself, the latter part of the fourteenth century was a particularly active intellectual and literary period. The use of English became practically universal in literature, French being given up almost entirely and Latin to a very great extent. Wycliffe, Langland, Chaucer, and others wrote works which were widely known at the time and are read even yet. Besides these many pious works were written which still exist only in their manuscript form. The Bible was translated into English and reproduced in numerous copies, although the authorities of the church restricted the reading of it and an effort was made to destroy all the copies that had already been made. They feared the effect of the unauthorized interpretations expressed in the translations or in the comments accompanying them. The idea that each man should be allowed to hold what opinions he chose on religious matters had not yet

arisen, and the organized church was still too strong and too narrow-minded to permit a group of men to exist holding or teaching a different set of religious views from its own. The church authorities, with the help of the king and the royal and town officials, persecuted the heretical Lollards so vigorously that all such belief died out for the time.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. v, sects. 1-5, contains a vivid account of this period, especially characteristic of Green's predilections but inaccurate in its account of the Peasants' Rebellion. MACKINNON, *History of Edward III*, is the most recent book on his period. WARBURTON, *Edward III* (Epochs of Modern History), is good. For the later part of the period the best book is TREVELYAN, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*. The Black Death is best and most fully described in GASQUET, *The Great Pestilence*. JESSOPP, *The Coming of the Friars*, essays iv and v, gives a very vivid and interesting account of the pestilence in the eastern counties. The Peasants' Rebellion is carefully described in the book by TREVELYAN named above, and by KRIEHN, *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2. For Wycliffe see SERGEANT, *Wyclif*, and POOLE, *Wycliffe and the Movements for Reform* (Epochs of Church History), and LECHLER, *John Wiclif* (two volumes). Much interesting material about this period is to be found in JUSSELAND, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*. CORNISH, *Chivalry*, illustrates still another side of the life of the time.

Contemporary Sources. — FROISSART, *Chronicle*, gives by far the most full and interesting account of the events of this period and is reasonably accurate, though always prejudiced in favor of the king and the nobility. It is translated by JHONES in two thick volumes. The Globe Edition volume contains a well chosen series of extracts. *The Boy's Froissart* is not so good but may be used. CHAUCER and *Piers Plowman* can be read in their original form with but little difficulty. ASHLEY, *Edward III and his Wars* (English History by Contemporary Writers), contains many interesting extracts from chronicles and state papers. *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. II, No. 5, is devoted to material illustrative of this period. Several interesting extracts from Froissart and other contemporary writers are in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 29-36; a still larger number and of greater variety in FRAZER, *English History Illustrated from Original Sources, 1307-1399*; a few in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 39-42, and in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 90-99. A large number of documents of a legal and constitutional nature are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, but none during this period are of the first importance.

Poetry and Fiction. — SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II*, begins the series of continuous historical plays which extend over this and the next two centuries. They are based in most cases on Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and although not strictly accurate interpret the history of the time with wonderful power. Miss YONGE, *Lances of Lynwood*, is a tale of this period. MORRIS, *A Dream of John Ball*, is an idealization of the objects of the peasants in the rebellion of 1381. SOUTHEY, *Wat Tyler*, is a drama concerning the same events.

Special Topics. — (1) The Black Death, TRAILL, *Social England*, II, pp. 133-137; (2) Effects of the Black Death on Wages, *ibid.*, 137-146; (3) Methods of Warfare during the Hundred Years' War, *ibid.*, 172-181; (4) Wycliffe's Influence, *ibid.*, 159-172; (5) Chaucer's Poetry, *ibid.*, 206-222, and *The Canterbury Tales*, *Prologue*; (6) the Treaty of Bretigny, FROISSART, *Chronicle*, chap. 212; (7) the Battle of Crécy, *ibid.*, chap. 130 (given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 30); (8) the Peasants' Rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk, POWELL, *Peasant Rising in East Anglia*; (9) the Disappearance of Serfdom, CHEYNEY, article in *English Historical Review*, 1900, pp. 20-37; (10) the Recantations of the Lollards, CHEYNEY, article in *American Historical Review*, 1899, pp. 423-438.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK. 1399-1485

231. Reign of Henry IV. — Parliament had taken a prominent part in the deposition of Richard and the election of Henry of Lancaster to the throne. Indeed, although the change of kings was really the result of the military power shown by Henry, yet in appearance it was altogether the action of parliament, and could not have been accomplished with so little difficulty except with its consent. Henry pledged himself to govern in accordance with the wishes of that body, and neither to interfere in elections nor to violate its rights, as his predecessor had done during the last two years of his reign.

The power of parliament had been increasing almost steadily during the century since it had obtained its full form under Edward I. Its division into the House of Lords and the House of Commons has been already described. The constant necessity for appeals by the king to parliament to grant taxes for the expenses of the long war with France had given it abundant opportunity to demand and obtain the grant of new rights. It met almost every year, sometimes more than once in the year. In the fifty years of the reign of Edward III, parliament met forty-eight times. In Richard's reign of twenty-two years, it met twenty-four times. Frequently when a grant of taxes was asked for, the members of parliament, especially of the House of Commons, replied by making complaints of certain actions on the part of the king or his ministers, and agreeing to appropriate the money if their wishes in these matters were granted. The king was generally obliged to yield. Thus changes were introduced into the mode of carrying on the

government, and precedents established for the further interference of parliament.

Little by little parliament obtained in this way four classes of powers. No taxes could be imposed or collected without its consent; no new laws could be adopted without its agreement; it could impeach the king's ministers; and it could press upon the king its advice in all important measures of government, including foreign wars and treaties. Besides these powers, members of parliament had obtained certain well-established privileges. They were free from arrest while present at, going to, or coming from parliament, and they could say anything they wished in debates in parliament without being punished afterward for it. Many of the rights and privileges which all modern legislatures possess are derived from the powers which the English parliament gained between 1295 and 1400.

Henry kept good faith with parliament and ruled for the most part in accordance with its wishes, although its complaints and demands were numerous. His reign, which lasted for fourteen years, was not, however, a fortunate one. There were partial renewals of the war with France. The struggle of the government with the Lollards which has been already described fell mostly within his reign. He had difficulties with Scotland, dissensions in his own family, and above all, as might have been expected from the way in which he had obtained his crown, he was troubled with many conspiracies and rebellions.

232. Rebellion of Owen Glendower. — One of these was of greater importance and survived longer than any of the others because it had back of it the still unconquered national spirit of



Henry IV (from the effigy on his tomb)

the Welsh people. Since the conquest by Edward I, the native Welsh princes had been deprived of their independence, and castles had been built here and there through Wales to hold the country down. These castles were occupied by English barons, known as "Lords Marchers," who exercised most of the powers of government over the surrounding natives. The Lords Marchers were hard masters to the native Welsh gentry and peasants, and disputes and conflicts were frequent and bitter. Just at the beginning of Henry's reign a Welsh gentleman named Owen Glendower rose in revolt against the English nobles. These were of course upheld by the king. Glendower, on the other hand, gradually drew to his side by far the larger portion of the native population of Wales. He was descended from the native princes, and could appeal to that loyalty which is the strongest of all sentiments among a people still living as clans. The love of independence of the Welsh people proved to be still alive, and minstrels passed through the country stirring up the people by recalling traditions of resistance to invaders from the time of the Romans downward.

Owen was soon proclaimed Prince of Wales and proved to be a skillful leader. He made devastating raids through the adjacent counties of England and the more thickly settled parts of Wales, and even captured several of the castles. He was idolized by his countrymen and credited by the superstitious among both Welsh and English with magical knowledge and powers. He defeated or evaded successive armies sent against him, several of them led by the king himself, and for a few years made Wales almost independent. His power was strengthened by the outbreak of a great conspiracy against Henry. The two most powerful noblemen of the northern shires of England, Henry and Thomas Percy, earls of Northumberland and Worcester, who had helped to put Henry on the throne, now rose in revolt and joined Glendower. With them were "Harry Hotspur," son of the earl of Northumberland, a famous young soldier, and the earl of Douglas,

a Scottish nobleman. This conspiracy threatened to be too strong for the king to resist. But in the destructive battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 the conspirators with their army of fourteen thousand men were overthrown, Hotspur killed, and the two earls captured. Little by little the greater wealth and power and better organization of the English, and the perseverance of the king and his son, Prince Henry, broke the resistance of Owen and his Welsh adherents. The castles were recaptured and the whole of Wales was finally restored to obedience and comparative good order.

233. Renewal of the French War under Henry V. — In 1413 Henry IV died and his eldest son Henry succeeded him. Almost from the beginning of his reign Henry V planned to renew the old war with France. He was by nature and early training a good soldier and a vigorous ruler, and was ambitious to win glory. What was more natural than that he should seek it in France? Conditions were favorable; the French king was insane and two great parties among the nobles of France were



Henry V (from a contemporary portrait)

involved in bitter disputes which constantly brought them to the verge of civil war. In 1414 Henry took a small but well-equipped army across the Channel. The war was soon marked by another brilliant victory for the English, that of Agincourt, fought in 1415, which was even more decisive than Crécy or Poitiers. The English archers and men at arms stood at bay while they were attacked by a French army six times as numerous as their own; then when the French were halted by muddy ground and the flight of arrows the English swept down upon them and crushed them.

In the main the policy of Henry V was to carry on a war of sieges and of the capture of towns instead of mere ravaging, as had been done by Edward III and the Black Prince. He captured the cities and occupied the country methodically as he passed through it. But while he was engaged in besieging the principal towns of Normandy, he was at the same time trying to obtain the support of one of the two contending French parties. He was finally successful in this, and in 1420 a treaty was signed at Troyes by which Henry was acknowledged as heir to the throne of France after the death of Charles VI, the insane king, and its regent in the meantime. To seal this treaty Henry married the daughter of the French king and proceeded rapidly to seize those parts of France which held out against his claims.

The reign of this great king was, however, a short one, lasting only nine years. His death and that of his father-in-law, which occurred a few weeks afterward, made his infant son Henry VI, in 1422, nominally king both of England and France. The eldest son of the late king of France still considered himself heir to the throne, although he had been disinherited by the Treaty of Troyes. The war therefore still continued. For a long time it went in favor of the English. John, duke of Bedford, an uncle of the young king, acted as regent, and with the aid of veteran English leaders and soldiers succeeded in holding most of France and defeating the Dauphin's party in many engagements.

234. Joan of Arc. — Finally, however, the tide turned and the war began to go against the English. This was due in great part to the influence of a young French peasant girl, Joan of Arc. Inspired by the belief that she had been given a mission by God to deliver France from its invaders and to place the Dauphin on the throne of his fathers, she appeared before him, secured his reluctant consent to allow her to lead some troops, inspired them with her own enthusiasm and confidence, and won a great success by driving away the English who were besieging Orleans. The Dauphin himself was then stirred to greater activity and under

the persuasion of the Maid of Orleans, as she came to be called, made his way to Rheims, the ancient coronation city of the French kings, and was there crowned king of France. Joan now felt that she had fulfilled her mission and asked to be allowed to return to her home, but the Dauphin insisted that she should remain with the army. Some time after this she was captured by the English. After a trial which was planned to end in but one way she was burned as a witch in the market place of Rouen. Even one of the persecutors of the innocent French patriot girl wavered and turned away, crying, "God have mercy upon us, we have burned a saint." The movement of success which Joan had begun continued, and although the French frequently wasted their opportunities, yet on the whole the reconquest of their native land went steadily on. The English were driven out of one province after another; their expeditions from England were more poorly equipped and more unsuccessful. Finally the long war came to a close in 1453 by the defeat of an English army near Bordeaux, and the loss of all their territory in France except Calais.

235. Wars of the Roses. — The close of the Hundred Years' War was only a change from war abroad to war at home for the next thirty years. The wealth and power of the English nobles were at this time very great. A number of them were related in one way or another to the royal family. They had valuable estates scattered in different parts of the country and kept in their service large numbers of retainers.¹ With these numerous bodies of followers in their service and wearing their badge the nobles were never at a loss for men to carry out their quarrels, which were very frequent. There were many jealousies and enmities, and parties were continually being formed among them in deadly opposition to one another. So long as there was a

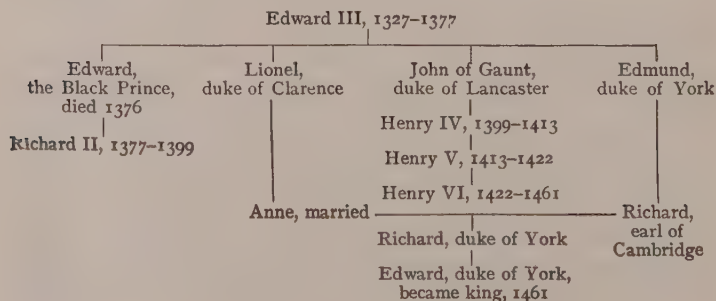
¹ Retainers were hired followers who could be called upon to act as attendants on occasions of show, to fulfill duties as messengers or servants about their lord's household, and, if there should be need, to fight for him.

strong king reigning the nobles were forced to keep order among themselves, but after the death of Henry V there was a long period, while Henry VI was still a child, when they could not be controlled. Even after he had grown up he proved to be too mild, easy-going, and weak to keep a strong hand over the turbulent and disorderly elements of the country.

The king was always under the influence of one group of nobles or another. Those who were excluded from office plotted to drive from power those who surrounded the king. These efforts finally led to civil war, and a succession of bloody battles was fought, several years, in some cases, intervening between one battle and another. This series of battles is known as the "Wars of the Roses."

236. The House of York. — The king's nearest kinsman and the most powerful and conspicuous noble in England was Richard, duke of York. He was descended on one side from an elder and on the other from a younger brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the father of Henry IV and great-grandfather of Henry VI. The duke of York had therefore, by strict hereditary right, a better claim to the throne than Henry himself.¹ He did not openly make this claim, simply acting as leader of one faction of the nobility. Yet more than once he and his party took arms

¹ The claim of the duke of York to the throne was based on the following line of descent from Edward III.



against those nobles who were gathered around the king, and thus in a certain sense fought against the king himself. This division of parties gave its name to the civil war. A white rose was one of the family emblems of the duke of York, and was used by the nobles of his party. A red rose was then adopted as a badge by the nobles who surrounded the king and were adherents of the Lancastrian family from which the king was descended. The white rose of York and the red rose of Lancaster thus became synonymous with the two great political parties.



Rose Noble of Edward IV, showing on the Side of the Ship the White Rose Badge of the House of York

Little by little the contest drifted into a struggle for the crown. As feelings became more embittered and as the king became subject to attacks of insanity, inherited no doubt from his grandfather, the king of France, the ambition of Richard of York to seize the kingship for himself was aroused, but in 1460, at the battle of Wakefield, he was defeated and slain. His claims to the leadership of his party, to the headship of the House of York, and to the crown itself then descended to his son Edward.

237. Edward IV. — Events now moved on rapidly. After a successful battle against the nobles of the king's party in 1461, Edward declared himself king by hereditary right and was crowned with the title of Edward IV. He treated Henry as a usurper, and forced him to flee, with his wife, son, and principal adherents, into Scotland.

The civil war still continued, however, the party of the fugitive king fighting more than one successful battle, and even in 1471 driving Edward temporarily from the country and replacing Henry on the throne. This change of rulers was largely brought

about by the change of sides of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, previously a strong supporter of the Yorkist claims. His influence over the changes in the holding of the crown has given him the name of the "king-maker." This arrangement lasted but a few months, when Edward was restored and Henry was imprisoned in the Tower, where he soon died. On the whole the reign of Edward IV, which continued till 1483, was peaceful, successful, and prosperous.

238. The Towns in the Fifteenth Century. — The civil war was mainly a contest among the nobles and was fought out by their



Edward IV (from a contemporary portrait)

own retainers. It passed over the heads of the great body of the people and they were not much affected by it. This was the period when the towns of England attained their greatest prosperity and most complete self-government. Less labor, money, and attention were now given to the building of castles, cathedrals, and abbeys than in earlier times, but much more were given to town buildings and improvements. The towns were becoming larger, and wharves, market houses, paved streets, aqueducts, timber-built

dwelling houses, and new parish churches were becoming common. At the same time the townsmen were securing better charters from the royal government, and making use of the representation which they had in parliament to obtain favorable laws and attention to their trading and industrial interests. The fifteenth century was also a period when wealthy merchants were endowing many schools and other charities and establishing chantries.¹ Printing

¹ A chantry was an endowment to pay the expense of keeping up a shrine in a church and supporting one or more priests to perform service at it in memory of the founder.

was introduced into England in the middle of the reign of Edward IV. The king took a great interest in matters of trade as well as in literary advancement, and invented "benevolences," a method of obtaining gifts from wealthy men to take the place of taxation.

239. Foreigners in England. — Much of the increased importance of the towns was due to the larger amount of manufacturing and of trading between different parts of England and between England and foreign countries. The actual foreign trade was still mostly in the hands of foreigners. Venetian galleys came almost every year to Southampton or London to sell goods



An Old Street in the Town of Shrewsbury

from Italy and the East, and to buy English wool and other articles. German traders came from the Hanseatic cities along the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea, and not only traded at the English cities and fairs, but had permanent dwellings and warehouses in London, Lynn, and Boston. Flemish merchants carried on much of the wool trade with Flanders. Representatives of Italian and German banking companies lived in England and made loans to the government and to churchmen and

noblemen. Since the reign of Edward III many weavers and other artisans had come from the continent to live in England, and from them the English were rapidly learning to be themselves successful in several lines of manufacturing. England had been backward in manufactures, commerce, and finance compared with other European countries, but its people were now learning from the foreigners who dwelt among them valuable lessons which were to carry them in time far beyond their teachers.

240. Richard III and Henry VII. — When Edward IV died in 1483 he left two young sons and a daughter. The eldest son



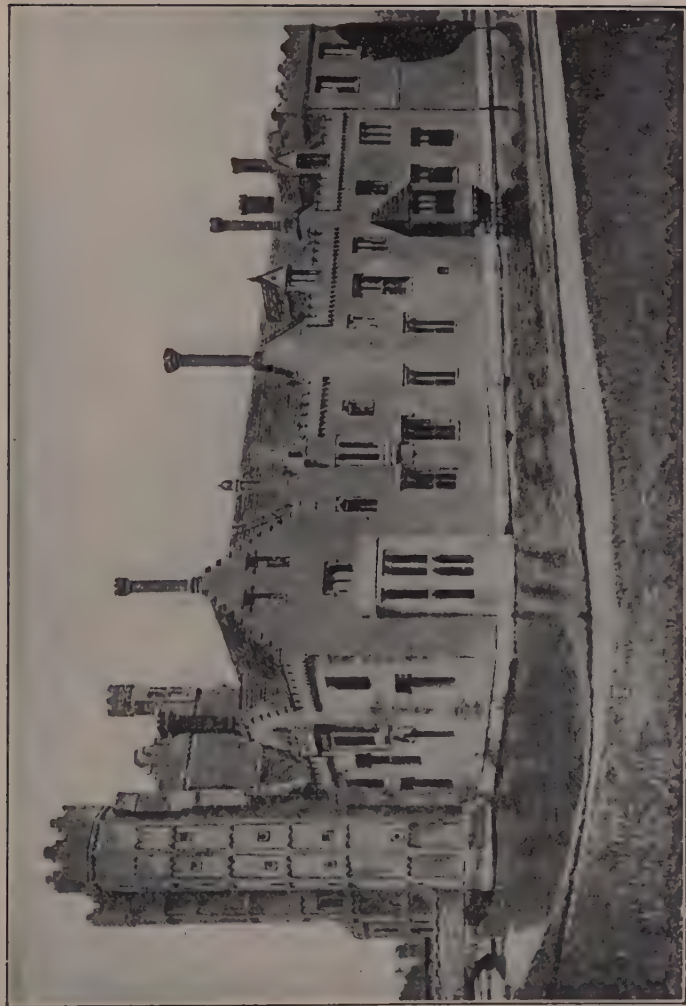
Richard III (from a contemporary portrait)

was crowned king as Edward V, but he was soon set aside and probably murdered in the Tower of London, along with his brother, Richard, duke of York, by their uncle Richard, duke of Gloucester, who then made himself king as Richard III.¹

The civil war, however, was not even yet settled, and after two years a new conspiracy was formed and Richard in turn was killed on the battlefield of Bosworth by Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, the representative after the death of Henry VI of

the old Lancastrian party. The victorious earl was crowned in 1485 as Henry VII. He had gained the adhesion of many of the Yorkist party by agreeing to marry Elizabeth, daughter

¹ The murder of the two young princes was long a mystery and is not yet entirely clear, but twenty years after their disappearance Sir James Tyrrel confessed that he had secretly strangled and buried the two boys in the Tower, and two hundred years later two skeletons, which corresponded to their size, were discovered buried under the steps.



Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk: a Fortified Manor House of the Wars of the Roses

of Edward IV, and this marriage now took place. There was thus founded a new and great line of kings, the Tudors. So many and such important changes occurred during the period of the Tudors that by general consent it is looked upon as a new epoch and its history will be the subject of the next two chapters.

The Wars of the Roses have left a dark record. There was no great principle for which the two parties were fighting. The early battles were merely to gratify the jealousy and mutual hatred of the great nobles, the later ones only to secure possession of the crown. The leaders frequently betrayed one another, and changed sides from motives of anger or personal ambition. Some of the battles were very bloody, and many captured nobles were put to death on the baseless charge of treason.

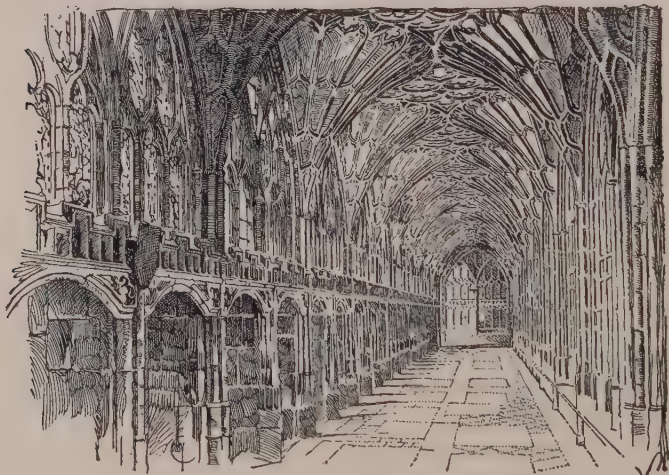
There was a constant succession of confiscations of estates, many of the old noble families were ruined in fortune, and some of them were left without a single representative to continue the family name and title. This resulted in the weakening of the baronage, which, with the hearty desire of the people for peace, for a settled succession, and for good order, worked for the benefit of the first Tudor king, Henry VII.

241. Summary of the Period from 1399 to 1485. — The second part of the Hundred Years' War, after its renewal under Henry V, was marked by still another brilliant victory for the English, that of Agincourt, in 1415; and by a temporary settlement, the Treaty of Troyes, in 1420. But these did not prevent the final failure of the English effort to conquer France, and at the end of this period England had less territory on the continental side of the Channel than she had at its beginning.

When the wars with France were over, and a weak-minded king was on the throne, a civil war broke out among the English nobility which resulted in 1461 in deposing the king and putting the House of York in the place of the House of Lancaster. There were still, however, numerous battles before the Wars of the Roses were closed by the final success of Henry VII in 1485

and his marriage with Elizabeth of York, a lady who represented the claims of the other line.

During this whole period the middle classes of the people both in the country and in the towns were steadily becoming more important and influential. In the succeeding period it will be found that the opinions and interests of these middle classes are



The Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral

especially considered by the kings, and it is they who make the history of the time to a far greater extent than in any of the periods we have so far studied.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. v, sect. 6, and chap. vi, sects. 1-3. RAMSAY, *Lancaster and York* (2 vols.), is a detailed history of this period, paying especial attention to military and financial matters. GAIRDNER, *The Houses of Lancaster and York* (Epochs of History), is a shorter and more well balanced work. WYLIE, *England under Henry IV* (4 vols.), is a study of encyclopedic minuteness of that reign. OMAN, *Warwick the King-Maker*, furnishes a useful clew to the Wars of the Roses. KINGSFORD, *Henry V* (Heroes of the Nations), is a good work.

A full study of town life is Mrs. GREEN, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*. DENTON, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, describes some sides of history neglected in other works.

Contemporary Sources. — A number of extracts from the chronicles are gathered in THOMPSON, *The Wars of the Roses* (English History by Contemporary Writers), and DURHAM, *English History from Original Sources, 1399-1485*. *The Paston Letters* are a valuable collection of family correspondence referring to the latter part of this period. Interesting extracts are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 38, and COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 47. This period, which is but briefly treated in this book, is more fully illustrated than some other periods by the contemporary records in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 164-184.

Poetry and Fiction. — SHAKESPEARE, *Henry IV*, parts 1 and 2; *Henry V*; *Henry VI*, parts 1, 2, and 3; and *Richard III* are most valuable. His characterization of Joan of Arc, as of many other individuals, is absolutely without historical basis, but his insight into motives and drawing of character are of the greatest historical value. BULWER-LYTTON, *The Last of the Barons*, STEVENSON, *The Black Arrow*, and CHURCH, *The Chantry Priest of Barnet*, are tales of the Wars of the Roses. Miss YONGE, *The Caged Lion*, is a good story of the earlier part of the fifteenth century. DRAYTON, *The Battle of Agincourt*; SOUTHEY, *King Henry V and the Hermit of Dreux*, and ROSSETTI, *The King's Tragedy*, are three ballads printed in BATES and COMAN, *English History Told by English Poets*.

Special Topics. — (1) Joan of Arc, GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. vi, sect. 1; (2) Caxton, *ibid.*, chap. vii, sect. 3; (3) The Steel-yard in London, PAULI, *Pictures from Old England*, essay vi; (4) The Later Lollards, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. II, pp. 277-293; (5) Magic and Sorcery, *ibid.*, pp. 370-375; (6) The Towns in the Fifteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 407-413; (7) Parliament in the Fifteenth Century, MONTAGUE, *Constitutional History*, chap. vii; (8) The Treaty of Troyes, KINGSFORD, *Henry V*, pp. 300-308.

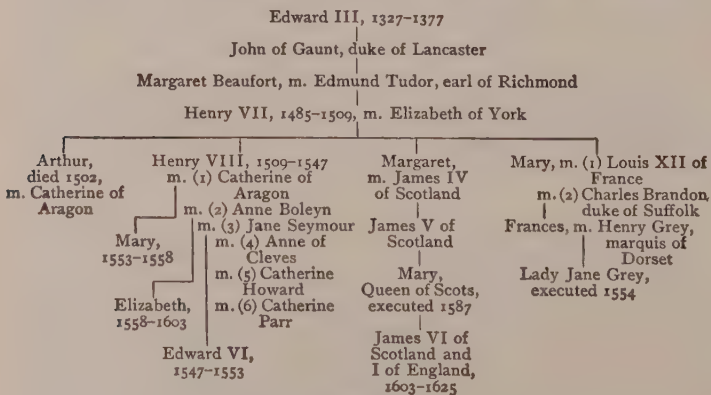
CHAPTER XII

THE EARLY TUDOR PERIOD. 1485-1558

242. Henry VII. — The reigns of the new line of kings fall in so exactly with a number of very important changes affecting the history of the whole people that the name of the Tudor family is quite naturally applied to this period. To this dynasty belonged five sovereigns who reigned altogether for somewhat more than a century. The reigns of four of them fall within the period covered by this chapter.¹

The title of Henry VII, who had been crowned on the battle-field of Bosworth, was not a very clear one. It was, however, accepted by parliament and by public opinion, and was made stronger by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. Nevertheless Henry had to put down four separate

¹ The descent and relationships of the Tudor family were as follows :



armed rebellions, two of which threatened to drive him from the throne. Two years after his coronation he was confronted by a serious revolt headed by a certain impostor named Lambert Simnel, who claimed to be nephew of Edward IV and true heir to the crown. A bloody battle was fought at Stoke in which many of the leaders were killed and the pretender captured. Henry in derision made him a scullion in the palace kitchen. The second attempt was still more threatening but not more successful. A Fleming named Perkin Warbeck was carefully trained to personate Richard, duke of York, younger son of Edward IV, who had really been murdered in the Tower. For several years he passed from one European court to another, acknowledged by those sovereigns who were hostile to Henry, and keeping the English king in constant fear of invasion. One after another of these dangers was, however, avoided by Henry's diplomacy or concessions, and when Warbeck finally invaded England in



Sovereign of Henry VII, showing the "Tudor Rose," the Emblem of the Combined Houses of York and Lancaster

1497 it was with a volunteer force which soon melted away and left him in Henry's power. He was imprisoned in the Tower and after an attempt to escape was hanged.

Henry VII had two sons, Arthur and Henry, and two daughters, Margaret and Mary. They were all married in such a way as to strengthen his position abroad and prevent help being given to claimants to his crown. He arranged a marriage between Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Aragon and Castile. Arthur died a few months after his wedding, but it was arranged that Catherine should remain in England as the future bride of the king's second son, Henry.

Margaret went to Scotland as the wife of King James IV. The youngest daughter Mary was only a child at her father's death, but the same policy was carried out later by her brother, who gave her hand to the king of France, as pledge of an alliance with that country.

Henry VII was a self-controlled, clear-sighted, and able man. He was hard-working, shrewd, and persevering. He was more a man of business than former kings had been and devoted himself largely to the practical work of statesmanship. He obtained the help also of capable and devoted ministers. The ablest of these was old Cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who had held office under Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III. He served Henry as lord chancellor and was his most trusted adviser during most of his reign. To the wisdom, judgment, experience, and skill in statecraft of Cardinal Morton most of the success of the new government was due. Henry chose his other ministers also not from the high nobility, but wherever he could find men of sufficient ability.

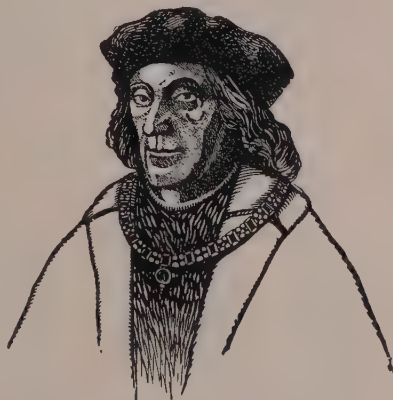
243. The Preservation of Order. — Henry came to the throne determined to keep good order in his kingdom. Lawlessness had been too common in England during the Wars of the Roses, and he showed from the very beginning of his reign that he intended to insist on a new standard of peace and good behavior. Not only were all revolts put down with a heavy hand, and their leaders executed, but one by one all possible rivals to the throne were put to death. Both Henry VII and his successor were determined that there should be no more Wars of the Roses.¹ These executions were brought about by regular process of law, after the offenders had laid themselves open in each case to a charge of

¹ The persons of royal blood who were thus executed were, in the reign of Henry VII, the earl of Warwick, nephew of Edward IV: in the reign of Henry VIII, the duke of Buckingham, great-great-grandson of Edward III; the marquis of Exeter, a grandson; Lord Montague, a great-nephew; and the countess of Salisbury, a niece of Edward IV.

treason; but they were brought to trial at the instance of the king, and the condemnation and execution that invariably followed were in accordance with the king's wishes and interests. It is doubtful whether any one of these executions would have taken place if the king had not been known to wish it.

Next the nobility was reduced in importance. The part which the great nobles had played in the government ever since Saxon times was now over. So many noble families had been destroyed in the Wars of the Roses, so many estates had been forfeited to the crown, and so powerful was the king, that the landed nobility were no longer able by their great numbers and possessions to overawe the crown.

244. Court of Star Chamber. — Means were also taken to prevent the lesser disturbances through the country for which the nobles and gentry were responsible. The king forced them all, when they came to parliament, to bind



Henry VII (from a contemporary portrait)

themselves by an oath to keep the old laws against livery and maintenance, not to hire armed followers who should wear their badges, and not to interfere with the action of the regular courts. In 1487 a law was passed giving a stronger organization to the Court of Star Chamber. The law provided for the appointment of certain members of the privy council who were to act as an extraordinary court taking charge of several kinds of cases which the ordinary courts had not been strong enough to settle. Its duties were the punishment of persons who kept large bands of armed retainers, those who bribed or threatened sheriffs or

jurymen, and those who took part in riots or other unlawful gatherings. This group of councilors held its sessions in the room in the palace of Westminster known as the "Star Chamber," and got its name from this circumstance. As it sat at the capital of the kingdom, as it had all the authority of the king immediately behind it, as well as the authorization of parliament, and as it was not limited by such strict rules of procedure as the ordinary courts, it was able to exercise a great deal of power which the other courts of law did not possess.

245. Strong Monarchy. — This creation of what has been called a "strong monarchy" was one of the constant objects of Henry's policy. He succeeded in creating what was practically an absolute rule. He not only strengthened the law courts but made every effort to arrange the income and expenditure of the government in such a manner that he should always have enough money when it was needed. All the old sources of income, — crown lands, feudal dues, customs duties, and parliamentary grants were made as productive as possible. The whole country was growing richer and the good order kept everywhere made it possible to collect larger amounts from these sources than had been possible before.

While the income of the government was in these ways increased, the king watched expenditures carefully. Exact accounts from all officials were insisted upon, foreign wars were carefully avoided, and many other expenses reduced. In addition to these legitimate financial reforms, Henry adopted various irregular expedients for raising money, such as benevolences and the infliction of heavy money fines upon men who had unwittingly violated obsolete statutes. "Morton's fork" became a famous form of dilemma. Henry's minister of that name frequently intimated to persons who lived extravagantly that it was evident that those who spent so much could readily afford to make a gift to the king; while he informed those who lived frugally that it was evident that they who spent so little must have something from which they could make a gift to the king. By these various means the financial



Map of Towns and Counties

condition of the government became so strong that the king was able to pay regular expenses out of regular income, and yet spend large sums at certain times when they were needed without exhausting the treasury, which was full at the time of his death.

246. Decrease of the Power of Parliament. — By his financial independence the king was freed from the necessity of calling parliament for the purpose of obtaining grants of money, as his predecessors had done. It was therefore summoned much less frequently than before, meeting only five times during his whole reign, and only once during its last twelve years. Even when it did meet it was much under the king's influence. In the House of Commons a member who was also an official of the king was usually chosen speaker and through him the king's wishes were carried out. The laws which were favored by the king were in most cases those which were favorable to the interests of the middle classes who elected the members of the House of Commons. Thus parliament interfered very little with the government of the king, and showed itself ready and willing to follow the suggestions made to it by his ministers.

247. The Merchant Adventurers and Other English Traders. — Clothed with these high powers and served by able officials the government of Henry VII turned its attention to the regulation of a great many things which had been disregarded by the government before this time. One of the directions in which this was most successfully done was in the encouragement of foreign trade. It has already been explained that English trade, although large in amount, was carried on almost altogether by foreigners. In all treaties with other countries into which Henry now entered he arranged that English traders should be admitted there for the purpose of selling and buying goods. An instance of this policy was the *Intercursus Magnus*, made in 1496 with the duke of Burgundy, to admit English goods into the Netherlands. He encouraged all English companies of merchants which were formed to take part in foreign trade.

There had been for a century and more, in the Netherlands, an organization of English merchants known as the "Merchant Adventurers," engaged mainly in the sale of English woollen cloth. This trade was steadily increasing, but the merchants were loosely organized and had few powers from the home government to regulate the affairs of their trade. They attracted the attention of Henry, and were by him given the right to have a company seal and coat of arms of their own and granted a new charter giving them complete control over the affairs of their trade abroad and even in England. At the same time foreigners coming to trade in England were deprived of the privileges which they had formerly possessed and found opposition instead of encouragement from the English government. There were many commercial changes in progress. The conquests of the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean had cut off the old routes to India, and Portugal had discovered a new one around the Cape of Good Hope. Both the Venetian galleys and the Hanse vessels came less frequently and in smaller numbers to England. English traders, on the other hand, were going with their vessels in constantly larger numbers to the ports on the Mediterranean and Baltic seas and to the shores of the continent directly opposite England.

248. The New World. — This interest in commercial life was leading Englishmen to join in the explorations which were then being made not only by the Portuguese but by several other nations. The seaport of Bristol was the center of English activity in this direction. Columbus visited it some years before he set out on his successful voyage, and several early but fruitless expeditions in search of new lands were sent out from that city. Settled at Bristol was a Venetian merchant named John Cabot, with his three sons. Cabot had either thought out for himself or gained from Columbus the idea of sailing westward to reach the great spice-producing lands of Asia. In 1496 Henry gave him permission to organize an expedition under the English flag and to take possession in the name of the king of England of any lands

he might discover. The expedition sailed in 1497 and during a three months' trip discovered and explored the coast of Labrador and brought back a map of the discoveries. In Henry's diary is recorded a gift of £10 "to hym that founde the new Isle." Afterwards new expeditions and voyages of discovery from Bristol were made from time to time, but they had little success. They were in search either of riches in the lands that they first reached, or of a passage beyond them to the East Indies. In the parts of America to which the voyage directly westward from England brought them, they found nothing of the former, and in seeking a northwest passage they only pressed deeper and deeper into the ice-bound regions of northern America. Nevertheless, from this time forward England had a new interest, new ambitions, and a claim to territory in the newly discovered western world.

249. The Renaissance. — The age of Henry VII was a time of great intellectual awakening. Much of this was due to the influence of Italy. In that country there had been during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a new and lively interest in many lines of study and art, and a great development of learning, literature, painting, sculpture, and building. This is called the "Renaissance," that is, the new birth of the interests, knowledge, and ideas which the Romans and Greeks of antiquity had possessed. From Italy these intellectual interests gradually spread to other countries. Many young Englishmen went to Italy to travel or study and came home imbued with the ideas prevalent there. They brought back with them books on a variety of subjects in which Englishmen had previously taken little interest. Some learned Italians came to England to visit or to settle, and they also spread the same love for and interest in classical learning. One of the men who exercised the strongest influence in England was Erasmus, a great Dutch scholar who was familiar with all the new Italian and the older classical learning and came to England for the first time in 1498, having been invited by a young English nobleman whom he had met at Paris. He visited England again

and again in after years, kept up a correspondence with several learned Englishmen, and took an active part in the discussions of the time.

250. Humanism in England. — As a result of this awakened attention to ancient forms of learning, several new subjects came to be studied at the universities. Three men, Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet, who had all studied in Italy, taught Greek at Oxford from 1494 onward, and also gave instruction in other subjects, such as medicine and philosophy, to which the Greek language served as



Tomb of Dr. Yonge, Rolls Office, London (in the Italian style)

an introduction, and to which it gave a new interest. These men, by their enthusiasm, imparted to their students a love of the Latin and Greek languages, and a desire to become familiar with the works of the ancient authors who had written in them. This study of the classical authors and of their language and their writings, which is characteristic of all Europe during this period, is spoken of as "humanism." The special form it took in England is often called the "new learning." Many men who had never been abroad became equally earnest devotees of this new learning. Thomas More was one of the most gifted and learned of these. He studied at Oxford and always afterward remained on terms of

friendship and kept up his intercourse with the group of learned men who were there at that time.

Most of these men were not only students but reformers, anxious to improve the condition of the world, to spread education more widely, to improve the schools, to bring about a cessation of wars, to abolish unjust and unwise laws, and to make men more broad-minded and liberal in their feelings and actions. Soon after the death of Henry VII, More wrote a book in Latin, which he called *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," in which he called attention to many of the bad conditions existing in Europe at that time, and then described a fictitious country in which all these evils had been remedied. The criticism was too outspoken for him to venture to publish his book in England or to issue it in the language of the people. It was published on the continent and remained long untranslated. In some directions, however, reforms were introduced of the sort that More advocated. Several new professorships and some new colleges were endowed at the universities. Linacre became tutor to the prince of Wales, and physician to the king, and exercised a strong influence for good over them. John Colet was appointed dean of St. Paul's at London, where he founded St. Paul's school, by his private means, and introduced into it new methods of teaching and more enlightened ideas. New text-books were prepared for the boys, and men interested in humanistic studies were appointed as their teachers. There was more effort to rouse their interest, and less dependence was placed on whipping. Many other schools were also founded at about this time, and it became a nearly universal custom for boys and girls of the higher and middle classes to be well educated.

251. The Introduction of Printing into England. — The invention of printing had been one of the products of the Renaissance. From the German city of Mainz the new invention had been carried far and wide. In 1476 William Caxton, an Englishman, who had learned to print in the Netherlands from one of the early printers there, brought a press and type to England and set up

a small printing establishment in a building which he was allowed by Edward IV to use at Westminster. Here he proceeded to print books, for which there proved to be an abundant demand. Before his death, in 1491, he had printed Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and many other English poems, chronicles, and works translated from the French and Latin. Meanwhile several other printing presses had been established in England. The writings of the men of the new learning, and the works of the classical authors whom they so much admired, could now be printed and circulated comparatively cheaply and abundantly, instead of being only slowly and expensively copied by hand as in earlier times. This cheapness and abundance of books increased still further the extension

C Synpilled and translated out of frenshe in to englyshe the
viij day of Juny the yere of our lord M iij C lxxviij / and
the first yere of the regne of kynge hary the viij / And enprynces
ted the xj day of Maye after / at

Laus Deo

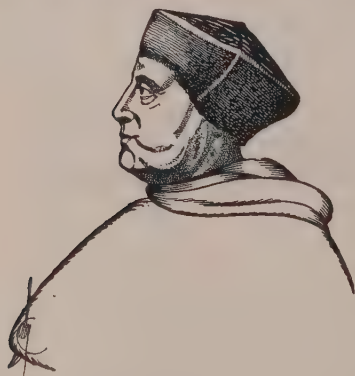
Specimen of Caxton's Printing in the Year 1486

of education, and spread the habit of reading among a far wider class of the people than before. The language was also reduced to much greater uniformity by the work of Caxton and the other early printers.

252. Accession of Henry VIII.—When Henry VII died, in 1509, his son, Henry VIII, came into a rich inheritance. The dispute about the succession to the throne had been settled, the king's position was independent and powerful, the treasury was well filled, the country was at peace, and there was a great and spreading interest in trade, manufactures, learning, education, and art.

Henry VIII was well suited to these times. He was only eighteen years old, but he was well grown and handsome, a fine rider, runner, sportsman, and swordsman, well educated, and on

intimate terms with the best men of the time. He was more open-handed, hearty, and good-humored than his father, and he came to the throne without any bad memories of struggle behind him. "Bluff King Hal," the nickname by which he has been called, reflects his manner and his popularity, during the earlier part of his reign at least. He married his widowed sister-in-law, Catherine of Aragon, immediately after his accession. His reign lasted for thirty-eight years, until 1547. This period may very well be divided into two parts: the early years, in which the principal events were



Cardinal Wolsey

those gathering around the policy of the great minister Wolsey; and the later years, in which the great change known as the Reformation was in progress.

253. Wolsey. — During the first fifteen years of his reign, Henry took comparatively little part in the work of the government. Like his father he chose able men for his ministers, and one of these soon came into practically

complete control of affairs. This was Thomas Wolsey. He was the son of a merchant of Ipswich,¹ was educated at Oxford, became a clergyman, acted as tutor to the sons of a nobleman, traveled on the continent, and then came to the court of Henry VII, where he was employed in various services.

When Henry VIII succeeded to the throne he found Wolsey acting as king's almoner, a member of the council, and the most active and able of the ministers and advisers who had been in his

¹ According to an old but apparently mistaken tradition his father was a butcher. His low birth was a cause of reproach and difficulty to him at the time. See anecdotes of this time in *Readings in English History*, pp. 330-340.

father's service. He was almost twenty years older than the young king, and was eloquent, witty, full of ideas, and clear and bold in the expression of them. He was ready to take part in anything that needed to be done, whether it was to plan a campaign or to arrange a dance or banquet.

Wolsey obtained almost complete influence over Henry, and for many years he was the most trusted adviser of the king and in many ways the practical head of the government. He was a man born to command, and he forced his will upon every one but the king. To him he was ever, in case of a difference of opinion, the submissive servant, or at most the cautious adviser. He obtained a long series of promotions and offices which brought him an enormous income. The most important of these appointments were lord chancellor, archbishop of York, cardinal, and legate of the pope. He thus held the highest position possible for an English subject in the state and, except the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the church, besides receiving the income from various bishoprics, abbeys, and other offices. He lived in a style to correspond to his position, having from two hundred to six hundred persons in various positions as servants or officials, wearing the most gorgeous of robes, and giving the most magnificent banquets and entertainments.

Wolsey's life was a very busy one, fulfilling his duties as lord chancellor, sitting as a member of the Court of Star Chamber, holding conferences with foreign ambassadors, reading and dictating letters, attending to the manifold interests of his position as a minister and churchman, and spending besides much time with the king at his business or at his pleasures. His haughty manners and arbitrary actions and the contrast between his low origin and the lofty height to which he had risen made him extremely unpopular with the nobles, the lawyers, and many other influential persons; but so long as the king favored him his power was almost as unlimited as that of the king himself.

254. Foreign Wars. — The hope of the reformers of the time, that universal peace could be brought about, — a hope shared

by Colet, Erasmus, More, and even Wolsey, — was sadly disappointed. Not only were there great wars between France, Spain, and many lesser states of the continent, but the English king and the nobles were not willing to look on and take no part in them. Several times during this period English troops fought again in France, as they had not done since the close of the Hundred Years' War, and Wolsey and the king were continually engaged in arranging and rearranging alliances. In 1520 Charles V of Spain visited England to knit still closer with Henry the bonds which had bound their predecessors in an alliance.

A similar conference between Henry and Francis I, king of France, occurred on the borders of the English possessions in France in the same year at a place then described as the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." For weeks before the meeting workmen were busied in erecting temporary buildings for the two monarchs and their courts. These were provided with the most gorgeous furniture, hung and covered with the richest tapestry of silk and cloth of gold and silver. Then for two weeks the two kings held court there, and, with a vast company of noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies attending on the two queens, feasted and held tournaments, gave magnificent entertainments, and exchanged visits, while the ministers prepared a new treaty.

England's position in foreign affairs seemed to be a high one, for her alliance was continually sought; but her allies had their own objects and when they obtained these were willing to give up her friendship. The English therefore obtained little but hollow glory and a slight extension of the territory around Calais, while the cost of war preparations, along with the other expensive habits of the king and court, used up all the money which Henry VII had saved, and threw into disorder the arrangement of the finances which he had with so much difficulty perfected.

255. The Amicable Loan. — Parliament was called very seldom and the taxes and loans it authorized were soon expended. Therefore, when the king and his advisers determined on a new

war and invasion of France, the government demanded what was called an "amicable loan." This was a loan which each man was urged to make, in proportion to his property, with but small probability of its ever being paid back. The effort to collect it caused such great complaint and even resistance on the part of the people that the attempt was given up. Wolsey as usual took upon himself the responsibility for having suggested the loan and obtained the hatred of the people for it. The king's own popularity with all classes during the whole of this period of his reign remained boundless.

256. The Divorce Question. — By 1527, however, a new question was arising which was destined not only to occupy much of the private thoughts and interests of the king for several years, but to exercise an enormous influence upon the history of the whole nation. Henry's wife, it will be remembered, was Catherine



Henry VIII

of Aragon, who had been first married to his older brother Arthur just before that prince's death. According to the canon law a man was not allowed to marry his brother's widow. The pope, however, was generally considered to have in special cases a right to suspend the canon law in respect to marriage, if there was sufficient reason for doing so, and Henry VII had obtained from him a dispensation which permitted the marriage of Henry and Catherine to take place. Moreover, for many years the marriage was in the main a happy one. But all the children which were born died

successively, except one, Mary, a delicate little girl. Gradually Henry began to feel some doubts as to whether his marriage to his brother's widow had really been lawful. He was extremely anxious to have a son to inherit the throne after him, and he feared that the death of his children might be a judgment of God upon him for marrying against the laws which religion laid down. He therefore began to think of separating himself from Catherine.

At about the same time he fell deeply in love with Anne Boleyn, one of Queen Catherine's ladies of honor. Which of these sentiments, doubt as to the legality of his first marriage or the wish to form a second one, came first will never be known. Probably Henry himself did not know. But he soon asked from Wolsey and others whether his marriage had been legal or not. The whole question depended of course on whether the pope had been justified in the first place in giving the dispensation from ordinary canon law when it was asked for by Henry's father. If so, Catherine was legally his wife and he could not marry again during her lifetime. If not, she had never been his wife according to law, and he was at liberty to marry some one else if he chose. Whatever may have been his original conscientious scruples, Henry's sole wish soon came to be to obtain a divorce from Catherine and to marry Anne Boleyn. To this object he devoted his thoughts and directed his policy for several years. With all his brilliant gifts, his abilities, and his popularity, Henry was absolutely selfish and heartless ; and no consideration of old affection, honor, or duty could deter him from an end on which he had set his heart.

257. Fall of Wolsey. — Various efforts were made to obtain a decision by the church authorities in the divorce case. It was necessary to refer the question to Rome, as the papal tribunal was the court which gave decisions on the law of marriage. Under the laws of the church, however, even the pope himself could not grant a divorce for any cause whatever if the king's marriage to Catherine had been valid. Year after year now passed by

and the question remained unsettled. The king, becoming suspicious that Wolsey was not doing all he could to have the matter settled, gradually gave less of his confidence to his great minister, and finally in 1529 removed him from his offices and allowed an action of Praemunire to be brought against him for violations of the law while in office.¹ In the hope that submission would ward off further penalties, Wolsey signed a general confession and



Part of the Palace of Hampton Court (built by Cardinal Wolsey and presented to Henry VIII)

acknowledgment that his life and property were at the disposal of the king. Henry with his usual heartlessness seized the property of his fallen minister and ordered him to retire to his religious duties. There are few greater contrasts in history than that between the middle and the last years of the great cardinal.

¹ Wolsey had accepted from the pope an appointment as legate and had acted on its authority in several matters in England. He had thus laid himself open to a charge under the old statutes of Praemunire. See p. 243.

Living in splendor equal to that of a king, commanding the services of officers and dependents by the hundred, occupied with vast plans of administration and reform in his own country, and holding in his hands the threads of a diplomacy that extended throughout Europe, he was the greatest man in England, save the king alone. Then, deprived in a day of all offices except those which came to him from the church, and almost impoverished, he retired, stunned by the withdrawal of the king's support, to a little country house just outside of London, whence he soon started on the long journey to York, which was his see as archbishop. In less than a year, in 1530, a second blow fell and he was summoned southward again to be tried for treason. Sick and weary he made his way by slow stages toward London till, unable to proceed farther, he stopped at the abbey of Leicester and died there within a few days.

258. Submission of the Clergy.—Henry still put pressure upon the pope to give a favorable decision in the divorce case. He sent embassy after embassy to him, appealed to the universities of Europe to give an opinion on the matter, threatened to cut off the payments made to the pope from England, and to put an end to the papal right of appointment and other forms of his ecclesiastical authority. The king also strengthened his power over English churchmen and the weight of his threats against the pope by causing suit to be brought against the clergy for illegal obedience to Wolsey when he acted as papal legate. By holding a prosecution for *Praemunire* over their heads he induced the convocation of the clergy in 1531 to pay a heavy fine, to acknowledge that the king was supreme head of the church as well as of the civil government in England, to hand over to the king for revision the canons of the church, and to promise that they would enact no new canons without his consent. This action is known as the "Submission of the Clergy." But even yet the pope gave no decision on the divorce question, although the pressure from the emperor had been removed.

259. Subserviency of Parliament. — In 1529 the king called a new meeting of parliament. At this time the House of Lords was made up of noblemen, bishops, and abbots, most of whom had been raised to their high position by Henry or his father; the House of Commons consisted of lawyers, merchants, and country gentlemen, many of whom had been nominated as members by the privy council and all of whom belonged to the middle classes, which had been so much favored by the policy of the Tudor sovereigns. Their respect for the crown was therefore very great, their devotion to the king unlimited. They were naturally inclined, therefore, to follow the king's lead and meet his wishes. Even if they had not felt so well disposed toward him resistance would have been difficult. The power of the crown had been rising so rapidly under Henry VII and Henry VIII that obedience had become a habit. The interest of parliament in religion, on the other hand, was very slight. The sixteenth century in England was a period of much greater interest in trade, agriculture, and manufactures, in learning, art, and travel, than in religion.

Parliament was therefore ready to pass willingly enough almost any laws on church matters that the king chose to ask from it. A weapon was provided to the hand of Henry by which, as he believed, he could force the pope to grant him his wishes.

260. The Foundations of the Reformation. — But other motives were influencing king, parliament, and people, and making changes in the old religious system inevitable, quite apart from the personal designs of the king and the subserviency of parliament.

First, the civil government both of king and parliament had been rising steadily above the ecclesiastical power. Men were no longer willing to give to churchmen so high a position or such wide powers as they had held during the middle ages. The first step of the English Reformation was to consist in reducing the church to a distinctly inferior position. Secondly, it was a time when men were influenced by strong feelings of national pride and independence. There was a growing dislike of foreign interference

or control, a growing desire to settle all English questions in England. A prohibition of the pope's interference in the government of the English church was therefore a natural and popular measure. Thirdly, it was a time when many changes were in progress. Methods of farming and manufacturing, houses, clothes, food, — all were changing. It was easy for changes to take place in religion also. Therefore the alterations introduced by Henry VIII, although directed in the first place toward his personal ends, were in many cases the natural outcome of the conditions of the time and would have soon occurred even without his action.

261. The Reformation Statutes. — The parliament which met in 1529 and sat in successive sessions for seven years has been called the "Reformation Parliament." It began by making a number of complaints of excessive fees in church courts and other abuses in the church, and with the king's consent passed laws to correct them. Its most important acts, however, were those directed against the authority of the pope over the church in England. Two "Acts of Annates" were passed in 1532 and 1534 cutting off all money payments from the English clergy to the pope. In 1533 the "Act of Appeals" was passed forbidding for the future any appeals from the church courts in England to the papal court, even in cases of canon law. In 1534 a law was passed putting the nomination of bishops in the hands of the king and forbidding any communication with the pope. In 1534 the "Act of Supremacy" was passed giving Henry the title of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England," and giving him the same power to regulate the church of England that he already possessed to regulate civil affairs. Several other laws were passed transferring powers formerly exercised by the pope either to the king or to English church officials, and it was ordered that the pope should be referred to as the "bishop of Rome," and should have no more power in England than any other foreign bishop. One by one the bonds which had united the church of England with the papacy through many previous Christian centuries had

now been broken, until there was no connection remaining. The laws which were passed between 1530 and 1535 divided it as an organization from the general body of the Christian church in the west of Europe and made it a distinct national body.

In the process of bringing about this separation the English church had been completely subordinated to the king. Its bishops were named by him, its laws could only be adopted with his consent, his supremacy over it had been formally acknowledged. It was not only a national church but a national church under the control of the king.

262. Decay of the Monasteries. — Other changes were bound to follow upon these. The monasteries were peculiarly open to attack. Of these groups of monks or nuns of various orders, each with its buildings and landed property, some had been founded in the earliest days of Christianity in England, and had existed, therefore, for many hundred years; while others had been founded from time to time during all the intervening centuries. Some were large and wealthy, while others were of every size, oftentimes mere "cells" or branch establishments where only two or three persons were sent from one of the larger houses to live together. They had had a great history. For a long period they had been prosperous and respected, and had attracted within their walls or educated in their midst learned, pious, and useful men and women. But there is little doubt that this period of prosperity and usefulness was to a great extent past. Many of the monastic houses were in a bad financial condition. Their lands were mortgaged, their income had decreased, and their buildings were out of repair. The class of men and women who sought admittance to them was not so high as it had been. There were many ways now in which a man might live a life of intellectual employment as a teacher, lawyer, writer, or otherwise without becoming a monk. The belief that a religious life could best be led by withdrawing from the active world and giving one's self to prayers, devotional exercises, and self-denial had long been dying out. There was

much to criticise in the actual life led by the monks. Their idleness was evident. The old laws requiring labor, study, and other services from them were but poorly enforced. Many stories, some no doubt false, others true, were told of bad lives led by monks and nuns under the protection of their privileged position and religious reputation. They were probably no worse than other men and women of their time, but they were probably not conspicuously better, while more might fairly be expected of them.

Many bishops and archbishops tried to improve the declining conditions of the monasteries. Others, like Wolsey, had obtained permission from the king and the pope to take the property from some of the poorest and smallest of them and to use it for the founding of schools, colleges, and hospitals.

263. Cromwell and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. — Henry and his ministers now followed a bolder plan, and one more attractive to the avarice of the king. Since the fall of Wolsey the principal adviser of the king had been Thomas Cromwell,¹ a man who had been one of Wolsey's officers, was familiar with business methods, had traveled much abroad, had read much, was determined, unscrupulous, and devoted to the service of the king. Henry and Cromwell had little respect or consideration for the monasteries, feared their devotion to the pope, and were eager besides to get possession of their property to meet the needs of government. Henry determined, therefore, to bring about their suppression and the confiscation of their lands and other property.

To do this Cromwell, who had been appointed by the king vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs to exercise the power of regulation of the church granted to the king by the Act of Supremacy, made use of the floating stories and charges of immorality made against some of the monasteries. He sent out a group of commissioners, professedly to inquire into the condition of the monasteries and report upon them, but really instructed to

¹ Not to be confused with Oliver Cromwell.

bring back sufficient charges against them to justify their suppression. This was done and parliament was in 1536 induced to pass a law confiscating the property and dissolving the organization of more than three hundred of the smaller monasteries. Some of the larger abbeys were then attacked on the ground of the treason of their abbots or inmates. Still others were forced



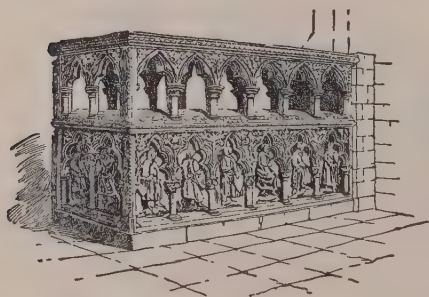
Ruins of the Abbey of St. Mary at York

or persuaded to dissolve themselves and hand over their property to the king, and finally in 1540 all the remaining monasteries were suppressed.

The gold, silver, and precious stones in their possession were taken to the royal treasury ; the lead, stone, and glass of the roofs, walls, and windows were sold as building materials ; and the lands taken into the possession of the government and sold or given away at nominal prices to courtiers or noblemen and gentlemen whom the king wished to favor. The monks and nuns were in some cases sent to live with their friends, in others given a government pension, and in still others appointed to various offices

in the church. The abbots of course ceased to be members of the House of Lords. The dissolution of the monasteries was probably a desirable measure, but the way in which it was carried out was none the less shameful.

264. Destruction of Relics and Shrines. — In the monasteries had been many shrines,¹ relics, and wonder-working images, to which pilgrimages had been made for centuries. But veneration for these on the part of the people had long been waning. Many of the more intelligent of the clergy and laity alike disbelieved in any benefits or special merits to be obtained from



Shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford

worshipping at the shrines, and doubted the genuineness or the sanctity of the relics. When the monasteries were destroyed, therefore, the shrines also were dismantled, their ornaments seized by the government, and they and their contents alike destroyed. The bones

of St. Thomas of Canterbury, objects of pious veneration for almost four centuries, were burned and scattered. Other relics likewise were destroyed, in many cases having been first tested and shown to be fraudulent in the sight of the people. Wooden images of the Virgin Mary and of the saints were in many cases cut to pieces and burned. Pilgrimages to sacred places were also forbidden, on the ground that they were superstitious and disorderly.

¹ Shrines were stone burial vaults built above ground, often beautifully ornamented with gold and precious stones, in which the remains of the founder of the abbey or of some other saint were preserved. Relics were parts of the body of some saint or martyr, or objects made sacred by having been used by them during life.

265. Execution of More and Fisher.—These changes were not carried through without opposition. When Henry's antagonism to the pope became manifest, Sir Thomas More, who had been in the service of the crown for many years and had become lord chancellor on Wolsey's downfall, resigned in 1532. The Act of Supremacy provided that an oath to accept and abide by it should be taken by every one who should be asked to do so, and that a refusal to take the oath should be considered treason. When More was asked to take this oath he refused, on grounds of conscience; and Fisher, the aged bishop of Rochester, another old friend of Henry, did the same. They were both brought to trial and beheaded as traitors, to the astonishment and disapproval of all Europe. Many others, including a number of prominent ecclesiastics, were executed for treason on the same grounds in the year 1535. The pope in retaliation excommunicated Henry and declared him deposed from the throne. Such a sentence, which three hundred years before had humbled King John, had now but little meaning in England, and there was no serious probability of any regard being paid to it.

266. The Pilgrimage of Grace.—Yet among both the gentry and the masses of the people, especially in the more distant parts of the country, the abolition of the pope's authority, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the tyranny of Cromwell, led to more than one rebellion. They were directed not so much against the king as against his ministers, but as there was no standing army in England they were a great danger to the government. The greatest of these risings was a revolt in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, in 1536, called the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The king was forced to promise to consider the petitions of the rebels in a new parliament to meet in the north, and to grant pardon to them for their rebellion. But other questions besides the religious one were mingled with the grievances of the people, and the rebels divided on these and ceased to be dangerous. The king broke his promise, and, taking advantage of a later opportunity, obtained

the trial and execution of many of the leaders of the rising. Several of the great northern nobles, gentry, and abbots, and a great number of lesser men, were sent to the block.

267. *Ireland.* — The opposition in Ireland to the Reformation was even greater than in the north of England, but that country was too disunited to resist. Since the conquest under Henry II the English kings had used the title "Lord of Ireland," had kept a representative at Dublin ruling over the Anglicized district known as the "Pale," and had asserted a supremacy over the native chieftains and the nobles of English descent who held estates in the more distant parts of the country. But English government in Ireland did not mean much until the time of Henry VII. He had introduced a stronger government there as he had in England. The most important step in this had been the enactment by the Irish parliament, which only included representatives from the Pale but bound all Ireland by its acts, of the law known as "Poynings's Law." This was adopted in 1494 and provided that in future no act should be introduced into the Irish parliament until it had first been submitted to and approved by the king and the English privy council, a measure which subordinated the Irish parliament entirely to England.

Henry VIII put down a rebellion of a great Anglo-Irish family, the Geraldines, and in 1526 sent an able lord deputy, Lord Leonard Grey, to Ireland to introduce the new royal supremacy in the church and to strengthen the old royal supremacy in the state. The Irish monasteries were suppressed and their property confiscated, relics and images were destroyed, and adherents of the new system placed in the archbishoprics and bishoprics. To the great mass of the Irish people these changes were only a part of the tyranny of the English government. They not only did not sympathize with the Reformation, but they probably did not understand or think of it at all. No alteration had taken place in their opinions or practices, except such as had been forced upon them by their conquerors.

A few years afterwards Henry took the new title of "King of Ireland," and by that title he was acknowledged in an Irish parliament which met in 1541, and which included for the first time in Irish history the native chiefs from beyond the Pale.

268. Stages of the Reformation. — Three steps in the Reformation had by this time been taken in England. The bishops had been humbled before the king, the church of England was separated from Rome, and the monasteries had been destroyed. But it was no part of the wish or intention of Henry and his principal advisers that changes should go farther. The English Reformation as a whole may be said to consist of six principal changes: (1) the subordination of church to state, (2) the separation from the papacy, (3) the abolition of monasteries, (4) the common use of the Bible and of church services in English, (5) the simplification of ceremonies, and (6) a change in long-accepted doctrines. Only the first three or at most four of these were in accordance with the desires of Henry VIII. He wished that the changes should stop with the ecclesiastical independence of England, his own control of the English church, the destruction of the monasteries, and perhaps the translation of the Bible and some parts of the prayer book into English.

To make plain the fact that the doctrinal beliefs of the church of England were to be the same as they had always been, various proclamations were issued from time to time to declare and explain these beliefs. The most decisive of these was the "Act of the Six Articles," approved by parliament and issued in 1539, in which the principal doctrines of the old church were reannounced, and death declared the penalty for disbelief in them. Thus far was the Reformation to go and no farther.

Yet change was in the air. New religious teachings were being brought into England from Germany and other continental countries. The "new learning" had set men to thinking, to criticising, and to planning for improvement. The king himself and many of the clergy were more or less under the influence of the

spirit of the times, which called for more reasonable grounds for beliefs than were usually given.

It was not probable, therefore, that religious faith would remain as it had been, now that the English church was no longer bound to retain uniformity with the rest of the Christian church. During the middle ages the church of England had been bound to the general system of European church belief, organization, and practice. Now by the breach with the papacy it had been freed from Roman Catholic traditions, and become subject to all the winds and tides of the thought of the time.

269. Growth of Protestant Belief. — Acts of parliament and proclamations of the king were therefore not sufficient to put a stop to changes in belief that were taking place quite apart from the intentions or desires of the government. More and more men were coming to hold religious views very different from those taught by the old church or by the Six Articles. The Protestant teachings of Luther, Zwingli, and other reformers in Germany were gaining acceptance in England. Many men were thinking religious problems out for themselves and were coming to conclusions far different from the beliefs authorized by law.

At the very time that parliament and the king were passing laws to preserve England in the old faith, various young scholars at the universities, tradesmen in London and other cities, obscure priests, and others, mostly of the middle or lower classes, were adopting a very different faith. Some of these went abroad, had tracts and religious books which taught Protestant views printed at Antwerp and elsewhere, brought them back to London, and distributed them through the country. One of the most influential of these Protestants was Tyndale, a scholar successively at the two English universities, next a preacher in London, and then a student in Wittenberg under Luther. There he translated the New Testament into English, added to it much of his own explanation of its meaning, and had it printed and conveyed in as large numbers as possible into England. Even among the king's advisers and

the higher clergy many were influenced by the new teachings and the new direction of thought. Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Latimer were conspicuous representatives of this class of men who were subjecting old doctrines and old customs to new criticism, and were coming to feel the desirability of further changes.

During the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, therefore, men were divided in religious matters into three classes. There were in the first place the vast number who disapproved of all the recent religious changes; secondly, there were those who approved of the changes which had been made but did not wish them carried farther; thirdly, there were the reformers who would gladly have carried the Reformation to greater lengths, but were prevented from doing so by the policy of the king and the influence of those who were opposed to further changes.

270. The Scriptures in English. — The only advances which were made during the last eight years of Henry's reign were in the fourth of the points just enumerated, — the greater use of the common language of the people in the church services. In 1526 Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had been secretly imported. It was disapproved and condemned by the church authorities, partly because of expressions used in the translation and of Protestant explanations given in footnotes and introduction, and partly because of the old objection to the common people reading the Bible without explanation. A few years later, however, in 1537, when a translation of the whole Bible, based partly on one made by Coverdale, partly upon Tyndale's, was brought into England, its use was encouraged by Cromwell, and the king ordered that a copy should be placed in every parish church, to be read by the people. A year afterwards all prohibition against the people reading it in their own houses was taken away, and in 1539 a new translation known as the "Great Bible" was authorized and issued by the government.

Much the same change was in progress in the forms of private and public prayer. The "primer" or collection of private prayers

had been long used in English, but a new and authorized form was now issued. All parts of the Scriptures which were read in the church services were put into English, and in 1544 Cranmer composed a new litany¹ to be said in the language of the people.

But no changes of doctrine were allowed. In the eyes of the king, of his most influential advisers, and of the majority of the higher clergy, the new beliefs coming to be so largely held were still heresy. Those who believed in them were from time to time brought to trial, and several were burned at the stake. Many more were imprisoned, frightened into denying their beliefs, or forced to go into exile in foreign countries.

271. The King's Marriages. — Henry's private life, if a king can be said to have a private life, was not happy. While the ecclesiastical changes which have been described were in progress he had carried out the personal objects which had led him into conflict with the old church. When the delay of the pope to grant the divorce had gone on for five years, and parliament was about to pass the Statute of Appeals, Henry took things into his own hands, married Anne Boleyn, and referred the question of the legality of his previous marriage to a church court made up of English clergymen. This court, presided over by the new archbishop, Cranmer, decided that the king had never been legally married to Catherine, and that his recent marriage to Anne was therefore legal. The pope thereupon gave his decision to the contrary; but according to the Statute of Appeals this decision had no force in England. Henry and Anne had one daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth, but they were not happy together. Henry came to believe her guilty of a base crime, and for this she was in 1535 divorced, tried, convicted, and beheaded. Ten days after the execution of Anne, Henry married a lady named Jane Seymour, who later bore a son who became Edward VI. She died within a year of her marriage. Henry was afterwards three

¹ The litany was a series of responsive prayers to be recited in the religious processions of priest and people.

times married, two of these wives successively being divorced.¹ Cromwell, who had been principal minister for ten years after the fall of Wolsey, gradually lost the king's confidence. In 1540 the many enemies whom he had made in carrying out the king's despotic policy brought about his downfall by carrying through parliament a bill of attainder against him.

272. Close of the Reign. — Henry's health was bad during his later life, and he became so stout that he could hardly ride or even walk. He became steadily more tyrannical. The fundamental selfishness of his character, increased by bodily discomfort, personal unhappiness, and the sense of failure in many of his schemes, made him an irritable, harsh, and capricious ruler throughout all these later years, though his mental vigor never left him. In the course of his reign he had brought about or approved the execution of two of his most devoted ministers, More and Cromwell, and the disgrace and unhappiness of a third, Wolsey. Besides his disavowal of Catherine, he had caused the execution of two wives, of many of the highest nobility, some of them blood relatives, of a score of churchmen of high dignity, and of a large number of lesser men. It is true that these men and women had been declared guilty of rebellion, treason, or other serious offenses. But many of the laws under which they suffered were newly made for Henry's benefit, and he was responsible for their harsh administration. Notwithstanding his early popularity, his great abilities, his leadership in the Reformation, his preservation of national peace and order, and his long, masterful reign, there was a general sigh of relief when in 1547 his death occurred.

273. The Succession to the Crown. — There had been so much confusion about the legitimacy of Henry's children, and uncertainty

¹ Henry's fourth wife was Anne of Cleves, daughter of one of the Protestant princes of the continent. She was divorced from Henry by mutual agreement. His fifth wife was Catherine Howard, who was guilty of misconduct, divorced, and beheaded. His sixth wife was Catherine Parr, who outlived him.

as to their right to the inheritance, that parliament had passed a special act giving him the right to provide in his will for the succession to the crown. In accordance with this act of parliament he left instructions that his son Edward should succeed him and pass the crown down to his children, if he should have any. If he had none, it was to go to his elder sister Mary and to her children. If she also should die without children, it should go to Elizabeth. As a matter of fact, each of Henry's children reigned in succession and all died without heirs.

274. The Protectorate. — The young king Edward VI was a boy of ten, and provision had therefore been made in his father's will for the government to be carried on by a council in his name. This plan, however, was immediately changed and the powers of government given to the king's uncle, the duke of Somerset, with the title "Protector." From 1547 to 1549 the government was practically in his hands, and for the remaining three years of the king's life in the hands of a successor in a similar position, the duke of Northumberland. The king never came to rule at all, though he was very precocious, and in the last two years of his life, when he was fourteen and fifteen, he took a great interest in affairs of government and discussed matters of state with his council.

275. The Advance of Protestantism. — The most serious obstacle in the way of the continuance of the Reformation was removed by Henry's death. Somerset was one of those who had favored further changes, and he now threw himself into the work of carrying them out. Some of the bishops who opposed his plans were removed, and advanced reformers were put in their places. The fourth step of the Reformation before described was now carried to completion. A prayer book entirely in English was prepared by Archbishop Cranmer and others of the clergy, approved by parliament in 1549, and ordered to be used in all the churches. It was reissued in a modified form two years afterward and has ever since been used, with but few further changes, in the church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal church in America.

Other changes in the forms of worship and in religious customs were introduced rapidly. Partly by voluntary action of various congregations and parish authorities, partly by authoritative commands issued by Somerset, what has been described above as the fifth step of the Reformation was now taken. Crucifixes and the images of saints were generally removed from their niches in the churches, melted down when they were of metal, burned when they were of wood, and broken when they were of stone. The stained-glass windows on which were pictured the figures of Christ, the apostles, and the saints were destroyed. The emblematic religious pictures on the walls of the churches were plastered or whitewashed over. The use of holy water was given up. Clergymen abandoned the use of colored robes at the services and frequently even of the white gown. Fasting was generally dispensed with, clergymen were allowed to marry, penance was no longer imposed, and pilgrimages were prohibited.

276. The Completion of the Reformation. — The Reformation passed rapidly on to its last stage, alteration of certain religious beliefs. Doctrine had been slowly modified during the last few years as practice was changed. In 1548 the Act of the Six Articles was repealed, and in the second prayer book many points of doctrine were put in a strongly Protestant form. In 1553 all these theological matters were drawn up in forty-two articles, which were adopted by Parliament and declared to be the religious beliefs of the English church. Later these, in the form of the "Thirty-nine Articles," became, like the prayer book, a permanent part of the English church system.

The changes of this period of the Reformation, like the earlier steps, were carried through largely by the government. Many of the people welcomed them heartily and approved of all that was done. Many others disapproved of them entirely and would gladly have returned to the old ways. The great proportion of the people, however, either from indifference or because they held more moderate opinions, felt themselves to be somewhere between

these two extremes. Nevertheless the government insisted that all the people should conform to the law in religious matters just the same as in all others. In 1552 an Act of Uniformity was passed ordering that the official prayer book should be used in all churches. No clergyman was allowed to use the Latin mass or any other form of worship than that established by law; and all persons were required on Sundays and holy days to attend their parish churches where this service was used. Homilies or approved sermons explaining the doctrines and moral teachings of the church were also prepared and ordered to be read by ministers in the churches.

Thus the church of England had been transformed from its mediæval character as a branch of the Roman Catholic church to a form very similar to that of other Protestant churches.

277. Dissolution of the Chantries.—Another break with the past was made in the time of Edward VI by the abolition of all chantries and their services. Men had from time to time during several centuries bequeathed to trustees certain property, the income from which was to be used to support a priest to say daily and anniversary masses, to keep a candle burning before the shrine of some saint, to give alms to poor people, to support a schoolmaster, or to fulfill other pious requirements. Such a bequest was called a chantry. In some towns there were whole rows of houses held by the town authorities, by chaplains, or other trustees, who rented them out and used the income thus obtained for the purposes required in the wills of the founders. Many of the old craft gilds also possessed property with which they kept up chantries, and in other cases religious gilds were specially formed by poor persons who each contributed a small sum for the purpose of supporting a priest who should say commemorative masses for the souls of the contributors.

In the later years of Henry VIII, property which had been left by will for religious purposes was coming to be looked upon as fair game by the government and by influential courtiers. Many

of the trustees of such funds were showing the same disregard for the wishes of the founders by betraying their trusts and either using the income from the property in their hands for their own purposes or diverting it to different uses from those for which it was intended. Just before Henry's death, therefore, a law was passed authorizing him to take possession of these endowments, just as had been done in the case of the monasteries, and to use their income for educational and other purposes.

Henry's death prevented any action being taken under this law, but in the first year of the reign of Edward VI the same act was renewed. It was declared that the offering up of prayers for the souls of the dead, the burning of candles before the shrines of saints, and the hallowing of private chapels were superstitious and unchristian practices, and that the property possessed by chantries and devoted to these uses should be confiscated to the government. Immediate steps were taken to carry this out. The old memorial services and celebrations came to an end as completely as had the monasteries, and some two thousand chantry priests ceased to perform their old duties but received small pensions from the government to recompense them for the salaries of which they had been deprived.

278. Schools. — The chantries had performed other duties along with their religious services. Some had distributed



A Fifteenth-Century Grammar School
at Taunton

alms to a certain number of poor persons. Some had provided for the support of one or more schoolmasters to give free instruction. These duties the government now undertook to perform or to provide for by the return of a proportionate part of the endowments

which had been confiscated. A promise was also given to devote a portion of the money before used for the support of priests to the support of schools. This duty was only partially carried out. Many, it is true, of the schools formerly kept up by the chantries were reestablished by the government and their old endowments returned to them; but the confusion of the times and the difficulties of the government prevented any proper attention to the support and encouragement of the reorganized schools, and much of the funds secured from the chantries was wasted or used for very different purposes. At about the same time, however, several new schools were established and endowed by private persons, and the reign of Edward VI has usually been looked back to as a time of the founding or refounding of schools.

279. Inclosures. — The period of the early Tudors was one in which many other fundamental changes besides the Reformation were in progress. The country districts underwent a complete transformation. During the middle ages England had been in the main a country of small peasant farmers, each raising enough grain, farm animals, and other products to feed and clothe his family, and perhaps a little more to sell. Whether he was a villein or a freeholder his acres were few, scattered around in the open fields of the village, and devoted to the usual round of crops. At the other extreme in size were the great farms of the lords of manors, differing but little in the distribution of the acre strips of which they were composed, the crops raised upon them, and their methods of agriculture from the small farms, but much larger and carried on by stewards with the forced or hired labor of the peasantry, or by tenants who had taken the demesne on lease from the lord of the manor.¹

Another class of farmers, however, was now coming into existence. They were those who rented considerable amounts of land from the lords of the manors and introduced new methods

¹ See pp. 200-203 and p. 245.

of farming upon them. The principal use to which these larger farms were put was the raising of sheep in large numbers for their wool. In order to raise sheep to advantage the farmers needed a large tract of land in one stretch. This was impossible so long as the land lay in the old scattered strips, so they induced the landlords to evict large numbers of small farmers and rent the land to them for their sheep farms. The sheep farmers inclosed with hedges the large fields thus obtained, instead of allowing them to lie open and unfenced as had before been customary. They also inclosed large parts of the open commons, which had before been used by the small farmers and country laborers for pasturing their animals.

280. Evil Results of the Inclosures.—As a result of these inclosures and of the evictions great numbers of small farmers found themselves without occupation. Farm laborers also lost their employment; since sheep raising requires very few hands. The small farmers found no other land and the laborers found no demand for their services in other places, since the same thing was going on throughout much of England. Men who had been thrifty small farmers were often driven with their families to become paupers and vagabonds. All the inhabitants of a country village were sometimes forced to give up the homes that they and their forefathers had occupied; the houses soon disappeared; the church became a ruin; and there was nothing left but a sheep-cot and a few herdsmen's hovels. The new farmers were of course growing wealthy from the greater profits of sheep farming, and the landowners from the higher rents that were being paid; there was also abundance of wool produced for use in weaving and for export. But these gains were made at the cost of much loss and suffering to the small farmers or yeomen.

Inclosures had been in progress since the middle of the fifteenth century and went on more and more rapidly through the early part of the sixteenth. The lands which were confiscated from the monasteries and sold or given to the courtiers of Henry VIII were

very generally inclosed in this way for sheep farming by their owners or by those to whom they were rented, and the old tenants upon them had, as in other cases, to be turned out. The general cry of misery, the fear of a decrease in the population, and the dislike of changes early attracted the attention of the government to inclosures, and successive laws intended to prevent them were passed by parliament. The laws, however, proved ineffective. Other voices were also raised against the inclosures. Writers and preachers charged the landlords, large farmers, and capitalists with harsh, unjust, and unchristian dealing, and appealed to them to consider the sufferings of the poor. But the inclosures still went on, with all the advantages which they brought to the class of landowners and large farmers, and all their evils to the small farmers and laborers.

281. The Protector's Favor to the Poor.—These conditions were at their height in the reign of Edward VI. The Protector, Somerset, along with a group of reformers, now determined to put a stop to inclosures by enforcing the laws which had already been passed or by securing the passage of still stronger laws. A commission was therefore appointed to go from county to county to inquire into the matter and to prosecute those who had violated the laws against inclosures. The commissioners found their task a hard one. They were met with every kind of opposition. Juries were afraid to convict wealthy landlords or influential large farmers, witnesses were threatened or attacked, and the laws were evaded in numberless ways. Even members of parliament, judges, and members of the privy council resisted the enforcement of the laws and opposed the designs of the Protector.

In 1549 the peasantry, already excited and displeased by the sudden changes of the Reformation, resentful at the evictions and loss of occupation, stirred with the prospect of reforms and yet made desperate by the opposition to them, rose in revolt almost simultaneously in several parts of England. The Protector, although he sympathized with their grievances and at first treated

them leniently, had at last to use military force. There was a bitter struggle in which several thousand men were killed, and the rebels were only put down with great difficulty.

282. Fall of Somerset. — Those who were opposed to Somerset's policy of favor to the common people, those who felt that he had failed in his larger plans, and some members of the council who were jealous of his power, took advantage of this opportunity to organize an opposition party and call for his resignation of the office of Protector. This he gave when he found that he had no sufficient party of supporters. The most influential position in the council which governed in the name of the young king was now taken by the duke of Northumberland, who did not, however, take the title of Protector. Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower of London, then released for a while, but afterwards tried for conspiracy against his successor and executed on the charge of treason.

The effort to enforce the laws against inclosures fell with Somerset, at least for the time. The great difficulty was that exactly the class which was most influential in government and social life at this time — the country gentry and the wealthy merchants of the towns — was the class which was most interested in seeing the changes in the use of the land carried on, because it increased their rents and their profits. Most of the laws of this period were in favor of this class, and those which were opposed to their interests, like those directed against inclosures, could not be enforced.

The movement, therefore, still went on, though it gradually came to cause less distress. More of the inclosing came to be for improved grain farming rather than for sheep raising; the increase of manufacturing came to require more laborers; and the small farmers and country workmen gradually adapted themselves to the new conditions. Inclosures went somewhat out of fashion among the farmers themselves, and by the close of the sixteenth century less was heard of this particular kind of trouble, though inclosures continued to be made in all succeeding times.

283. The Debasement of the Coinage. — There were troubles enough, however, of other kinds. One was the great rise of prices, or rather their irregularity. One cause of this was the change going on in farming and other forms of industry. Another was the change taking place in the purity of the money of the country. All through the middle ages there had been about the same amount of alloy mixed with the pure silver or gold when they were coined, and the coins remained of nearly the same weight. In the reign of Henry VIII, however, the king decided to coin a pound of silver into forty shillings instead of thirty-seven and a half, as before. Somewhat later he had a pound coined into forty-five shillings, and later still into forty-eight. The new shillings were therefore only about three fourths as large as the old. At the same time he began putting more and more alloy in with the pure silver till the coined metal was only half silver. Under Edward VI the coin was made still worse, only one quarter of the metal being silver and the remaining three quarters alloy. Thus the coins were not only smaller but of very much poorer metal than of old. The same was done with the gold coins. People, however, recognized the new and poorer money and charged different prices for their goods according to the kind of coins that were offered them. This interfered with trade and was particularly hard on the poorer classes, who could not insist on receiving good money rather than bad. Finally so much of the money in circulation was bad that a proclamation was issued declaring that shillings should in the future be considered as worth only sixpence, but debased money continued to be coined for some years.

284. Close of the Reign of Edward VI. — As time passed on it became certain that the young king was destined to an early death from consumption. In 1553, when he was sixteen years old, he was so ill that it was evident his death might occur at any time. According to the will of Henry VIII, Edward's successor, since he had no children, would be his elder sister Mary. Mary had lived much in retirement, but so far as she was known she

was popular; and notwithstanding the fact that England had never been ruled by a woman, and that Mary was known to be a Roman Catholic, people believed that there would be peace and good order in the country under her rule. Under the government of Edward's council Protestantism had been forced upon the majority of the people in such an extreme form and by such tyrannical measures that to many it had become more distasteful than the mediæval faith. It was a sad time. There was universal suffering among the poor, disturbance of trade, dislike and distrust of the king's guardians, and the great body of the people looked forward with hope and satisfaction to the reign of Mary.

285. The Plot for the Succession of Lady Jane Grey. — The duke of Northumberland, however, knew that his power and perhaps his life would be lost the moment Mary came to the throne, and he was ready to adopt desperate measures to prevent it. So long as Edward lived the duke had control over all the troops, forts, navy, treasury, and the government officials. He had also obtained unbounded influence over the young king. Strengthened by these opportunities he planned a bold stroke for a continuance of his power.

The young king had a cousin, a girl of about his own age, Lady Jane Grey. She was the granddaughter of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII. She had been brought up in retirement under the care of her mother and private tutors. She had the precocity of intellectual development and the thoroughness of education which were common then among women of the higher classes. She was besides a sweet, attractive girl, affectionate to her relatives and friends, but with no interest in or knowledge of the politics of the time. It was she whom Northumberland had chosen as a rival of Mary. He arranged a marriage between Jane and his son, and then induced Edward to draw up a paper setting aside his father's will and appointing Lady Jane to the throne. Edward had no constitutional right to make this arrangement, as his father had been especially authorized by parliament

to arrange the succession, and had only exercised the power by this authority. Nevertheless the king, by appealing to the feelings and self-interest of the Protestant nobles and the bishops, by commanding the judges on the ground of their duty to him, and finally by begging with tears in his eyes those who still refused, induced a large number of those who were in positions of authority to sign their names to this document and to pledge themselves to support the accession of Jane rather than of Mary.

The wan face of the dying king might secure a promise from those who surrounded his deathbed, but it could not overcome the difficulties in the way of the succession after his death. The lords of the council hailed Lady Jane as queen, and even her father-in-law, the great duke, knelt before her. She was proclaimed queen in London, taken to the Tower, and treated with royal honors for a few days, while Northumberland carried on the government in her name.

But Mary was not a woman to yield without a struggle. She declared herself to be the rightful queen as soon as the news of her brother's death reached her. The nobles gathered around her, the troops that were sent by the duke to capture her refused obedience to his orders, and within a few days Northumberland was arrested and imprisoned, and Jane remained in the Tower a prisoner instead of a queen.

286. Queen Mary. — Mary was received with universal rejoicings and seemed inclined to let bygones be bygones, to be merciful to her late opponents, and to rule with the advice of the more moderate nobles. The duke of Northumberland was executed, but the other leaders of the plot were left in prison unharmed for the time, and many of the members of the late king's council still remained in office. Nevertheless, when some of Mary's actions and plans proved to be unpopular, another plot was formed among a number of the nobles and gentry, and a fierce revolt broke out under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman. It gained its principal strength among the people of that

turbulent county, which had been the birthplace of so many earlier rebellions. The plan of the conspirators was to depose Mary and to put her younger sister Elizabeth on the throne. This revolt, however, was put down after some fighting in and around London, where for a moment it had seemed on the point of success.

The queen was now angry and bitter. She wished all who had taken part in either of the efforts to exclude her from the throne to be put to death. More than a hundred were tried and executed for complicity in the last rising. Even Lady Jane Grey, who had known nothing about this rebellion and who would not have profited by its success, was informed that she with her husband must die for her treason in occupying for a few days an undesired throne. Only seventeen years of age, alone, inexperienced, and innocent, Lady Jane Grey went to the scaffold with a quiet courage and dignity and a serene persistence in her Protestant faith that shamed many an older and guiltier sufferer, so that her character stands out as an oasis of purity and pathos in the desert of violence, betrayal, and hardness of that time.

287. The Roman Catholic Reaction. — The causes which had led to Wyatt's rebellion were principally two, — Mary's plan to reintroduce religion in its mediæval form by making England again subject to the pope in church affairs, and her announced choice of her cousin Philip, the son of the king of Spain, for a husband. Immediately on her accession some of the recently introduced Protestant practices were given up and Roman Catholic ceremonies took their place. The most extreme and active of the Protestant reformers either went voluntarily into exile or were shut up in prison on various charges. The old Catholic service in Latin was reintroduced here and there with little opposition,



Medal with Portrait of Queen Mary (by the Italian engraver Primavera)

and soon became almost universal. The Roman Catholics in each parish, or at least those who preferred old rather than new ways, set up again the crucifixes and resumed the old familiar religious customs. The queen and her advisers took even more decisive action in the same direction. She released immediately from their confinement the bishops who had opposed the Protestant changes of the last reign, and restored them to their honors and duties, expelling those who had been put in their sees. Then she required all the clergy who had married either to put away their wives or to give up their offices in the church. When parliament met, a general repeal act was passed by which the laws on religion passed in the reign of Edward were abrogated, and matters restored to much the position in which they had been at the death of Henry VIII.

288. The Spanish Marriage. — But Queen Mary was not satisfied with this. She wished to have the connection with the papacy restored as it had been before any of the events of the Reformation had taken place. Besides this she had made up her mind, at the suggestion of the Spanish ambassador, who was her most trusted adviser, to marry Philip. Both of these plans were unpopular in England, but little could be done in opposition to the will of the queen. Men and parties were in mutual antagonism, the authority of the sovereign was still as great as it had been in the time of Henry VIII, and Mary's inclinations were drawing her nearer and nearer to both the marriage with Philip and the restoration of the papal power. Then came the rising of Wyatt and his friends, and when it was put down not only was Mary more determined than ever, but resistance by the people was now hopeless. She at last had her way. Philip came to England, the marriage took place, and for a few weeks or months Mary fancied herself happy. But Philip had no love for his bride, in fact actually disliked her. He avoided her as much as he could and in about a year left England.

289. Loss of Calais. — The principal object for which Philip had sought the marriage with Mary was to draw England into the

war which had been in progress for some time between Spain and France. After long hesitation English troops were at last sent to the continent to fight on the Spanish side. They won little honor, and soon afterwards England, as a result of being at war with France, suffered what was then felt as a great disaster. In 1558 Calais was suddenly besieged by a large French army and fleet. It was poorly provided with men and supplies and the home government was too slow in sending reënforcements. As a result it was taken by storm, notwithstanding a gallant defense. All the English inhabitants were driven out, leaving their property behind them, and returned to England with nothing but their clothes. Calais became again a French city. The sorrow, anger, and humiliation of the queen and of the whole people of England were extreme. For more than two hundred years the English flag had floated over Calais and English merchants and citizens had occupied it. It was an outpost of English defense, the proof of England's military power, the badge of her control of the Channel, the center of her trade with the continent, the gate of entrance through which her warlike expeditions entered France. Its loss seemed to set the stamp of humiliation upon England and to deprive her of much of her old glory.

From a practical point of view the loss of Calais was probably a real gain for England. Its garrison had long been a great and unremunerative expense, trade had changed so much that Calais was not needed to obtain an entrance to the continent, and it was just as well that England should not be tempted to send military expeditions into France. Nevertheless it was a great blow to the nation's pride and a bitter disappointment to the queen. An old story says that on her deathbed she declared that if her body were opened two names would be found written on her heart ; one would be "Philip," the other "Calais."

290. The Restoration of Papal Control. — In her resolution to restore the old church in England, Mary was as successful as in the Spanish marriage. A number of influential churchmen had never

agreed to any part of the Reformation, many persons were disgusted by the unworthy actions of some of the extreme reformers, and the great body of the nation was either tired of such sudden changes, or entirely indifferent to the whole matter. Thus the queen and a few bold Roman Catholic leaders were able to induce parliament to agree to restore the old powers of the Roman church in England. They found it necessary first, however, to promise that there should be no effort made to get back the monastery and chantry lands from their present owners. All those who had obtained lands formerly devoted to religious purposes were confirmed in them by the queen's promise, by a special dispensation of the pope, and later by act of parliament. Then Cardinal Pole, an Englishman who had been exiled on account of his opposition to the policy of Henry VIII, was sent as special ambassador from the pope. The two houses of parliament, for themselves and in the name of the whole people, asked to be forgiven for their disobedience and rebellion against the pope and promised to repeal all the acts which they had passed against the papal authority. Then the king, queen, lords, and commons bent on their knees and received forgiveness and absolution from the legate in the name of the pope. Parliament after this passed a great act repealing some sixteen acts of former parliaments, being all the laws antagonistic to the church passed since 1529, and restoring the ecclesiastical system almost to its old form.

291. The Religious Persecution. — It was one thing to declare that all should be as it had been of old, it was quite another to induce every one to believe as had been believed in former times. However anxious to return to Roman Catholicism, or however indifferent to religion the great majority of the nation might be, there were many individuals in all classes of society who had become convinced and earnest Protestants. For some time there was little interference with these, though Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, and other prominent religious leaders who did not voluntarily go into exile remained in prison.

As time went on, however, and the Roman Catholic reaction became stronger, Mary first allowed and then encouraged the effort to force everybody to accept the old faith in all its strictness or else be punished for heresy.

Parliament reënacted the old laws for the burning of heretics under which the Lollards had suffered and reëstablished the church courts. Soon the sad work began. Many prominent Protestants who had long lain in prison were tried before church officials, and, when they refused to give up their opinions, were handed over to the sheriffs or town officials to be burned at the stake. There were very few cases of recantation. Most of those who were tried persisted in their beliefs and the law was then carried out. Archbishop Cranmer, a man of delicate, shrinking physical nature, of hesitating and over-cautious habits of mind, broken and wearied by long imprisonment, by the knowledge of the suffering of many of those who had been burnt, and by the unending strife of opinions and apparent conflict of duties, was drawn into one form of recantation after another, till he had practically denied all his recent teachings and approved the whole Roman Catholic system. Nevertheless, when actually in sight of the stake, he withdrew these recantations, declared his faith in Protestant doctrines, and when he was burned held his right hand in the flame in order that it should be burned first for signing his name to a falsehood.

The scenes of public execution of heretics by fire became only too common. More were put to death in two years than in the preceding century and a half during which the heresy laws had been in existence. Between two hundred and fifty and three hundred altogether were thus martyred, while hundreds more lay suffering in the miserable prisons of the time. Most of the persecution was carried on in two or three dioceses whose bishops were especially determined or which were particularly under the influence of the queen and those of her advisers who favored this attempt to force the people into conforming to the official doctrines.

292. **Mary's Declining Health and Happiness.** — The queen had no child, notwithstanding her passionate eagerness for one, and the hope of Philip and of the English people for an heir to the throne. She soon recognized the absence of love for her on her husband's part, though her own for him seemed to increase rather than diminish. It was the same with her popularity. Like her father and her brother and sister she was extremely anxious to have the love of her people. Yet her somber nature, her policy, and the occurrences of the time rapidly deprived her of the popularity she had possessed at her accession to the throne. More than once letters and placards were found thrown into her own room telling her that she was hated by the people and ridiculing her devotion to a husband who despised her. As the queen failed in health, lost her spirits, and became more unhappy she turned with still greater urgency to the work of rooting out heresy. Partly no doubt she felt this to be her religious duty, hoping with superstitious devotion that a more vigorous fulfillment of it might bring to her that favor of heaven of which she seemed so far to have enjoyed so little. Partly it was no doubt a relief to her bitter feelings to exercise severity upon the heretics who, in her opinion and that of all the men in whom she confided, were unworthy to live upon the earth and were destined to everlasting punishment.

But the persecution failed of its intended effect. Crowds gathered around those who were condemned to die, and, even when they did not agree with them or take any interest in their beliefs, cheered them in their resolution, pitied their sufferings, encouraged them with shouts and prayers, and cried out against the clergy and the queen who were responsible for putting them to death.

Thus Mary's reign drew to an end. There were several conspiracies and plots to overthrow the government. All of these were discovered in time or else failed at the first attempt. Nevertheless each bore its fruit of executions and increased the confusion and dissatisfaction of the time. Mary died in 1558, and all

England again looked with hope to the beginning of a new and better age under the third child of Henry VIII, Mary's sister Elizabeth.

293. Summary of the Period 1485-1558.—The greatest characteristic of this period was the enormous power of the ruler. England was practically an absolute monarchy. Although most of the actions of the government were carried out through the regular procedure of council, courts, parliament, and local officers, yet these did not have either the power or the desire to resist the will of the king. Although the king had no standing army to enforce his wishes, yet the habit of obedience was so great and the organization of the government so complete that forcible resistance was in no single case successful.

The greatest result of this despotic position of the king was the carrying through of the Reformation as a scheme of royal policy. Many of the tendencies of the time favored the Reformation, and in some of its phases its form and progress were very different from what the king would have wished. Nevertheless in the main it followed the personal desires of the king, and England was Protestant, Catholic, or merely independent of the pope according as Edward, Mary, or Henry was on the throne. It was only later that the Reformation became an affair of the English people, independent of their rulers, and not till later did the established church cease to represent the wishes of the crown.

The end which Henry VII put to the disorders and turmoil of the barons, and the heavy hand the kings always kept over breakers of the peace and other ill doers, made this a time of advancing wealth and prosperity for the merchant class and for the landholders and large farmers in the country. The inclosures, the debasement of the coinage, and the severity of the laws made it a hard period for the lower classes, and the unwise policy of the government went far to counteract the advantages of peace and order.

This was also the period of the "new learning," which was destined to lead on to a new literature only a generation later; and

printing, good portraiture, much building, improved schools, more widely spread education, and interest in discoveries all indicate that it was an active intellectual period. It was an age of much breaking with the past, and the times of Queen Elizabeth which were to follow were much more like modern times than they were like the middle ages.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. iv, sects. 3-6, chap. vi, sects. 1 and 2. GAIRDNER, *Henry VII.* BUSCH, *England under the Tudors*. Vol. I has the subtitle *King Henry VII.* SEEBOHM, *The Oxford Reformers*. WAKEMAN, *History of the Church of England*, chaps. xi-xiv. MOBERLY, *The Early Tudors* (Epochs of History). CREIGHTON, *Wolsey*. POLLARD, *England under Protector Somerset*. The longest work on this period is FROUDE, *History of England*, Vols. I-VI. It is a book of much learning, sagacity, and charm of style, but it is so prejudiced that it cannot be considered a trustworthy account. GASQUET, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, corrects Froude on many points. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, is a valuable work including much new matter. A good short account of the German Reformation, which exercised so much influence on that of England, can be found in ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chaps. xxv and xxvi; and another account in SEEBOHM, *Era of the Protestant Revolution* (Epochs of History). The inclosures are quite fully described in CHEYNEY, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century*, Part I (Rural Changes), and in ASHLEY, *English Economic History*, Vol. II, chap. iv. INNES, *England under the Tudors*, is a good book in a single volume covering the period of this chapter and the next. READ, CONYERS, *The Tudors*. An excellent account of the personality and political position of each of the five Tudor sovereigns, with a portrait of each. GARVIN, KATHERINE, *The Great Tudors*. Studies of forty-one prominent characters of the period, each written by a special student of the time.

Contemporary Sources. — CAVENDISH, *Cardinal Wolsey*. Cavendish was one of Wolsey's clerks and wrote of what he had himself seen and heard. ROPER, *Sir Thomas More*. Roper was More's son-in-law. MORE, *Utopia*. *Translations and Reprints*, Vol. I, No. 1, *The Early Reformation Period*. The Reformation statutes are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History*, Nos. 150, 153, 159, etc. Many other documents concerning the Reformation are in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 104-132. Those in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 50-60, are particularly interesting and varied; and there are several in KENDALL,

Source-Book, Nos. 44-50. Extracts from some of the longer works, as well as the principal statutes, are in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 185-212.

Poetry and Fiction. — SHAKESPEARE, *Henry VIII*, stands out as the best known poetic representation of this period. TENNYSON's fine drama, *Queen Mary*, gives a pathetic picture of her character. Miss YONGE, *The Armourer's Prentices*, is a story of the time of Henry VIII, and AINSWORTH, *The Tower of London*, of the time of Queen Mary. MARK TWAIN, *The Prince and the Pauper*, refers to the period of Edward VI. The battle of Flodden of 1513 has left many poetic memorials, the best of which are SCOTT, *Marmion*, AYTOUN, *Edinburgh after Flodden*, and Miss ELLIOTT, *The Flowers of the Forest*.

Special Topics. — (1) The Fall of Wolsey, CAVENDISH, *Life of Wolsey* (Morley's Universal Library), pp. 137-263; (2) How More came to write the Utopia, *Utopia*, Book I; (3) Inclosures, CHEYNEY, *Social and Industrial History*, pp. 141-147; (4) Changes in the Gilds, *ibid.*, pp. 147-161; (5) Death of Lady Jane Grey, FROUDE, *History of England*, Vol. VI. chap. xxxi; (6) Trial and Execution of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, *ibid.*, chap. xxxvi; (7) Latimer's Sermons, *English Prose* (Camelot series), pp. 10-15; (8) The Merchants Adventurers, LINGELBACH, *The Merchants Adventurers, Translations and Reprints*, Second Series, Vol. II, pp. i-xxxix; (9) The New Learning in England, GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. vi, sect. iv; (10) The Renaissance in Italy, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, pp. 321-353; (11) Early Voyages of Discovery, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. III, pp. 209-228; (12) Ireland in the Early Sixteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 293-302.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH. 1558-1603

294. The New Queen. — There has been no greater period in English history than the reign of Elizabeth. To this greatness many things contributed, — the vigor of the new nobility, the enterprise of the middle classes, the strength of national feeling, the activity of mind due to the “new learning” and the Reformation, and the character of the queen. When Queen Mary died Elizabeth was a young woman of twenty-five, animated, intelligent, and vigorous. She had received the solid education then in fashion for young women of high birth. She could read, write, and speak Latin, French, and Italian, as well as remarkably vigorous English. She had studied some Greek and had much general information. She possessed also a sense of humor and a capacity for bluff, good-natured repartee inherited from her father, while her prudence of speech and caution of action proclaimed her the granddaughter of Henry VII. A girlhood passed during the reigns of Edward and Mary, when she was more than once in imminent danger of suffering the fate of her cousin, Lady Jane Grey, had made her self-reliant and wary.

Notwithstanding these intellectual gifts Elizabeth was not a lovable woman. She was selfish and egotistical. Nor was she capable of inspiring any very deep personal respect. She was often faithless to her friends and vacillating in her likes and dislikes. Sincerity and a delicate sense of honor were absent from her character. But few of the great number of men and women who surrounded her through life really loved her, or respected her for any of her more personal or womanly qualities. Nevertheless

she was thoroughly English. Her very faults were those of her people and her time. Back of her affectation and petty coquetry she was large-minded and lofty in spirit. She was willing to allow differences of opinion and able to understand the feelings of different men. Above all, Elizabeth was devoted to England. She was determined to rule for the whole English people, not for any party at home or in subservience to any power abroad.

Elizabeth was proclaimed queen in 1558, and chose as her secretary of state and most trusted adviser Sir William Cecil, whom she afterwards made Lord Burleigh. Though she often refused to take his advice, and even at times sent him into retirement, Burleigh was always restored to influence again and remained her principal counselor until his death in



Portrait of Elizabeth

1598. Somewhat later than Cecil, Sir Francis Walsingham came into her service and became almost equally influential. Upon her accession the queen set herself, with the help of these ministers, the task of establishing the new reign on firm foundations.

295. The Religious Settlement. — The most critical question was that of religion. Foreign rulers and their ministers, the English bishops and office holders, the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, all were in suspense awaiting the action of the queen. Her decision was shown at her first parliament, which met two months after her accession.

In 1558 a large proportion of the people were still indifferent in religious matters, and the power of the crown was very great. It was quite possible, therefore, for the ruler to control the form

which the religious organization of the people should take. Elizabeth chose her own ministers, and with them exerted so much influence over parliament that almost any laws which she wanted could be carried through. Her birth from a marriage forbidden by the pope and her desire for freedom from outside control prevented her from continuing the Roman Catholic policy of Mary. She and her ministers therefore settled upon a middle course, going back in all matters of church government to the system of Henry VIII, and in matters of doctrine and ceremonial to that of the reign of Edward VI. To carry out this arrangement two important laws, known as the "Act of Supremacy" and the "Act of Uniformity," were passed by parliament. By these acts all laws against the pope which had been repealed in Mary's reign were reënacted, and it was declared that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of parliament, use, enjoy or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, preëminence or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm." Although the old title "Head of the Church" was not revived, the regulation of the English church in matters of doctrine and good order was put into the hands of the queen, and she was authorized to appoint a minister or ministers to exercise these powers in her name. The mass was abolished and in its place the second book of common prayer, which had been issued in the reign of Edward VI, with some slight modifications, was reintroduced. The ornaments of the churches and the forms and ceremonies used in the church services were ordered to be the same as in the reign of Edward VI. Notwithstanding the protests of the clergy, the law proceeded to declare that all clergymen and officers of the crown should take an oath of obedience to the law as it now stood before entering upon any office. Some time afterwards the doctrines of the church were promulgated in the form of the "Thirty-Nine Articles," which have since remained the standard of doctrine of the church.

296. The Middle Position of the English Church.—Thus the church of England was established in a form midway between the church of Rome and the Protestant churches on the continent of Europe. It was not Roman Catholic, as it had been during the middle ages, for it had rejected the headship of the pope and had introduced many differences in doctrines and ceremonies. On the other hand, it was not Protestant like other reformed churches, for it retained the organization under archbishops and bishops, it had a prescribed form of worship, the clergymen still wore robes at the services; and in fact the changes from the mediæval customs and beliefs were relatively slight.¹

From this time onward the organization of the English church was strictly national, possessing no connection with any authority outside of England and modeling itself on no other church. It was designed to include every one in England. The form of religious service was established by law, and this service, and this alone, was to be used by every clergyman and in every church in England. It was to be as binding on the people as on the clergy. All persons must attend church every Sunday and holy day, under penalty of a fine of a shilling for every absence. To see that the ecclesiastical laws were carried out and to enforce the control over church matters granted to the sovereign by the Act of Supremacy,

¹ This middle position of the reformed church of England is the cause of much difficulty in the common words by which it is described. Those who are much attached to the church and its ideals object strongly to speaking of it as a *Protestant* church. They declare that it is historically the same church of England coming down from the time of the apostles, having simply undergone a process of purification, in the sixteenth century, in the form of the Reformation. They object also to the use of the word *Catholic* to describe the Roman Catholic church in this connection, claiming that the church of England is also Catholic in the sense of being a part of the universal church. The adjective *Protestant* has, however, been customarily applied to the reformed church of England for centuries, as it is to the allied organization in the United States. It is so used in this book. For the sake of stricter accuracy *Roman Catholic* is used in all cases in this work where adherents of the Roman Catholic Church are intended.

Elizabeth from time to time appointed commissioners who came finally to form the permanent Court of High Commission.

297. **The Roman Catholics and the Puritans.** — The middle position in church matters which Elizabeth and her advisers had determined upon, although apparently satisfactory enough to the majority of the nation, caused deep dissatisfaction to those who were at the two extremes in religious matters. On the one hand, earnest Roman Catholics did not approve of the abolition of the power of the pope in England, or of the other changes from the old ways. They wished the continuance of Mary's settlement of the church. They were very numerous among the nobility and gentry, especially in the north of England and in the rural districts. Many who at the beginning of the reign held office as sheriffs, lord lieutenants, and justices of the peace were firm Roman Catholics, opposed to change, and reluctant to take the oaths required of them by the new law.

On the other hand, there were many who were dissatisfied with the retention of so much from the mediæval church and were anxious to have the Reformation carried much farther than it had been. These became known as "Puritans," since they constantly expressed a desire for a "purer" form of worship than that of the established church. The Puritans were numerous among the middle classes and in the towns. Many of them were clergymen, and numbers of these had been in exile during the reign of Mary. On the continent they had come under the influence of the reformers of Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and France, and had learned from them far more radical religious views than had ever been held in England.

The government took its position firmly between these two extremes. Several bishops had recently died, but the remaining fourteen were summoned before the queen and told that they must submit to the requirements of the Act of Supremacy. All but one of them declined to take the oath which denied the ecclesiastical power of the pope and required submission in religious

affairs to the control of the queen and her ministers. They were therefore deprived of their offices and new bishops and archbishops appointed or elected to their places. The pressure put upon the lower clergy to conform to the change was more gradual and more successful. Of a total of more than nine thousand parish priests and other clergymen, less than two hundred stood out in their refusal to take the oaths. These were removed from their posts. Those who had conformed gave up the Latin mass gradually, though in many cases reluctantly, and reestablished the use of the reformed English service in their churches. The government showed considerable leniency in the application of the law, especially during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. So long as men would conform outwardly there was no such effort to inquire into private religious beliefs or to force people into conforming as there had been under Mary. The old heresy laws of Lollard times, which had been reenacted under Mary, were now repealed again and forever.



Lord Burleigh

298. The Political Settlement. — When Elizabeth came to the throne England was in close alliance with Spain and at war with France. Peace was soon made with France. At the same time the queen and the ministers made every effort to retain the alliance with Spain. It was to the highest interest of England to be on good terms with both the great continental powers, as the country was not prepared to go to war. Her little navy was in bad condition, her troops few and poorly equipped, her fortifications out of repair, and her treasury empty. It was desirable, moreover, to remain at peace with Spain because Spain governed the

Netherlands, whither England sent most of the manufactured goods which she exported. It was desirable also to avoid war with France, because France and Scotland were allies, and a war across the Channel was almost sure to mean an invasion of England from the Scottish border.

Yet this policy of peace and neutrality was a difficult one. France and Spain were almost continually at war, and England was in constant danger of being drawn into the contest. If she failed to strengthen herself by a warlike alliance with one of them she was apt to be attacked by the other. Each of them had reasons for interfering in English affairs. The Spanish government was dissatisfied with the loss of the influence which it had enjoyed during Mary's reign and was displeased with the religious settlement. Spain looked upon herself as the special champion of the English Roman Catholics. France was guardian of the claim to the English throne of a rival of Elizabeth and might readily plan an invasion for the dethronement of the queen.

Yet Elizabeth and her ministers felt that the advantages of peace to the country were so great that war must be avoided by every possible effort. In this, by difficult and tortuous means, they were successful. In the political as in the religious settlement the government pursued its policy of national independence and isolation. English interests were looked after at home and abroad without making any sacrifice for the sake of other nations, and without hesitating at the adoption of unscrupulous means. Above all it was the policy of Elizabeth to avoid being drawn into foreign war and to preserve her own shores free from invasion.

299. The Social Settlement. — The changes, rebellions, and disorders of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary had left a legacy of much distress and confusion among the people. Inclosures of common land and open fields, and evictions of yeomen from their little farms, were still going on ; many men were out of work ; prices were high and wages were low. The currency of the country was debased, trade was irregular, and there were

great numbers of paupers unable to support themselves. These matters needed settlement as much as religion and politics. Some of them proved to be incurable except by the slow process of time. The laws against inclosures, for instance, were reënacted, but had no more success than before. Pauperism, as will be shown, remained a problem but partially solved.

300. Restoration of the Coinage. — In one field, however, there was greater success. The government set itself vigorously to the improvement of the condition of the money, the debasement of which under Henry VIII and Edward VI has already been described.¹ After careful preparation a proclamation was issued by the government, in 1560, stating that collectors had been appointed in each market town who would give money of standard fineness² in exchange for current coins. Every one who brought his money to this officer would receive the value of the pure silver or gold in the coins he had brought. He would therefore receive an equal number of pieces, of less weight but of standard silver. To induce people to bring their money a small bounty was promised, and it was ordered also that after a certain time the old money should not pass current at all. A large force of refiners and coiners were set to work at the mint to recoin the bad pieces as they were brought in into money of the standard purity. This was used to buy more of the old pieces as they were presented. In about nine months practically all the old coin had been brought in to the government in this way and recoined, and since that time there has been no change in the weight or purity of the English coinage. This was one of the most beneficial actions of the long reign of Elizabeth.

301. The Statute of Apprentices. — The rates of wages provided for in the Statutes of Laborers³ could no longer be enforced; the regulations of the old craft guilds were no longer carried out, and in many other ways time had changed the relations between employers

¹ See p. 318.

² Standard fineness for the English silver coinage is 98 parts pure silver to 2 parts alloy.

³ See p. 244

and employed. The government, however, had no idea of leaving wages unregulated or masters and men free to settle such matters between them, as it was at this time extending its regulations to new fields, not withdrawing from old ones. In 1563 was passed a long act for the regulation of labor, known as the "Statute of Apprentices." It required that in most trades engagements should be by the year, no employer being allowed to discharge his workman, nor any workman being allowed to leave his employer, except at the end of a year of service and after a quarter of a year's warning. Every craftsman must go through an apprenticeship of seven years. No workman should travel from his home without a certificate from the authorities. All laborers were required to work in the summer from five in the morning to seven or eight in the evening, in the winter from dawn to dark. This was about equal to a twelve-hour day of labor. Wages were to be settled each year by the justices of the peace in each county, and no employer must give and no workman ask for more than the established rate of wages. This law remained in force for two hundred and fifty years.

302. Pauperism.—Much difficulty with the poor was experienced at this time. During the middle ages there had been, of course, many who were unfortunate and miserably poor; but the changes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had made the number far greater. Evictions, the dissolution of the monasteries and the inclosure of their lands, the abolition of the chantries, the weakening of the guilds, the more active competition in all lines, and the introduction of new methods of working, threw many out of work and produced a vast army of paupers. Those who had no employment, or who could not or would not work, traveled up and down the country, gathering in great numbers on the outskirts of the larger towns and indulging in all forms of lawlessness. Many laws had been passed in the last half century to punish vagabonds and to restrict to their home counties those who could not find work, but none had been effective.

In the same year as the Statute of Apprentices, 1563, a law was passed "to the intent that idle and loitering persons and valiant beggars may be avoided, and the impotent, feeble and lame, which are the poor in very deed, should be hereafter relieved and well provided for." According to this law collectors were to be appointed in each parish whose duty it was to make a list of all paupers, another list of all who were able to give help, to secure from the latter a promise to pay a certain amount each week for the support of the poor, and to collect this sum weekly and pay it over to those whom they had put upon the list as paupers. If anyone who had means could not be persuaded to make a contribution, he was to be forced to pay a tax assessed upon his property by the authorities. Since by this means all the poor would be looked after, they were forbidden by law to beg publicly in future; and, as all those who could not work would in this way be provided for by their neighbors, all persons wandering through the country could be recognized and punished.

It was thus that in the earlier years of her reign the queen, with the aid of her council and her parliament, sought to bring order and tranquillity to the country in these different spheres of national life.

303. Elizabeth's Court. — Settlement and tranquillity are, however, the last terms to apply to the court of Queen Elizabeth. It was a busy scene of festivities, negotiations, and plots. Foreign ministers came and went, seeking interviews with the queen or with Cecil; meetings of the council were held to discuss matters of foreign or internal interest as they arose; intrigues were discovered and those who had taken part in them were banished from the court, while new courtiers arose into influence; sudden threats of war gave occasion for preparing ships or calling out the militia; projects of foreign exploration or the extension of trade were considered, and the financial difficulties of the queen were met in all kinds of irregular ways. Affairs of state and personal affairs, great matters and small, were mingled inextricably. Everything seems marked by change, chance, and caprice. It is only by looking

carefully below the surface that the more permanent questions of the time can be distinguished.

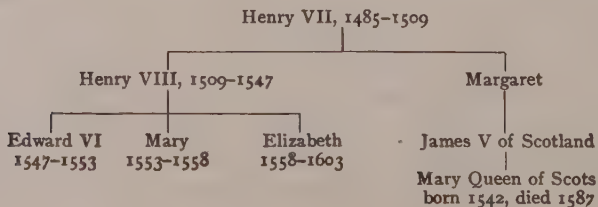
304. Mary Stuart. — Chief among these and among the personal difficulties of Elizabeth was the rivalry of Mary Queen of Scots. Mary was the granddaughter of Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII, who married the king of Scotland. She was therefore Elizabeth's cousin and the next heir to the throne. Indeed, if the marriage of Elizabeth's mother to Henry had been illegal, as all Roman Catholics claimed, Mary had a better right to the throne of England than Elizabeth.¹



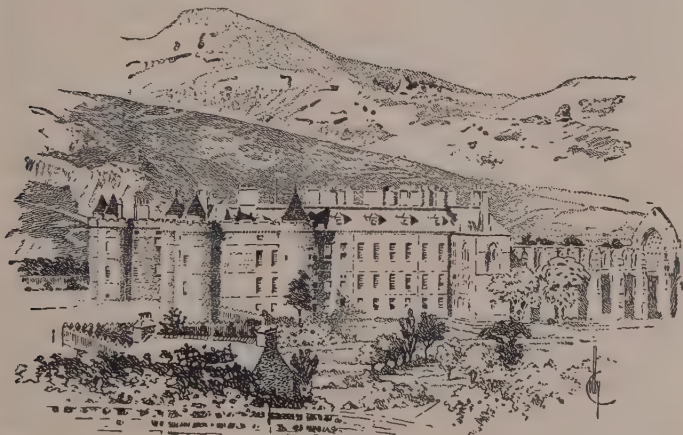
Mary Queen of Scots (a medal by the Italian engraver Primavera)

Although Mary was the daughter of the king of Scotland, born in that country, and nominally its queen from her infancy, she had been brought up in France, had married the heir to the French throne, and just after Elizabeth's accession had become, through her husband, queen of France. She threw down the gauntlet to Elizabeth by using the title "Queen of England, Scotland, and France." Although she made no effort at this time to make good her claim to the throne of England, a rivalry with Elizabeth thus began which was to last through their lives. Mary was eight years younger than Elizabeth, well educated, attractive, intelligent, and quite the equal of Elizabeth in shrewdness, though

¹ The relationship of Mary and Elizabeth is shown by the following table.



her inferior in self-control. Her long residence at the French court had given her all the love of scheming for which that court was famous. She knew how to seem artless and confiding even when she was really working out some deep-laid plan. She habitually used her charm as a woman to further political intrigues, and in her private life and amusements was frequently plotting to carry out political objects which she wanted to reach perhaps far in the future. The greatest difference between her and Elizabeth



The Palace of Holyrood, near Edinburgh

was that the latter in her personal plans and feelings always retained her sense of responsibility and love for her own people and for England, and made her final decision according to their interests, while Mary sought more purely private ends and ambitions.

Her husband was king of France only a year and a half. When he died, Mary, finding herself ill at ease in France and urged to come home by her subjects, determined to return to her Scottish dominions. She asked Elizabeth's permission to pass through England, but as she was unwilling to agree to a treaty definitely giving up her claim to the English throne, permission was refused.

She then sailed directly for Scotland and in 1561 landed in her own kingdom and took up her residence in the ancient palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh.

305. The Reformation in Scotland.—Mary found Scotland already far more radically Protestant than England. In Scotland the Reformation had been a movement carried out by the people in opposition to the government, instead of being a government measure but partially assented to by the people, as in England. Its leaders were a group of preachers, the most famous of whom was John Knox, a man of unrestrained religious zeal, but pure in life, masterful in character, fearless, and unswervingly devoted to Protestantism. His experiences were wide and varied, from slavery in the French galleys to a position of power in Scotland which enabled him by his eloquence to bring even Mary Stuart to tears for her later crimes.

Mary's position in Scotland was a difficult one. She was a Roman Catholic queen in the midst of a population in the main strongly Protestant. The wealth, luxury, and brilliancy of the French court to which she had been accustomed found a harsh contrast in the poverty and rudeness of the Scottish nobility who surrounded her at Holyrood. Gifted, well educated, and used to French polish and courtliness, she found her lot cast in with courtiers who were rough, ignorant, and quarrelsome. The gayety and love of pleasure which belonged as much to Mary's nature and age as it did to her training was checked and opposed by the austerity of Scotch Protestantism, with its condemnation of all the vanities of the world. It is no wonder that she found her life irksome.

306. Mary and Elizabeth.—The unavoidable contest with Elizabeth soon began. Elizabeth had already before Mary's return to Scotland taken the part of the Scotch Protestants in a rising against their regent. Mary tried steadily to induce Elizabeth to acknowledge her as the heir to the English throne, should the queen have no children. Elizabeth as steadily avoided doing so. As was natural she did not like to think of her own death

or failure of heirs. She feared besides that if Mary were once declared to be her successor her death would be so much a matter of desire to the English Roman Catholics and to some of the other powers of Europe that an invasion of England or her own assassination might speedily follow. She therefore steadily refused to name either Mary or any one else as her successor.

Mary soon began to use her position as queen of Scotland to intrigue for the crown of England also. With the object of strengthening her position with Roman Catholics in Scotland and in England she married in 1565 her cousin, Lord Darnley, one of her few Roman Catholic noblemen, and near in blood to both the Scotch and English crowns, but one of the most worthless of men. This led to a revolt of the Protestant nobles, led by the queen's illegitimate brother, the earl of Murray. Mary promptly crushed them, however, and drove them into England as refugees.

307. The Murder of Darnley. — But she had now entered on a policy of satisfying her own personal wishes and ambitions without consulting the interests of her subjects, and this carried her farther and farther. She soon learned to despise her weak and vicious husband and gave her confidence to an Italian secretary in her service named David Rizzio. Her husband became jealous of Rizzio, and with a company of nobles stabbed him to death in her very presence and summoned back the exiled Protestant lords, with whom, Roman Catholic as he was, he had made a temporary pact.

Mary hid her resentment against her husband until she had won him over from the Protestant confederacy, gathered a loyal army, and again driven the recalled exiles abroad. Soon after this she bore a son who was named James, after her father, James V of Scotland, and who afterwards became king of both Scotland and England. Mary's pretended reconciliation with her husband and the birth of her son drew him closer to her, and an attack of illness made him even more dependent upon her. He tried his best to win her affection and support. But Mary had fallen in love,

with all the strength of her passionate nature, with the proud and fierce earl of Bothwell.

Then happened an event the true circumstances of which have never been explained. The queen brought her husband to Kirk-a-Field, a half-ruined royal dwelling just inside the walls of Edinburgh. Here she visited him daily for a week or more, returning usually to Holyrood to sleep. After she had left him at twelve o'clock one night the house of Kirk-a-Field was blown up with gunpowder, and the bodies of Darnley and his page were found in the morning near by, where they appeared to have been murdered during an effort to escape from the wrecked building.

Whether the queen knew of the murder beforehand or not, her lover Bothwell certainly did, and either killed Darnley with his own hand or directed his death. Passion ran high and accusations against him were made and denied. Shortly afterward the queen went to Stirling. Here she was seized and carried off by Bothwell, as it is generally believed, with her own consent. While he held her in captivity she married him.

308. Expulsion of Mary from Scotland. — By these actions Mary had at last roused to anger all classes of her subjects. Soon there was a rebellion. After a fierce battle, Bothwell was driven into flight and the queen was captured and imprisoned in a little castle in the middle of Loch Leven. Here she was forced to sign an abdication of the crown and to authorize the coronation of her infant son. From her captivity, however, Mary soon made her escape and fled to England, appealing to Elizabeth to provide her with an army with which to regain her kingdom and take revenge on her enemies. While Elizabeth was hesitating as to what action to take, the leaders of the rebellious Scots placed in the hands of the English council a certain silver casket captured from Bothwell containing a number of letters and other documents. The letters seemed to be in Mary's handwriting and to have been sent by her to Bothwell during the months preceding her husband's murder. They showed not only knowledge of the

plans for the murder, but base treachery and reckless willingness to sacrifice all her own and her country's interests to her lover.

These "casket letters," as they have since been called, have been declared by many to be forgeries, and to this day no certainty has been reached as to whether they were genuine or false. But they were believed then by Elizabeth's council to be genuine, and Elizabeth could not, therefore, if she had wished, venture to place Mary upon the throne of Scotland. As Mary's actions had deprived her of the support of the Scotch people, it seemed to Elizabeth to be on the whole to her own interest to keep Mary in England without either agreeing or refusing to help her. For nineteen years, therefore, from 1568 to 1587, the unfortunate Queen of Scots remained a prisoner in England, pining in captivity and spending half a lifetime weaving fruitless plots.

309. Elizabeth's Marriage Plans. — The people of England were anxious that Elizabeth should marry and have children who should inherit the throne after her. But whom should she marry? If she had consulted her own wishes she would gladly have married Sir Robert Dudley, whom she made earl of Leicester. But Dudley was already married, and although his wife died opportunely at his castle of Cumnor, he was so deeply suspected of having had her murdered that the queen's marriage to him would have been a public scandal. Elizabeth recognized this, and, although she treated him as a lover and talked frequently of marrying him, probably never really expected to. The influence of all her best advisers was against him, as he was personally unworthy. Moreover, a queen can seldom choose her husband from mere motives of love, and least of all at that time could the political needs of the country be neglected in such a matter. The choice of an English husband would have been popular, but the queen did not approve of any English nobleman but Dudley.

Elizabeth must have been conscious from her earliest life that the selection of her husband was purely a matter of politics. The choice of a prince of any one of the royal families of Europe

for a husband would be the same as the choice of an alliance for England. Yet the policy of England was to avoid an alliance with any foreign country so close as to bring her into conflict with others. Partly because of this difficulty, partly from her love for Dudley, partly from her own fickleness and vacillation, her reign saw a succession of what were treated as courtships, but which were rather negotiations for foreign treaties. Even while Elizabeth was a young girl two or three different plans for her marriage had been proposed. Immediately after her accession to the throne, Philip II, who had been her sister Mary's husband, offered to marry



The Duke of Alençon

her and continue the alliance with Spain. This proposal was declined. Through the succeeding years one suitor after another either visited the English court in person or was proposed and discussed by ambassadors, ministers, the queen, and the court ladies. The Scotch earl of Arran, Eric, king of Sweden, the archduke Charles of Austria, Philibert of Savoy, Charles IX of France, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Alençon pass in a seemingly endless procession of suitors through the chronicles of the time. The queen was more than forty years old be-

fore the comedy ceased to be played.

The negotiations were often spun out merely to serve a political purpose; the vanity of Elizabeth was pleased with the flattery of constant love letters and love speeches, and she liked to think of marrying. She dallied with the various plans as long as she dared, and more than once made not only her suitors but her ministers believe her intentions were serious, but her good sense, her devotion to the best interests of England, and her unwillingness to lose the freedom of her single state always prevented the marriage from taking place, and she grew old and died unmarried.

310. Increase of Puritanism. — The religious settlement introduced by Elizabeth was preserved with difficulty. The Puritans became constantly more numerous. Some of the bishops, many of the parish ministers, and an ever-increasing number of the people were opposed to the ceremonies of the established church and even to some of its doctrines and its mode of government. The Reformation in England began to interest the mass of the people. Many congregations and their pastors dropped the form of service required by law; "prophesyings," or meetings of clergymen and laymen for the discussion of religious subjects, were held; and at London new congregations were organized which met not in the parish churches but in other buildings and followed other religious practices. In parliament a majority of the members of the House of Commons were Puritans and introduced law after law intended to make changes in the established church in the direction of more complete Protestantism.

Against these proceedings Elizabeth took vigorous action. In 1570 Thomas Cartwright, a professor at Cambridge, was removed from his position for Puritan teaching; the newly formed congregations in London were broken up, those who attended them imprisoned, and all irregular religious meetings forbidden; clergymen who refused to accept in their entirety the Thirty-Nine Articles or to agree to use only the prayer book in public worship were deprived of their benefices. Somewhat greater uniformity in the church was thus obtained for a while, but it was only a seeming uniformity. The real divisions were still great and constantly becoming greater.

311. The Counter Reformation. — The Roman Catholics also were becoming more active if not more numerous. This was principally due to what is known as the "counter reformation." This movement on the continent consisted partly of moral reform in the old church, partly of a clearer statement of its doctrines, and partly of more active personal efforts to stem the tide of Protestant influence. The more earnest Roman Catholic leaders,

realizing the need of reforms in the church if it were not to continue to be the object of the just criticism and successful attacks of the Protestants, chose better men to the papacy and brought about the choice of better bishops. The bishops made strenuous efforts to secure greater learning and more devout lives among the lower clergy. The doctrines of the church were put in more definite form and many doubtful points settled by the decrees of a great church council held at Trent between the years 1545 and 1563.

312. The Jesuits. — New power was introduced into Roman Catholicism by the foundation in 1540 of the Society of Jesus. This was a monastic order formed by a group of young Spanish students under the leadership of Ignatius Loyola. They took the usual monastic vows, but added to them an additional oath of special obedience to the pope. Their organization was peculiar and effective. They were governed like a military body by a "general," who was in direct communication with the pope, and by a "provincial" in each of the principal countries of Europe. Absolute obedience to these superiors was a fundamental rule of their order. Any member of the order was bound to go where he was sent, to devote himself to the work appointed him, and to carry out unquestioningly his instructions in the form they were given him. The education and training required of a candidate before he was admitted to full membership in the order was long and severe, so that a Jesuit was always a well-educated and thoroughly trained man. Their enthusiasm and devotion were equal to their training. They took up as special tasks, education, the conversion of the heathen abroad, and the reconversion of Protestants at home. They soon became famous and influential in almost every country in Europe, Asia, and America. Such men, burning with devotion, were not likely to remain away from England because the laws forbade mass to be performed there and required all Englishmen to attend the service of the established church. Several made their way into England, disguised as ordinary travelers, and

did much to strengthen in their faith those Englishmen who had always remained Roman Catholics, and to win back many who had fallen from their faith or weakly conformed to the state religion. A college was established by some English exiles at Douai on the Belgian coast just opposite England, for the training of young English Roman Catholics, many of whom became priests and returned secretly to England.

Thus by the middle of Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics were really a greater problem than they had been at its beginning. They were probably not more numerous, but they were stronger and more earnest in their belief and in their devotion to their church.

313. Political Danger from the Roman Catholics. — This state of affairs was a constant danger to Elizabeth. The imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots did not make her any less dangerous as a Roman Catholic candidate for the throne. In some ways it made her cause stronger. The Roman Catholic nobles felt it a duty and honor to succor their mistress in her distress. The king of Spain, when he failed to obtain Elizabeth's alliance, planned to secure Mary's release and enthronement in England as an ally for himself. Her presence, therefore, made her a permanent center of intrigue. In 1569, soon after Mary's arrival in England, there was a rebellion in her favor on the part of some of the nobles. This was soon put down, although it gave occasion for the infliction of bloody punishment on those who had taken part in it. In 1570 Elizabeth was excommunicated by the pope, and a bull proclaiming her deposition was found nailed on the door of the dwelling of the bishop of London.

More severe laws against the Roman Catholics were now passed. All who brought papal bulls into England, and all who secured the conversion of Englishmen, or who were themselves converted, were declared to be traitors and were to be punished as such. Later the "Recusancy Laws" were passed. These imposed fines and imprisonment upon persons saying or hearing mass, and

additional penalties to those before imposed were levied upon those absenting themselves from the regular church services. Campion and Parsons, two influential Jesuits, were arrested and put to the torture. Parsons escaped, but Campion was executed as a traitor. Several "seminary priests," as the graduates of Douai were called, were also captured and some of them hung. Notwithstanding this severity a serious plot was soon discovered. Philip was to lead an army into England, Mary was to be liberated and to marry the Roman Catholic duke of Norfolk, the highest noble in England, Elizabeth was to be deposed and Mary crowned, and Roman Catholicism again to become the religion of the country. This is known as the "Ridolfi Plot," from an Italian merchant in England who acted as the messenger between the parties concerned in it. All was discovered before any action had been taken, and the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded for his share in it. From this time forward an invasion either by Spain or France, or by the two countries together, to help the Roman Catholics dethrone Elizabeth was a recognized danger.

314. England and the Continent.—Various causes, some of them the good fortune, some the wise policy of England, prevented this invasion from taking place. One cause was the internal troubles of both Spain and France. The Netherlanders, who were under the government of Spain, in 1572 rose in revolt and fought for their independence under the prince of Orange through the whole remainder of the sixteenth century. The effort to put down this rebellion kept the troops of Philip of Spain occupied and exhausted his funds so that he was in no position to enter into a struggle with England. From motives of policy Elizabeth helped to keep this rebellion alive by occasionally sending money to the prince of Orange and by allowing English volunteers to serve under his banner. But she hated rebels and gave the Dutch but little consistent or whole-hearted encouragement. France also was torn by civil wars between the Catholics and the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called. To the Huguenots

Elizabeth likewise gave some reluctant encouragement, so that they might remain strong enough to cripple the royal power of France.

A second way in which the danger of invasion was avoided was by playing off the two great continental powers against one another. England always helped to keep up the quarrels between Spain and France. She never herself quarreled with one of them without showing herself at the same time more friendly to the other. The interminable marriage negotiations of Elizabeth also served as a useful means of accomplishing this purpose. So long as a marriage with a French prince was in prospect there could be no probability of an invasion from France, because such a marriage would mean a friendly alliance between the two countries. Spain, on the other hand, must for the time postpone invasion for fear she might have to fight both England and England's proposed ally. The same security against France was obtained when a Spanish candidate for her hand was being considered.

But the time came when neither the internal difficulties of France and Spain nor the queen's skillful pitting of them against one another was sufficient to keep them from secretly planning a joint invasion. The plots formed by Roman Catholics for the dethronement or assassination of Elizabeth and the release of Mary had usually included the plan of asking help from abroad. They had been, however, one after another discovered, and several of those concerned in them had been put to death.

After 1583 it became evident that these plots were known to the Spanish government, to at least one party in France, to Mary Queen of Scots in her imprisonment in England, as well as to many Roman Catholic Englishmen, some living abroad and some at home. The moment Elizabeth's assassination should occur a Spanish army from Flanders or a French army from Normandy, or both, would be sent to England, Mary would be released, and the whole character of the English government changed. When the complicity of Spain in one of these conspiracies became evident in 1584, the queen sent the Spanish ambassador out of England.

315. The Parties which favored Elizabeth. — Thus, after Elizabeth had been queen for twenty-five years, her position might seem at first glance to be no more secure than when she had ascended the throne. This, however, was not the case. The generation which had now grown up had known no other religious forms than those of the established church, and their feeling towards it was very different from that of the previous generation. What their fathers had accepted as the best compromise or as a matter of small interest, they had become really attached to. The forms and ceremonies of the church of England as established by law had become dear to many for their own sake. Such persons were earnest supporters of Elizabeth's government on religious grounds.

Others had learned to feel a patriotic respect and affection for the government which had kept England free and independent of other countries and in internal peace for such a long time. These were ready to give it support on political grounds.

316. Industrial Growth. — The English people were moreover coming to have new interests, which did more to increase the general strength of the nation and the popularity of Elizabeth's government than any of the direct efforts of the queen and her ministers to solve the religious and political difficulties of the time. The Merchants Adventurers, who had obtained the recognition of Henry VII, and the other traders who were even then venturing from year to year into new lands, had grown during the sixteenth century from few to many, and their enterprise carried them constantly to new parts. There was a much greater variety of goods to export than before. The troubles of the Reformation had driven from the continent many workmen, who came with their families to England seeking a refuge and bringing with them their skill and their knowledge of manufacturing processes. Several groups of Flemings, Dutch, and Walloons, fleeing from the persecutions of Alva, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, obtained permission to settle in Sandwich, Norwich, and other towns. There they established and afterwards taught the English

the weaving of new and fine kinds of woolen and linen goods and other industries. Huguenot silk weavers and manufacturers of other fine goods also came from France. Under these influences and in the general activity of the time there was so much weaving of cloth that wool ceased altogether to be exported, being all woven into cloth within England, and great quantities of this were sent abroad in the way of trade.

317. Commercial Growth. — English merchants did not merely sell English manufactured goods abroad, but made their way to parts of the world where they could buy goods that could be brought home and sold in England. They traded to the ports of Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Germany. Cargoes were taken to the Mediterranean Sea, and English traders were seen in the ports of Syria and Asia Minor in one direction, and in the towns of the Baltic in another.

But in all these places they had to compete with the other nations who had been before them, and from time to time ports were closed when war or some threat of war interfered. Still bolder merchants and explorers, therefore, sailed away to more distant shores in search of opportunities to buy and sell. As early as the reign of Mary two bold navigators, Willoughby and Chancellor, started on a voyage around the North Cape, hoping by a north-east passage to reach China and the East Indies. Willoughby and all his crew were frozen to death or starved while their vessel was held fast in the ice. Chancellor with the other vessel made his way into the White Sea, went by boat up the Dwina, and finally reached Moscow. With this region a regular trade was soon opened up. An association of merchants known as the Muscovy or Russia Company was formed, and when an ambassador came from Russia to England a few years afterwards there were a hundred and fifty merchants of that company to receive him in state.

To gain greater strength and protection it was customary at that time for merchants trading to any one country to form themselves into a company and obtain a charter from the crown

granting them the monopoly of that trade under certain regulations, on the model of the Merchants Adventurers. Thus the Levant or Turkey Company was formed to trade with the eastern Mediterranean lands, an Eastland or Baltic Company to trade with Poland and Prussia, a Barbary Company to trade with northern and a Guinea Company to trade with western Africa, and just at the end of Elizabeth's reign one which was destined to become far the greatest of them all, — the East India Company. Supported in some cases by these companies, in others by small groups of adventurers, many half-exploring, half-trading expeditions were sent out during the latter half of the reign.

318. Attempted Settlements in America. — These companies and the expeditions they sent out had no idea beyond the opening up of trade with the native races of the various countries that they reached. But some men looked farther ahead and planned settlements which should not only form the bases of trade but should become parts of England beyond the seas. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a grant from the queen authorizing him to establish settlements in any unoccupied country. In 1583 he established some colonists in Newfoundland, but they perished on land and their leader was lost soon afterwards at sea.

His patent was then regranted to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. He sought to establish a colony farther south on the American coast, with which he made himself familiar by sending out exploring expeditions. It was by Raleigh's favor with the queen that the name Virginia, after the virgin queen, was given to the part of North America that the English claimed, and he introduced into England from that country the use of tobacco and potatoes. Three successive bodies of colonists were sent out by Raleigh under charge of Sir Richard Grenville and John White, between 1585 and 1587, but they all either returned to England or were destroyed by famine, disease, or the Indians. Raleigh lost his fortune in the attempted settlements and in his explorations, but he never lost his keen interest in discoveries or his belief in

the future of American colonization. In 1602 another attempt at settlement was made by Bartholomew Gosnold, but this also was a failure.

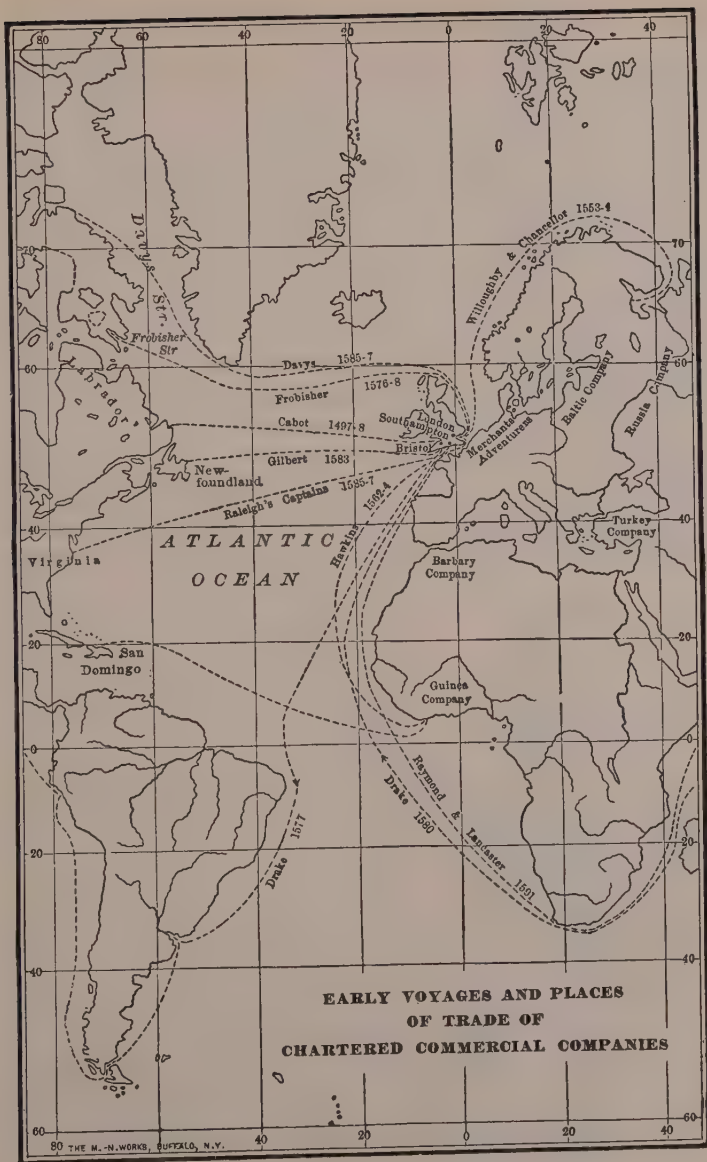
319. The Search for a Northwest Passage. — The great object of search in many of the other exploring expeditions of the time was a northern route to India and China. As the Spaniards already held control of the southern parts of America and the West Indies, attention was turned to the possibility of finding a passage westward to India around the northern coast of North America. In 1576 Martin Frobisher organized and led an expedition to America with this object. He discovered and entered the strait and bay which still bear his name, but got no farther west, for this and two later trips in the next two years were wasted in gathering cargoes of a certain black stone from an arctic island, which he and Queen Elizabeth's assayers at first thought was silver ore. A few years afterward, in 1585, John Davis, a bold and skillful navigator, made the first of three trips which carried him up through the strait which is also named after him, but his voyages, for all their heroism, brought back little more than new tales of suffering and privation in the icy north. Hudson and Baffin soon followed, each threading his way a little farther through the maze of land and water to the northwest. The spirit of adventure could not resist the attractions of this search for a northwest passage, filled with danger and unproductive of profit as it proved to be.

320. Hawkins's Voyages. — Other restless English traders could not content themselves with such fruitless explorations and unproductive voyages when they had reason to believe that far more profitable ventures might be made in other directions. A source of almost unlimited gain existed in the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish settlements in America and the West Indies. Negro slaves had been early introduced from the west coast of Africa into the Spanish settlements in America. The Spanish government, however, disapproved of slave trading and only allowed negroes to be imported into the American colonies in

small numbers, by favored traders, and on payment of a heavy duty. It was well known that the Spanish colonists in the West Indies, Mexico, and South America were eager to buy slaves whether their home government approved it or not, and that negroes would probably bring a good price and find ready sale if brought there.

In 1562 John Hawkins of Plymouth with another captain fitted out three vessels, sailed away to the coast of Sierra Leone, captured or bought about three hundred negroes, and then made their way to the Spanish colony of St. Domingo, into which they pretended to have been driven by stress of weather. The governor, in spite of orders from home, made but slight resistance to the English adventurer's proposal to sell some of the negroes to obtain money to pay his expenses, and eventually Hawkins disposed of most of his wretched cargo, bought some hides, and returned to England. The Spanish government protested against this action and forbade its repetition. The king of Spain, in addition to his opposition to the trade in negro slaves, wanted no intrusion of English traders into the Spanish colonies. Nevertheless Hawkins was soon again on the coast of Africa and then in the West Indies with some hundreds of negroes, and by threatening the governors and small military guards at various Spanish ports he again disposed of his slaves. So in voyage after voyage, in some of which members of the queen's council and even the queen herself invested money, Hawkins and other English traders pursued their odious trade, — kidnapping African negroes and then forcing their way into the Spanish colonies and finding a profitable market for their wares.

321. Conflicts in the West Indies. — These voyages gave frequent occasion for conflicts with the Spaniards on the water. More than once English traders fought with Spanish men of war, and occasionally captured Spanish trading vessels. When Englishmen were captured and held as prisoners, Spaniards were seized as hostages for them, and Spanish goods were confiscated



in reprisal. English voyages to the West Indies became more and more like piracy.

There was no war between England and Spain, but the Spaniards were Roman Catholics and the English were not, and enough excuse for hostility was found in that fact. Most of the seamen from the English trading towns were Puritans, and in the bitter religious hatred of those days believed that in fighting against Roman Catholics they were attacking the enemies of God. They, on the other hand, looked upon the Protestant English as little better than heathen. Thus trading enterprise, supplemented by religious hatred, was fast drawing Englishmen and Spaniards into war at sea, while their governments continued to be at peace on shore.

322. Francis Drake. — In 1572 Francis Drake, a young sea captain, a relative of Hawkins, and like him a Devonshire man, sailed directly to Spanish America with the unconcealed intention of pillaging the rich Spanish possessions. He ran into the West



Sir Francis Drake

Indian harbors, captured vessels lying there, seized what he wished, burned towns, and killed those who resisted. He intercepted and plundered the train of mules bringing gold and silver from the mines of Peru across the Isthmus of Panama, and Drake himself saw from the mountains the blue waters of the Pacific. He returned to England loaded with booty, having captured a Spanish treasure ship on the way home. This was piracy pure and simple, but the easy conscience and shrewd diplomacy of Elizabeth

approved rather than condemned, and she laughed with the rest of England at the exploit, shared the booty, and put off the Spanish ambassador with fair words.

In 1577, the year of Frobisher's second trip to seek the north-west passage, Drake organized and led another expedition which was destined to become the most famous of all the voyages made from Elizabethan England. With five vessels and a company of about a hundred and fifty men, well provided with arms and stores, and none except the leader knowing where they were going, they sailed away to the westward. They reached the West Indies, but instead of cruising there sailed southward along the coast of South America till they reached the Straits of Magellan. These had been penetrated only once, by the great Portuguese navigator who had left them his name. Drake and his party made their way safely through, but were beaten about by terrible storms as they emerged into the Pacific. One of the vessels now turned back, three others were lost or destroyed, and mutiny was only crushed by bringing to trial and execution upon the barren shore one of the gentlemen of the expedition who was trying to stir up sedition. But they had reached at last the west coast of South America lined with rich Spanish settlements all unsuspecting of any enemies in those distant waters.

After wintering in the shelter of the coast, Drake's one remaining vessel, the little "Pelican," with less than a hundred men, passed up the coasts of Chile and Peru. Appearing suddenly in port after port, they seized gold, silver, and precious stones, captured and rifled rich galleons, and left their victims dumbfounded while they sailed on northward to the coast of North America. They followed this up as far as the present site of San Francisco, hoping to find a passageway through the continent home again. Finding none and dreading pursuit, they determined to sail on westward. The brave little ship crossed the vast Pacific, threaded its way through the East Indies, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and finally reëntered Plymouth harbor almost three years after Drake and his crew had left it. This was the second voyage around the world. The "Pelican" was loaded with bars of gold, boxes of precious stones, and tons of silver, amounting in value to some

four million dollars. The booty was divided among all those who had shared in the responsibility, the expense, or the labor of the expedition. The queen, ministers, courtiers, London citizens, Drake himself, and his companions all shared in the plunder of the Spaniards.

323. The Channel Freebooters. — Those who took part in and profited by such expeditions might excuse them on the ground of religion, and claim that England and Spain were so nearly at war as to justify their subjects in treating one another as enemies. In the English Channel and adjacent waters there were, however, many English freebooters who could not plead even that justification. The religious troubles in England under Edward and Mary had sent many refugees abroad, first Roman Catholics, then Protestants. Many of these instead of going into hopeless exile had fitted out vessels in the southwestern and Irish harbors, had gathered around themselves wild, lawless crews of sailors, and had made use of any opportunities for plunder that the foreign wars and confusions might throw in their way.

The more settled conditions under Elizabeth had brought many of them back into the regular service of the crown; but even yet the landed gentry of the western counties who held lands along the rivers and harbors, merchants of the seaport towns, and restless adventurers held shares in vessels which were sometimes engaged in regular trade but more often occupied in piracy. They seized Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and even French and Dutch vessels that came through the Channel, stripped them of the most valuable parts of their cargoes, and then slipped away to some distant harbor or on a trading or fishing voyage. In this way hundreds of the small vessels of those times, owned by gentry and merchants, under reckless captains and filled with bold and skillful sailors, were little if any better than freebooters or pirates. The queen and her ministers were not able to keep them in order and prevent their depredations. Probably they did not try very hard, for the freebooters were a thorn in the side of the Spaniards, with

whom war was always a possibility, and their trade gave occupation to disorderly men who might have made still more trouble at home if they did not have this as a safety valve.

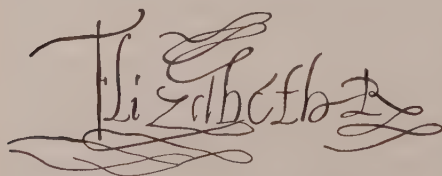
324. The English on the Sea. — So on all the shores of Europe and on the coasts of America, in various forms of activity ranging from legitimate trading to actual piracy, English merchants, explorers, and sailors were planning settlements, gaining footholds for trade, winning a part of the world's commerce, and seizing the valuable freightage of the vessels of others. The interests of such men were largely drawn away from the internal affairs of England. They looked upon questions of religion and politics principally from the point of view of their effect on their own enterprises. They valued the government of Queen Elizabeth because it gave them the opportunities they needed. She herself sympathized heartily with the adventure, the boldness, even the recklessness of those who were carrying England's name and trade so far abroad. English national feeling was becoming stronger and stronger, and all this gathered around the queen. The generation of Englishmen who were growing up were coming to identify Elizabeth with patriotism, and to hold patriotism dearer than ever before in English history. Thus, although Roman Catholic enthusiasm, gathering around Mary Queen of Scots and supported by Spain and France, seemed to be making Elizabeth's position more difficult after the middle years of her reign, other influences far stronger were making her position more secure. She had become popular even with the Puritans and with many of the Roman Catholics.

325. Babington's Plot. — Nevertheless plotting still continued among those who were most strongly attached to Mary and most enthusiastically devoted to Roman Catholicism. In 1586 what is known as "Babington's Plot" was discovered. A Roman Catholic gentleman of that name, along with five others who had been admitted by Elizabeth to service at court, bound themselves by an oath to kill the queen and release Mary. They were in correspondence with many others, including Mary herself, and this

correspondence fell into the hands of the queen's advisers. With great astuteness and the use of rather unscrupulous means Walsingham contrived to let the plotting continue but to have all letters pass through his hands. Finally when the evidence was complete he had the conspirators arrested and executed, together with several of those who knew of their project.

326. Trial and Execution of Mary Queen of Scots. — But this time the matter was carried farther. Mary herself was brought before a commission made up of most of the nobles of England; testimony as to her knowledge and encouragement of this and of other plots for the assassination of the queen was given; and she was declared by the commission to be guilty of the attempted murder of Elizabeth.

Parliament met soon afterwards and petitioned Elizabeth to order Mary's execution, in accordance with the judgment of the commission. Elizabeth hesitated long, authorizing and then recalling



The Signature of Queen Elizabeth

ing and then again half consenting to the carrying out of the warrant of execution, which she had already brought herself to sign. She might well hesitate to put to

death her cousin and rival. A woman, a relative, a queen, even after nineteen years of imprisonment, a guest, — Mary had personal claims to protection which made the necessity for her execution at best a hard and ungracious one. Yet the execution was a state necessity. Elizabeth at last placed the warrant in the hands of Davison, one of the secretaries of state, but gave him only an ambiguous and partial permission to carry it out. Finally the queen's council took on themselves the responsibility, and in February, 1587, Mary was beheaded in the hall of the castle of Fotheringay.

The pathos of Mary's position, the scene in the hall of execution, her dignity on the scaffold, the lifting of the gory head aloft as it fell from the block, with the usual cry, "So perish all enemies of the queen," made a dramatic close to a career whose sadness was extreme, whatever side may be taken in the dispute which has ever since raged around Mary Stuart. When the execution was once accomplished Elizabeth declared loudly that she had never given her sanction to it, and that her councilors had mistaken her intention. To prove this she treated her whole council with extreme severity of speech, dismissed Secretary Davison from her service, and ordered him to be brought to trial. He was fined heavily and ordered into imprisonment. He and his family were ruined to give the queen a convenient reply to make to the protests of France and Scotland.

327. War with Spain. — The long imprisonment of the Queen of Scots, while it had brought danger upon Elizabeth by encouraging plots for her release, had been one of the securities against war with other countries by postponing the question of the succession to the English throne. Now the war with Spain, which had been so often threatened and which had been avoided only by the efforts of both governments, finally broke out. It had long been inevitable. The help given by England to the Netherlands rebels, the forcible intrusion of English merchants into the West Indian colonies, the attacks of Drake on the Spanish settlements in America and Spanish treasure vessels at sea, had piled up an account for which the Spaniards must some time demand settlement. The religious duty to depose a ruler excommunicated by the pope, when added to the other incentives, would have been quite enough to lead Philip long before to declare war against England had not the condition of the Spanish treasury, the disputes with France, and the trouble in the Netherlands made war against England so far always inopportune. Now, however, Mary Queen of Scots had bequeathed her claim to the English throne to Philip, and left her dying injunction upon him to carry out

the long-threatened invasion. The vessels and troops which had been collected in the ports of Spain, professedly to send against the Netherlands, were just as available against England, and their true destination was no longer concealed. Drake took time by the forelock by sailing boldly into the harbor of Cadiz, destroying many of the great ships of war, and capturing other Spanish vessels along the coast. He described it as "singeing the king of Spain's beard." Queen Elizabeth had consistently avoided open war, however much she had allowed help to be given to the Netherlands and given her tacit consent when Drake and other sea rovers used their own and the royal ships to attack the Spaniards. Even yet she tried to keep the peace, which had lasted unbroken for almost thirty years, but war was no longer to be avoided.

328. The Spanish Armada. — During the early months of 1588 the great fleet which the Spaniards proudly called the "Invincible Armada" was at last made ready in the Spanish harbors. In July it appeared in the English Channel, bound for the coast of Flanders, where it was to receive on board and convoy a great Spanish army to the coast of England.

Hurried preparations had been made to meet the invasion. The English militia were warned to gather at various places of rendezvous; a camp was formed at Tilbury on the Thames below London, where Elizabeth visited and addressed the troops; beacons were prepared on every hilltop along the southern and eastern coasts; and vessels under the command of Howard, Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, and other famous captains were gathered in various harbors from Plymouth to Dover. In addition to the queen's ships, volunteers came from every port. The freebooters of the Channel now found congenial occupation and half justified the existence so long allowed to them. Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral of England, was put in supreme command of the fleet, and through the country measures were taken to prevent Roman Catholics from giving help to the invaders.

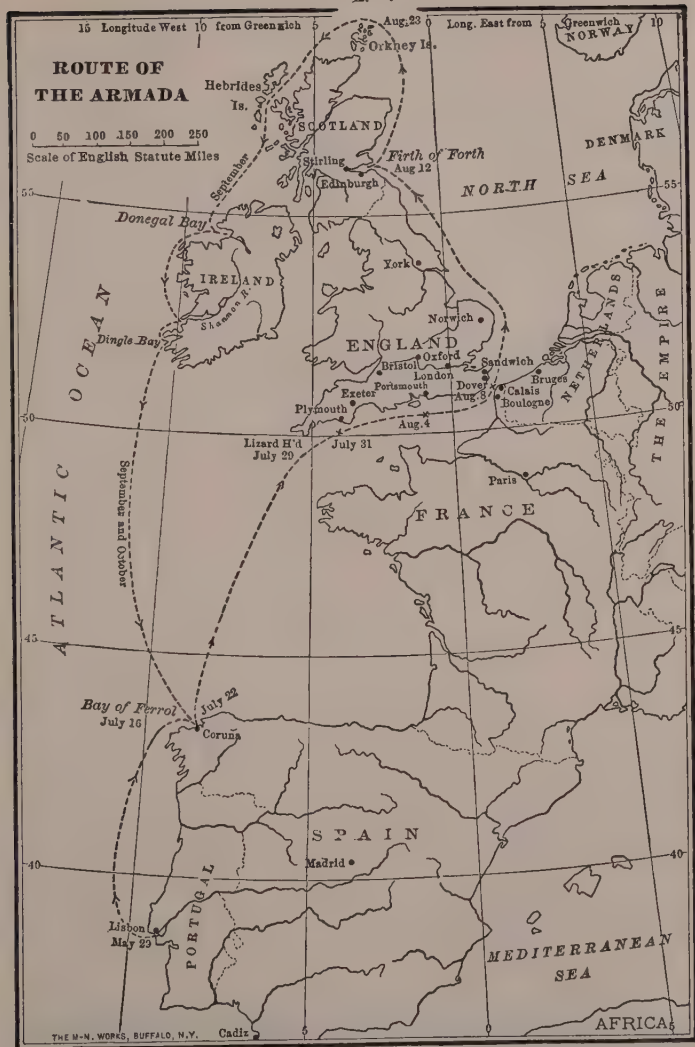
Shetland Is.

15 Longitude West 10 from Greenwich

Long. East from Greenwich

ROUTE OF THE ARMADA

0 50 100 150 200 250
Scale of English Statute Miles



THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

July 30, 1588, the great galleons¹ sailed proudly up the Channel in a long line before a southwest wind. The fighting soon began. As they passed one of the Channel ports after another they were attacked in the rear by the English ships issuing from their harbors and taking advantage of their windward position to attack the Spaniards at their leisure,² and a running fight was fought in the Channel. The advantages of number, size, and equipment belonged to the Spaniards. The English vessels on the other hand, though smaller, were built on a model that made them swifter and more easily handled than the Spanish galleons. They hung, therefore, around the skirts of the Spanish fleet, attacking it only as they had favorable opportunity, avoiding a general fight, and merely cutting off a few vessels which became separated from the rest. When, however, the Spanish fleet had reached the narrowest part of the Channel, just between Calais and Dover, a more vigorous contest took place, during which a number of the badly handled, heavy Spanish vessels were sunk or driven ashore on the shallow coasts of France and Flanders. The Armada sailed into the roads of Calais; but the wind had risen to a gale and no safe anchorage could be found there, nor could they enter the difficult harbors of Flanders. So in a few days the Spanish fleet, broken, scattered, and deprived of its best commanders and pilots, was on the North Sea and being driven far to the north by the wind behind it. One part of the English fleet returned to the Channel to guard against other attacks, while another part followed the great Armada, now reduced from one hundred and fifty sail which had left Spain to about a hundred and twenty, up the eastern coast of England. In the wild storm these determined to reach Spain again by a desperate voyage around the north of Scotland and Ireland. There were sad wrecks along

¹ The Spanish galleons were large vessels intended primarily for the voyages to America. They were built so as to be available either for war ships, transport vessels for troops, or freight ships.

² See Macaulay's poem, *The Armada*.

the Western Islands and the coast of Ireland, and eventually only one third of the fleet and much less than one third of its force of men made their way home again. The running fight in the Channel, the wind which had driven the vessels into the North Sea, and the watchfulness and perseverance of the English sailors had made the attack of the Armada fruitless.

This defense was followed up by a naval attack on the coast of Spain the next year, under the leadership of Drake and Norris, in which some towns and vessels were destroyed. For the next ten years the war with Spain continued. It was mostly at sea and often degenerated into mere privateering on the part of the English. Her sailors were generally successful, and both on sea and land the warlike prestige of Spain was diminished.

329. The Settled Period of Elizabeth's Reign. — The last ten years of Elizabeth's reign were a period of more settled conditions and greater interest in the arts of peace, in the progress of commerce, and in the production and enjoyment of works of literature. After the execution of Mary and the defeat of the "Invincible" Armada the Roman Catholics in England had little prospect of overthrowing the Protestant settlement. The people, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had also become more patriotic. There was probably never any time after the crisis of the Armada when the people would willingly let their religious preferences stand in the way of their interests or feelings as Englishmen. Although more than once a new Armada was planned in Spain and rumored in England, none ever seriously threatened her shores. France, moreover, was now friendly.

But it is the internal rather than the external interests of the country that were most characteristic of this later period, and to them we must now turn.

330. The Elizabethan Poor Law. — The internal social problems now were gradually brought nearer to a settlement. The early poor laws, it is true, had not solved the problem. In the

middle of Elizabeth's reign it was declared that "all the parts of the realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered." Vagabonds, wanderers, and those who in modern times are called "tramps," were especially objected to and had been frequently declared punishable by law unless they could show a license from some justice of the peace allowing them to travel and beg. A list of objectionable persons given in one of the laws will give a glimpse of the wandering classes of society in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The wording of the law is slightly changed for purposes of clearness. "All idle persons using subtle, crafty, and unlawful games or plays and some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy and palmistry; all persons being whole and mighty in body and able to labor, yet not using any lawful merchandise, craft, or mystery; all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, and minstrells, unless they belong to the company of some baron of the realm; all jugglers, peddlers, trickers, and petty chapmen; all common laborers able in body loitering and refusing to work for reasonable wages; all scholars of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the seal of those universities; all shipmen pretending losses by sea; and all prisoners lately released from jail." All such as these were to be punished severely if they continued to rove through the country. According to one law any person declared to be a vagabond shall be "stripped naked from the middle upward and shall be openly whipped until his or her body be bloody." According to another the sturdy beggar was to be "grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about."

Houses of correction were to be built in which those who were strong in body but unwilling or unable to find occupation were to be confined and made to work. Taxes were imposed and voluntary collections made to obtain money to buy materials and put

willing laborers to work. For the poor who could not work, almshouses were built in addition to the weekly collections taken up to support them. Finally, in 1601, at the very close of Elizabeth's reign, a long act was passed combining all these provisions and establishing overseers of the poor in each parish, who should regularly tax for the support of the poor all people of any means and expend for the poor the amounts collected. This law remained the established poor law of England down to 1834.

331. Increasing Wealth of England. — If there were still many paupers to be supported, this was not because England as a whole was not prosperous. The long peace at home and abroad, the improvements in agriculture, the increase of manufactures, and the spread of commerce had all combined to raise the general level of prosperity, comfort, and expenditure and to make a much larger class of rich men than had ever existed before in England. Among the lower classes and the farming population this change showed itself principally in the building of cottages and farmhouses in which there were chimneys and glass windows, in the use of plates and spoons of pewter instead of wood, in the use of mattresses and pillows instead of straw pallets and billets of wood, and in a greater variety of food. Among the higher classes there was larger expenditure in all forms of comfortable, refined, and even luxurious living. With the breaking down of old mediæval ways and a greater familiarity with other countries the people took a new and stronger enjoyment in all the pleasures of life.

332. Dress and Eating. — Dress was much more showy, expensive, and fanciful than of old. Even the merchant and the merchant's wife wore silk, embroidery, cloth of gold and silver, and jewels in rings, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and sewed on their clothes. Among the nobility and at court this half-barbarous excess of personal ornament was carried to great lengths and brought the English into some ridicule in the eyes of the other nations of Europe. The Elizabethan ruff which is so conspicuous in the portraits of the time, on both men and women, is a good instance

of the showy and excessive fashions. Bombasted trousers for men and skirts spread widely by farthingales for women were characteristic of the time. Queen Elizabeth herself set an extravagant example in dress and personal expenditures, for notwithstanding her miserliness in many directions she was never sparing of money for her own adornment.

The Puritan writers of the time were never weary of condemning these fashionable excesses, and many of the courtiers impoverished themselves and sacrificed their estates in their efforts to equal in dress and show those who were more fortunate in obtaining lucrative offices or royal favors. Men of good family and position begged for the most petty and almost menial offices connected with the court for the sake of the salaries connected with them, small as these often were. Long waiting sometimes brought grants of offices or estates; more often it brought neither. The poet Spenser describes the doubts and sorrows of the courtier as he may well himself have experienced them.

Full little knowest thou that hast not tride,
What hell it is in suing long to bide:
To lose good days, that might be better spent;
To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
To eate thy heart through comfortlesse dispaire;
To fawne, to crouche, to waite, to ride, to ronne,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne.

In eating and drinking also there was much luxury among the wealthier classes. Wines of many kinds were imported and came to be used more largely than beer, which was the national beverage. Neither coffee nor tea was yet known in England, but tobacco was introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586 and immediately became popular among fashionable people. More refined manners in eating became customary among persons of all classes. Knives

and plates were used more universally, though the proverbial statement that "fingers were made before forks" still remained true, the use of those implements apparently having come in only some years after Elizabeth's death.

333. Building. — The most conspicuous change in the method of living of the upper classes, however, was not in dress nor in food, but in the character of the houses. The protection against violence, which had now been given by the government ever since



Lacock Abbey (a country house constructed from an old monastery)

the time of Henry VII, made it possible for the gentry and nobility to build their dwellings for enjoyment rather than for defense. Moat, wall, and lancet window now gave place to open garden walks, to broad entrances, and windows through which floods of sunshine might light up the house. Many of the nobles and gentry had been enriched by the lands and buildings taken from the monasteries; others held offices which brought them large incomes; still others held shares in the trade that was growing up, or profited by it indirectly through the increasing value of their

property. There was also an enlightened interest in architecture and adornment of houses. Under these circumstances there arose over England a great number of large, beautiful, and tasteful dwellings, many of which still remain but slightly changed from the condition in which they were completed during Queen Elizabeth's reign. Windows in these were as numerous as they had been scarce in the dark mediæval castle, their walls were hung with imported tapestries and paintings, and they were surrounded by artistically laid out gardens and carefully preserved woods and parks. These lordly halls and manor houses were copied in the form of more modest country houses of every size and grade of luxury and comfort down to the mere farmhouses of the substantial farmer or sheep raiser. In no material respect was there a greater break with the past than in the dwellings of England.

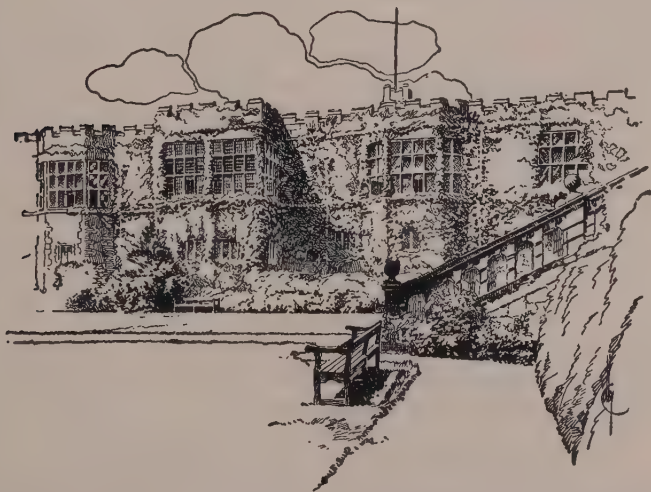
334. Royal Progresses. — Into all this luxury of living Queen Elizabeth entered heartily, both in her own palaces and during her "progresses." These "progresses" were series of visits which she made from time to time from one country house to another, or from one town to another, spending sometimes some months in this way. The relief from the living expenses of herself and her court when she was thus enjoying the hospitality of her wealthy subjects appealed to her thrifty instincts; she took sincere pleasure in the festivities that accompanied her visits, and they served a useful purpose in rousing the devotion of the people to herself and giving opportunities for the familiarity and courtesy with which she so well knew how to please those whom she wished to please. In many a house in England the room is still shown where "Good Queen Bess" slept. When the queen visited a nobleman's or gentleman's castle or manor house there were hunting parties, feasting, music, and revels. When she paid a ceremonious visit to some wealthy town there was again feasting, an address from the mayor, a reply from the queen, pageants representing the history of the city or her majesty's victories, processions, and mimic battles. If her visit were to one of the universities the masters and



Elizabeth and her Courtiers: a painting of 1571

fellows of the college greeted her with Latin addresses and poems and the students with Latin plays and allegorical shows, the queen replying and commenting, praising or blaming, in the same classical language in which she was addressed, her Latin and even her Greek being usually ready to be summoned in the amount necessary for the occasion.

335. The Love for Shows. — Of all such festivities in manor house, town-hall, college, among the law students, or in the open



The Long Gallery of Haddon Hall, built in the Time of Queen Elizabeth

air, dramatic shows made a large part. Pageants were shown, and masques, interludes, and plays were written to be played before the queen by poets and playwrights of every grade of skill, from the crudest to some of the most perfect in literary form and poetic gift. One of the great marks of the age of Elizabeth was its love of mimicry, pageantry, and dramatic representation in all its forms. The news of any event of national interest, the visit of any foreign prince or ambassador, the anniversary of the queen's birth or

coronation, Christmas, Easter, or Midsummer Day was taken advantage of to hold revels, to arrange tableaux, or to prepare a show or an allegorical play. At the same time plays in which the words were of far more importance than their accompaniments were being written and represented. Before the reign of Elizabeth closed, the drama had reached a perfection and a fertility of production unexampled before or since in English history.

336. Elizabethan Literature. — This dramatic production was, however, only one part of the whole intellectual and literary life of the time. The new learning of the time of Henry VIII had deepened and widened during the time of Elizabeth until it had become a whole new literature. The poetic and prose writing in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign was not only much larger in amount and finer in quality than what had preceded it, but it was different in character. It was all quite personal. Men expressed their own feelings, thoughts, and experiences in their own way. They were no longer bound by conventional expressions and ideas. Each man wrote what was in him; he did not merely describe general moods and experiences. The subjective or personal nature of the literature of this time is well described in the last line of one of Sidney's sonnets.

"Fool," said my muse to me, "look in thy heart and write."

It was a time when there was much study of the classical authors. Elizabeth herself and many of the nobility, gentry, and even merchants were familiar with the best Greek and Latin authors. Writers and readers alike were more or less imbued with this classical learning. But the principal influence which gave form to the literature of the time was the example of Italy. Petrarch and other Italian writers were known and studied, and many Englishmen themselves spent much time in Italy. This was true of Wyatt and Surrey, the earliest poets of this new literary period, who indeed had both died before Elizabeth's accession.

337. Sidney and Spenser. — Sir Philip Sidney, one of the most influential writers of the time, was also a man of classical training, a traveler in Italy, and familiar with its literature. Sidney was the son of one of Elizabeth's most trusted ministers and courtiers, and his mother, wife, and friends were all of the influential nobility that gathered about Elizabeth's court. He volunteered to help the Netherlanders in their rebellion against the Spanish king, and died of wounds received in battle there in 1586, when he was scarcely more than thirty years of age. He was a man of pure, frank, and generous nature, and his amiable character, his romantic life, and the generous help he gave to literary men combined with his own writings in prose and verse to make him one of the best known and best loved men of the sixteenth century.

Edmund Spenser has been looked up to as a model since the publication in 1579 of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, his first poem. He was of good but not noble family, was educated at Cambridge, and afterwards introduced to the literary and political society of such men as Sidney at London. He was sent to Ireland as secretary of the lord lieutenant of that country, and obtained a grant of land there which kept him between England and Ireland till his death in 1599. From time to time as his poems were issued, their grace, their beauty of form, and strength of thought placed him among the very first of English poets. Far the best known of his poems is the long poetic allegory, *The Faerie Queene*. This was published between 1590 and 1596. Besides its beauty of thought, fanciful ingenuity of plan, and delicate poetic charm, it was written in a new and specially musical form of verse, which has always since been known as the "Spenserian stanza." Yet running through the fancies of his poetry was a deep interest in the philosophical and political interests of his time, and he was more than half a Puritan.

338. Prose Writing. — The variety of Elizabethan literature is quite marvelous. It was almost equally great in prose and verse. Hooker wrote a philosophical or theological work reflecting the same moderate religious views as were established by Elizabeth's

compromise in the church, and expressing his thoughts with a gracefulness and dignity which have given his *Ecclesiastical Polity* a permanent place in literature. Camden, an historian who wrote the annals of his time in both Latin and English, was the best of a number of such learned antiquarian writers. Some chronicles were still more popular, like those of Holinshed, which recounted the history of England, or like Hakluyt's *Voyages*, which described the voyages and discoveries of English seamen. There was an enormous production of pamphlets on all subjects. Pamphlets took the place which newspapers take with us, and all the disputes and discussions of the time were represented in the pamphlet literature. Puritans and churchmen, those who took different sides on questions of politics or of literature, those who had personal controversies, — all set them forth in pamphlets. Many also were written on subjects not controversial, simply to furnish amusement to their readers and some profit to their writers.

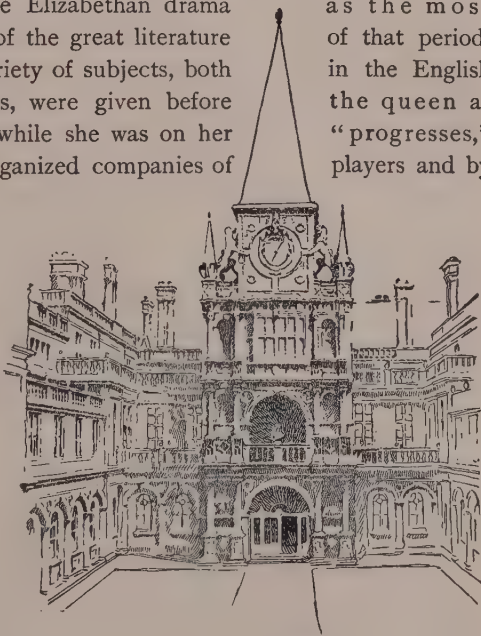
Francis Bacon, most of whose life and writing was to fall in the next reign, was already a well-known writer and courtier under Queen Elizabeth. His witty and wise *Essays* were published in 1597. Sir Walter Raleigh has been mentioned among the explorers of the time, and might as properly have been described as statesman, soldier, or writer, for he was equally gifted and active in all these directions. His writing included a *History of the World* and several descriptions of geographical discovery in prose and several fine songs and short pieces in poetry. Years after, there was found in his Bible a poem, written the night before his execution, of which these were the last lines :

Even such is time, that takes in trust,
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us back with age and dust,
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days;
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God shall raise me up, I trust.

Among prose writers as well as writers of song and drama, Ben Jonson represented learned, classical, and polished production, and exercised a strong influence over all the other writers of his time.

339. Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama. — But Shakespeare was the real crown of the age, and through him we are brought back to the Elizabethan drama as the most characteristic form of the great literature of that period. Plays on a great variety of subjects, both in the English and Latin languages, were given before the queen at the queen at “progresses,” both by regularly organized companies of players and by amateur bodies of boys, lawyers, gentlemen, or citizens. In the latter part of her reign three theaters were built in London, to play at which stock companies were formed. They also gave plays throughout the country when the plague or other causes had driven polite society away from the capital.

During Elizabeth’s reign and the succeeding forty years not less than two thousand plays were produced, many of them written by men of education, of some position in society, and familiar with the old dramas of the Greeks and Romans. On the other hand, many were written by men connected with the dramatic companies as players or as regular writers.



Burleigh House

Of the latter class Shakespeare was the great type and the great master. Born in 1564 at Stratford-on-Avon, he came to London in 1585, three years before the defeat of the Armada, and connected himself with one of the theaters there. His plays appeared from time to time during the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign and the first few years of that of her successor. He represented the very best intellectual gifts characteristic of his time, as well as an unapproached genius all his own. His preëminence among the poets of his own time and of all time was recognized then as it has been recognized ever since.

The subjects chosen by writers of plays varied widely. Many were taken from romantic stories which had come from France or Italy; many, on the other hand, were taken from the history of England itself and of its national heroes. These "chronicle plays" reflected the interest which the English people felt in their own past and their pride in their own nationality. Not infrequently plays were written and performed which expressed the contemporary popular feeling of opposition to the Spaniards or the French as the case might be. The foreign adventure and enterprise, the defiance of the pope and of the Catholic powers, and the universal admiration for the queen were all represented on the popular stage. Nowhere in the whole action, legislation, or writing of the time does the national patriotism appear more clearly than in such speeches as that description of England which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of old John of Gaunt, in the play of *Richard II.*

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,

Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

Or where, in *King John*, Faulconbridge cries,

This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.

The Elizabethan literature survived and continued in most of its characteristics long after the time of the great queen. Shakespeare's best work was done in the years immediately after her death. At least as late as 1640 the influence of Jonson, Shakespeare, and Spenser gave form and character to the drama and other poetry, and their charm and manner still rested strongly upon Milton in the second half of the seventeenth century.

340. The Close of the Reign. — The last few years of Elizabeth's life were to her bitter ones, while England as a whole was great and prosperous. The old ministers and early attendants on the queen died one by one or withdrew from court. On the other hand, at no time was the court more brilliant. Great men of a somewhat younger generation, like Raleigh, Robert Cecil, and Bacon, were there. Elizabeth still loved flattery and played the coquette. She was especially fond of having handsome young men always about her. The principal favorite of the queen in these late days was Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, to whom she intrusted tasks far beyond his abilities. In 1599 he was placed in charge of the troops in Ireland, where another great rebellion of the native chiefs had broken out. Essex mismanaged the campaign, and then, presuming on the favor of the queen, disobeyed orders and came back to England without leave.

Elizabeth seldom allowed her personal feelings to interfere with her public duty, so Essex was deprived of his military command, of all his offices and grants, and was banished from court. In anger he made a foolish attempt to raise a rebellion in London, where he was popular. Although he declared he was acting only against the queen's ministers, not against the queen herself, he was arrested,

tried, and convicted of high treason. It was a great blow to the queen to be compelled by her duty to the state to disregard her fondness for Essex and to sign his death warrant.

Feeling herself unblessed by personal affection, separated by age and suspicion from those immediately around her, the great queen became gloomy, weak, and depressed. Finally in March, 1603, she died, in the seventieth year of her age and in the forty-sixth of her reign.

341. Summary of the Period of Elizabeth. — With all the weaknesses and contradictions of her character, Queen Elizabeth had piloted the ship of England's fortunes through rocks and shoals into comparatively open water. At the beginning of her reign



Effigy of Queen Elizabeth upon her Tomb
in Westminster Abbey

the country was in imminent danger of foreign invasion and of civil war, divided and unsettled in religious system, and dependent on other countries in foreign policy. By the end of her reign there was no longer

danger of invasion from abroad or of rebellion at home. England had become distinct in religious organization and held a proud and independent position among the nations of Europe. Her commerce was stretching to all parts of the earth, the foundations of colonial dominion were being laid, the material resources of the people were growing, and a noble body of literature was in process of formation. During all this progress Elizabeth had been the leader and representative of the nation. Much of the material greatness she had nothing to do with; much of the success of the government was in spite of her actions rather than a result of them. Nevertheless her own part in the policy of the government

had been justified by its success. Even her vacillation and procrastination had in some cases proved to be the best policy, for they had given time for affairs to settle themselves. At any rate through the whole tangled web of the history of almost a half century ran the thread of Elizabeth's strong personality, and the age will always be known by her name. The great dramatist, when he could look back on her reign as a whole, described it, in the play of *Henry VIII*, in the form of a prophecy put into the mouth of Archbishop Cranmer speaking at her christening.

She shall be loved, and fear'd; her own shall bless her:
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow: good grows with her:
In her days every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing
The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours;
God shall be truly known; and those about her
From her shall read the perfect ways of honour,
And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.

And still later, Lord Brooke, a lifelong courtier of Elizabeth, still spoke of her as "my incomparable queen."

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. vii, sects. 3-8. FROUDE, *History of England*, Vols. VII-XII. This portion of Froude's great work is more moderate and trustworthy than the earlier portion. STRICKLAND, AGNES, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*. One of the earliest biographies, and still an excellent one, of the great queen. ANTHONY, KATHERINE, *Queen Elizabeth*, with some excellent illustrations. CREIGHTON, *Queen Elizabeth*, is a handsomely illustrated work, which is also published without the illustrations and at a lower price. Several of the great questions of the time are admirably explained in the Preface to PROTHERO, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*. Five works by MARTIN A. S. HUME are of much interest, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth*, *The Year after the Armada*, *Philip II of Spain*, *The Great Lord Burghley*, and *Treason and Plot*. BLACK, J. B., *The Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, is a volume of unusually varied contents in the series Oxford History of England. For Scotland at this time the best books are HUME BROWN, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II, and LANG, *Mystery of Mary Stuart*. For the literature of the time the best short works are SAINTSBURY, *Elizabethan Literature*, and SCHELLING, *The English Chronicle Play*. The

relations with the Netherlands are explained in RUTH PUTNAM, *William the Silent* (Heroes of the Nations). CHEYNEY, E. P., *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, recounts the events of the reign from the period where Froude leaves it, in 1588, to 1603. NEALE, J. E., *Queen Elizabeth*, is a good account of the whole reign. READ, CONYERS, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, 3 vols., is a great work, devoted especially to the foreign affairs of the period. DAVIS, WILLIAM STEARNS, *Life in Elizabethan Days*, is a description of dress, education, manners, and so forth.

Contemporary Sources. — The most important constitutional documents are given in PROTHERO, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*. HARRISON, *Elizabethan England* (Camelot series), is a general description. RAIT, *Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1587* (Scottish History by Contemporary Writers), gives records of that queen. Interesting personal descriptions of Elizabeth are in extracts from the Memoirs of Melville in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 53. No. 56 in the same is a series of letters about the Armada. Speeches of Elizabeth before parliament and the army are given in the same, No. 54, in LEE, *Source-Book*, No. 141, in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 61, and in GALTON, *English Prose* (Camelot series), pp. 26-29. HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, is the great collection of narratives of explorers and adventurers. A selection from these is given in more accessible form in PAYNE, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*, and a series of extracts in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 144-147. Some thirty illustrative documents for the period of Queen Elizabeth are in CHEYNEY, *Readings*.

Poetry and Fiction. — MACAULAY, *The Armada*. SCHILLER, *Maria Stuart*. TENNYSON, *The Revenge: a Ballad of the Fleet*. Many of the dramas of the time, as JONSON, *The Alchemist*, *Every Man in his Humor*, and *Eastward Ho*, throw light on the customs of the time. SCOTT, *Kenilworth*. KINGSLEY, *Westward Ho*. Miss YONGE, *Unknown to History*. FLETCHER, *In the Days of Drake*. BENSON, *Come Rack, Come Rope*. ALFRED NOYES, *Tales of the Mermaid Tavern*.

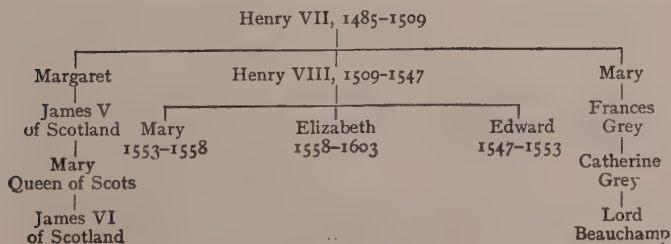
Special Topics. — (1) Death of Mary Queen of Scots, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 58; (2) The Defeat of the Armada, FROUDE, *History of England*, Vol. XII, chap. xxxvi; (3) The Voyage of Drake around the World, PAYNE, *Narrative of Francis Pretty, Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*, Vol. I, pp. 196-230; (4) Gilbert's Voyage to Newfoundland in 1853, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-50; (5) Ireland in the Time of the Tudors, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. III, pp. 293-302, 409-411; (6) Witchcraft and Alchemy, *ibid.*, pp. 325-331; (7) Dress and Manners, *ibid.*, pp. 383-390; (8) Religious Parties, *ibid.*, pp. 424-431; (9) Exploration and Travel, *ibid.*, pp. 477-494; (10) Classes of Society in England, HARRISON, *Elizabethan England*, chap. i (Camelot series); (11) Changes in Houses in Elizabeth's Time, *ibid.*, chap. ix.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PERSONAL MONARCHY OF THE EARLY STUARTS 1603-1640

342. James I. — Elizabeth had refused to acknowledge any one as her successor, even after it became evident that she would have no children of her own. If the will of Henry VIII, under which she, as well as Edward and Mary, had inherited the throne, was to be followed, a certain English nobleman, son of the sister of Lady Jane Grey and great-grandson of Mary, the younger sister of Henry VIII, would become king. But James Stuart, son of Mary Queen of Scots and great-grandson of Margaret, the elder sister of Henry VIII, was a far more suitable candidate.¹ He had now been king of Scotland for many years, was equally near to Elizabeth in blood, and seemed to be indicated for the throne both by his position and by the preference of the queen, which she at last expressed a few days before her death. He was accordingly proclaimed king by general agreement immediately after Elizabeth's death. His title had been until this time James VI of Scotland; he became now, in addition, James I of England.

¹ The line of descent was as follows:

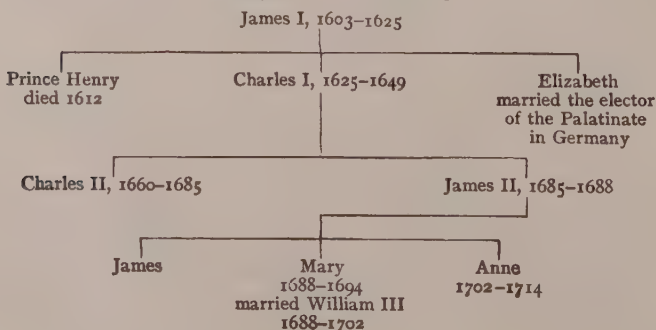


A new line was thus established on the throne of England, — the House of Stuart.¹

It was a line of kings with well-marked characteristics and filling a very distinct period. They continued the system of strong government of the Tudors and carried it to still greater completeness. In England, as in the other countries of Europe, it was a period of growing despotism, when the kings were determined to have their own way, whatever their subjects might think of it. The Stuart dynasty as a whole, therefore, has left the reputation of being the most autocratic and tyrannical in English history.

343. Character of the New King. — James was well educated, widely read, and in matters that did not concern his own personal interests and feelings broad-minded and good-natured. He disliked the extreme views of the Puritans, and he had already learned in Scotland that their principles would carry the control of church affairs out of his hands entirely. All his sympathies and preferences, therefore, were for the established church as he found it when he came to England. He was even liberally inclined towards the Roman Catholics. On political questions, no king that ever reigned in England had higher views of his powers, authority, and responsibilities than James. He felt that he had been set by God to the work of ruling the country, and that this

¹ The members of this family were the following.



was his business, just as it was the business of a clergyman to give religious teaching, of a lawyer or teacher to fulfill his professional duties, or of a farmer or merchant to carry on his occupation. The physical personality of King James was scarcely fitted to his high conceptions of royalty. He was not naturally dignified or impressive, as Henry VIII and Elizabeth had been. He had a strong Scotch accent, his enunciation was indistinct, and his gait was somewhat shambling. These physical deficiencies were, however, of small importance compared with his mental characteristics. He had none of that instinctive capacity to know and conform to what the great mass of his subjects wanted which had been the most valuable trait of the Tudor sovereigns. He was so sure he was right that he never tried to understand what others meant. He was so vain that he could not recognize or appreciate great ability in others, and therefore selected his ministers unwisely. To the difficult work of solving the pressing political and religious problems that are now to be described, James's abilities were poorly adapted.



James I

344. The Established Church. — The greatest question of the sixteenth century had been as to whether England should be Roman Catholic or not. That had now been settled ; and as a nation she had separated herself forever from the Roman Catholic church. But whether England was to be Anglican ¹ or Puritan was still an unsettled question.

¹ The established church from the time of Elizabeth onward can be fairly known as "Anglican," and its government and belief as "Anglicanism."

The religious system which had been decided upon by Elizabeth and her ministers and enforced through the whole of her long reign was a moderate, enlightened, and orderly organization of religious worship, and a great part of the people had not only accepted but grown to love its arrangements. Hundreds of thousands of men found in the forms of this official organization of the church room for earnest piety and religious devotion. Although it had been imposed upon the people, not chosen by them, a very large number of Englishmen, perhaps a majority of them, were quite satisfied with it.

345. Puritanism. — Nevertheless the Puritans had been growing steadily in numbers. Many of those who held their religious views most strongly were, at the beginning of the reign of James I, entirely dissatisfied with the condition of the established church. They wished simplification of its ceremonies, abolition of its organization under archbishops and bishops, greater strictness of its moral rules, and a change of some of its religious beliefs. The great religious struggle of the seventeenth century was between these two parties. On the one side was Anglicanism, supported by the king and by all the organized powers of church and state, and giving satisfaction to a great many people, especially to the higher classes. On the other side was a great mass of the most deeply religious men of the time, particularly to be found in the ranks of the ordinary clergymen of the parishes and among the middle classes of the people. The contest between Puritanism and Anglicanism took the place in the seventeenth century of the contest between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the sixteenth.

346. The Royalist Ideal of Government. — Along with this religious conflict a great political conflict was arising, — a conflict between the unrestricted power of the king on the one hand and the equal or even superior powers of the people represented by parliament on the other. The form of government which had grown up in the last century and a half had been one in which the

ruler exercised very great powers. The various ministers and officials were the submissive and obedient instruments of the king or queen. Parliament was generally quite willing to allow the sovereign to exercise his or her own judgment in most of the points of government. In foreign affairs, in keeping order in the country, in regulating matters of the church, and in carrying on all the usual duties of executive government, the king, directly or through his council and through the various grades of officials, exercised an almost unrestricted power and authority. This had come to be the accepted official view of the organization and powers of government. Such powers had always been used in greater or less degree by the kings, but the rulers of the Tudor line during the sixteenth century had exercised them in an especially high degree. They were limited in their action only by the old established laws of the country, by the restrictions of the Great Charter, and by such new laws as parliament might induce them to accept.

347. The Resistance of Parliament.— On the other hand, there had long been signs of growing opposition to this plan of government. Over and over again during the reign of Elizabeth parliament had tried to force its views upon her. It had petitioned her to marry and in the meantime to name her successor; it had pressed her to sign the death warrant of Mary Queen of Scots; it had tried to introduce reforms of a Puritan nature into the church; and just at the close of the reign a long debate was held in which the grant of patents or monopolies by the queen was severely criticised. Besides this, parliament had shown an increasing sense of its own importance by claiming the right to freedom of debate, freedom of its members from arrest, and to judge of the election of its own members. Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding this growing self-assertion of parliament, had been able by a mixture of authority and conciliation to retain her entire control over the government. Her popularity, her age, her sex, the dangers of the time, had all combined to prevent any conflict between her and parliament. Now, however, all these restraints

were removed and two different ideals of government proved to be in antagonism to each other just as clearly as were the two different ideals of the church. The great struggle of the seventeenth century was therefore political as well as religious.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries parliament had exercised much more control over the actions of government than during Tudor times. It was quite possible for its members and the voters who elected them to feel and claim that its old acknowledged powers were really greater than those which had been recently conceded to it. Lawyers who were familiar with the constitutional history of their country, Puritans who were dissatisfied with the established church, lovers of good government who saw the administration being carried on unwisely and unsuccessfully, might readily make up a parliamentary party who would insist on having more to do with government than Henry VIII or Elizabeth had allowed, and they could refer back to ancient precedent for their claims. This was more likely to happen because times were changing and for some reason men's ambitions ran more in political lines than they had done for the last century. Parliament, which under the Tudors had been submissive or easily browbeaten, under the Stuarts was aggressive, fault-finding, and obstinate.

The views of parliament held by James did not allow to it much power. He thought parliament ought to give him information and advice and provide him with funds to carry on the government, but that it ought not to interfere with the way in which he carried it on. He was not responsible, in his opinion, either to parliament or to the people; he was responsible to God alone. This view of government came afterwards to be described as the belief in the "divine right of kings," and, although that term was not yet used, the doctrine was believed in by a great many writers, clergymen, and statesmen, as well as the king. Under these conditions it is no wonder that the reign of James came soon to be marked by much dispute on both religious and political matters.

348. The Hampton Court Conference. — The Puritans hoped that a king who had ruled over a country where religion was so strongly Protestant as in Scotland would be willing to introduce some further reforms in the church of England. A great petition for changes in the church was therefore prepared and presented to him. It was planned that it should be signed by a thousand clergymen and was therefore spoken of as the "Millenary Petition." Instead of either granting or refusing its requests, James arranged a debate between some of the leading bishops and others who did not wish any change to be introduced in the established church, and some prominent clergymen of Puritan tendencies. This conference was held before the king himself at his palace of Hampton Court. During parts of several days the discussions on the points in dispute proceeded between the two parties, the king occasionally participating.

At last, when one of the Puritan clergymen proposed that certain disputed points should be referred in each case to the bishop and his "presbyters," or parish clergymen or elders, the king, who had had many conflicts in Scotland with the presbyteries or associations of ministers, fired up and declared to the Puritan leaders that they were aiming "at a Scotch presbytery, which agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure me and my Council and all our proceedings. . . . Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that from me, and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you ; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath ; then shall we all of us have work enough and both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynolds, until you find that I grow lazy, let that alone." He then left the room, declaring, "If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else the worse."

One of the members of the king's council who was present exclaimed, "His Majesty spoke by inspiration of the Spirit of

God," and others expressed their approval of his opposition to the Puritans. In fact, neither James nor his principal advisers had much sympathy with or understanding of the desires of the Puritan clergymen and of those who agreed with them. They thought that these were making much of trifles and acting from the mere love of contention. During the whole of James's reign he was trying, as he said, to "make them conform themselves," and since a very large proportion of the people were Puritans he was in constant conflict with this class of his subjects. The first serious contest came early. In 1604 a new set of canons, or church laws and rules, was drawn up by convocation.¹ These canons required that every Englishman should acknowledge the prayer book as being in accordance in every respect with the word of God. An oath to this effect was ordered to be taken by every clergyman, and those who refused were to be expelled from their positions. Some three hundred who refused to comply were thus deprived of their benefices. In many other ways the king was thus at cross-purposes with the Puritan part of his subjects.

349. The New Version of the Scriptures. — One recommendation of the Puritan clergy made at the Hampton Court Conference commended itself to James and was carried out within the next few years. This was a new translation of the Bible. In the course of that discussion several of the speakers pointed out that the familiar translation did not truly represent the original. James was himself a man of learning and fully appreciated this fact. There were many clergymen learned in Greek and Hebrew in England, and James asked the archbishop of Canterbury to obtain advice from the universities and draw up a list of men competent to make a new translation. Fifty-four were selected and divided into six groups, one portion of the Bible being given to each group to be translated. After three years of labor the results

¹ Convocation was the assembly of the higher clergy and of representatives of the lower clergy in each archbishopric.

were carefully gone over and considered by all together and the new translation thus agreed upon was published in 1611.

The translators applied not only learning but skill and judgment to their task. They changed the earlier translations no more than necessary, and frequently followed the order and form of the original language. Nevertheless they had a complete mastery of the English language and used it in their translation with a simplicity, dignity, and harmony which have never been excelled. Use and time have made the forms of expression used in this translation of the Bible familiar, and they have never ceased to exercise a deep influence on English thought, writing, and speech. The large proportion of words of Anglo-Saxon origin used by the translators is noticeable. The first thirty-five words of the Lord's Prayer are all old English words, and on the average, through the whole Bible, ninety out of every hundred words are Anglo-Saxon ; while Shakespeare uses only eighty-five Anglo-Saxon words out of every hundred, and the historian Gibbon only seventy out of every hundred.

James took a great interest in this work and was quite willing to allow the learned Puritan clergy to help in it, even though he did not propose to let them make any changes in the established church.

350. The Gunpowder Plot. — The Roman Catholics, like the Puritans, at first hoped that James would give them greater liberties than Elizabeth had done. His mother had been a Roman Catholic, his wife was secretly a member of the same church, and he was known himself not to favor their continued persecution. They might very fairly anticipate an improvement in their position. As a matter of fact the king did show great leniency in the enforcement of the laws against Roman Catholics. Nevertheless, as the feeling among the people was very bitter against them, soon after his accession James permitted the passage of more severe recusancy laws, and when it suited his policy he allowed these laws to be put in force against them. All Roman

Catholic priests were banished from the country and laymen who would not come to the services of the established church continued to be heavily fined.

As they still continued to suffer under the persecutions, some of the more violent of them, in 1604, formed an atrocious plot according to which the king, ministers, and members of parliament were all to be killed at one time and a Roman Catholic government set up. For this purpose the plotters hired a cellar under the parliament house and stored in this a number of barrels of gunpowder. It was planned to apply a match to this on the day of the opening of parliament and thus cause an explosion which would destroy all those connected with the existing government and give an opportunity for the Roman Catholics to seize power.

One of the thirteen conspirators, a gentleman named Guy Fawkes, was appointed to watch over the powder. Parliament was to meet on the 5th of November. A few days before this date one of the Roman Catholic peers received a mysterious letter warning him not to attend parliament. It had been sent secretly by one of the conspirators, who could not bear to see a relative and fellow Catholic run the risk of being killed in the explosion. This nobleman took the letter of warning to the earl of Salisbury, James's principal minister, who showed it to the king. They were led by some of its expressions to suspect the plan of blowing up the parliament house. They searched the cellars, found the barrels of powder, and captured Guy Fawkes. The whole plot therefore failed, its leaders were captured, and they and several others who were believed to have known of it were executed, or killed in encounters with the sheriff who was sent to capture them.¹ The immediate consequence was the passing of more severe laws against the Roman Catholics. The 5th of November has always since been commemorated in England as "Guy Fawkes

¹ Doubt of the reality of this plot is expressed in a book by Gerard, *What was the Gunpowder Plot?* To this, however, a convincing reply is given in Gardiner's work, *What Gunpowder Plot was*.

Day," one of the most usual incidents of its celebration being the hanging of Guy Fawkes in effigy.

351. The Proposed Union of the Two Kingdoms. — James was unsuccessful in a project in which he was much interested for breaking down the separation of Scotland from England. The English and the Scots had been hereditary enemies. Not only in constant border hostilities, but in frequent wars they had been pitted against each other from time immemorial. Now England and Scotland had the same king, and there seemed no reason for a continuance of such enmity. James was extremely anxious to draw the two countries nearer to each other. He wished to have the same system of law, the same church arrangements, the same property and trading privileges in the two countries. He tried to induce parliament to pass an act of union to bring about these ends. But parliament and the English people generally still felt all the old antagonism and were quite unwilling to go so far as the king proposed. Although commissioners were appointed from the Scotch parliament and from the English parliament, who discussed the plan for some years, very little was accomplished. Such laws in each country as involved actual hostility to the other were repealed, and the judges decided that *post nati*, that is, children born in either kingdom after the king's accession to the throne of England, were to be considered subjects of both kingdoms. Apart from this the two countries still remained separate, with the king as the one bond of union.



Coat of Arms of the
Stuart Kings

352. Foreign Affairs. — In foreign affairs James insisted on going his own way. Soon after his accession he brought the long war with Spain to a close by a treaty which involved a partial desertion of England's ally, the Netherlands, and which was unpopular with those leaders, like Raleigh, who still clung to the

policy of Queen Elizabeth. New treaties were also made with France and with the Netherlands. New questions, however, were rising in Europe in which it was very difficult for England to avoid taking sides. Germany was still separated into a number of different states, some of which were Roman Catholic and some Protestant. In 1618 a war broke out between these, the former states being helped from the first by Spain, and the Protestant, somewhat later, by Denmark, Sweden, and France. This is known as the Thirty Years' War. In England there was a strong popular desire to take part in this war on the Protestant side. This seemed the more proper and natural as James's daughter was married to the Elector Palatine, the leader of the Protestants in Germany. Old traditions, national and religious sympathy, and family affection seemed to combine to lead England to join in the war.

James, however, was not willing to do so. In the first place he was, by personal feelings and by principle, opposed to war. Secondly, he had so much confidence in his own influence and powers of persuasion that he thought he could induce the contending parties to accept his arbitration and bring the war to an end of themselves. Lastly, he was so much under the influence of the Spanish ambassador and so unwilling to get on bad terms with Spain that he could not bring his mind to oppose her Roman Catholic allies in Germany. Therefore the Protestants in Germany had to carry on their struggle without English help, except for a few volunteers, so that in this respect also the king's policy was unpopular and opposed to the wishes of the English people.

353. The Spanish and French Marriage Negotiations. — The principal reason for the close relations between England and Spain at this time was that the king had set his heart on arranging a marriage between his surviving son Charles, the prince of Wales, and Maria, the infanta or princess of Spain, daughter of Philip III. James's eldest son, Henry, a popular and promising young man, died in 1612, and his brother Charles was created Prince of Wales in 1618, when he was eighteen years of age. As

James's daughter was married to a Protestant prince, the king thought that if his son were married to a Roman Catholic his influence in the affairs of Europe would be greatly increased. One marriage alliance with a Protestant family in Germany, another with the Roman Catholic power of Spain, would give him, as he thought, a position that would enable him to act the part of an umpire in international affairs, and induce the nations of Europe to accept his guidance. A less ambitious but not less attractive advantage in the Spanish match would be that the bride would bring a dowry large enough to pay many of the debts which were always pressing on the king.

There were many difficulties in the way of such a plan. The English and Spaniards had come during the war of Elizabeth's time to look upon each other as natural enemies; the Spanish government would not agree to the marriage unless the princess should be allowed to keep her own religion, and asked that the laws against Roman Catholics in England should be repealed or at least not enforced; and the princess herself was opposed to the match on religious grounds. But the obstinacy of the king after once entering on the plan led him to hold to it; many of his courtiers had been bribed by the Spanish government to encourage it; and the skillful Spanish ambassadors obtained an influence over the king and prolonged the negotiations for their own purposes, even though they themselves neither expected nor wished to see the marriage take place. Thus the negotiations were kept up, with few breaks, for more than eight years. During that time James was in humiliating and unworthy subserviency to the influence of the Spanish ambassador, and was continually making promises and concessions which he had to keep secret even from some of his own most faithful counselors. Finally, in 1623, Charles obtained the king's consent to go himself with his most intimate friend, the marquis of Buckingham, to Spain, there to bring the arrangement to a close and fetch his Spanish bride home with him. When the two young men got to Spain they were surprised to

find the difficulties increased rather than diminished. The Spanish government insisted on still more rigorous conditions when they had the prince practically a hostage among them, and the young lady, who had been brought up in the extreme seclusion customary in Spain and was very strict in her religion, made no response to Charles's wooing.

Worse than the doubtful reception in Spain was the outcry that arose in England. The Spanish marriage itself was bad enough, but for the prince to put himself in the power of Spain, for James to have allowed him to do so, and for the policy of England to be dictated from Madrid, was maddening to English statesmen and the English populace. Charles and Buckingham themselves felt the humiliation of their position. At last their patience was exhausted and they came home, Charles in doubt and vexation, Buckingham in great anger. Within a short time the whole project was given up, and the good relations between England and Spain came to an end. Negotiations were soon afterward entered into with France, and Charles was married in 1624 to Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king. She also was a Roman Catholic and the marriage was not popular; but there was not the hostility to France that there was to Spain, and by comparison it gave at that time some satisfaction to the English people. It proved at a later time to be of malign influence upon the happiness of the royal family and of England. Henrietta Maria was not likely either from her personal character or her bringing up to endear herself to the English people or to develop good qualities, and the family connection with France was likely to be a dangerous one for England. For the present, however, this marriage seemed to the king to seal peace with France, and to the populace to be far the less of two evils.

354. The King's Favorites; Somerset.—James was of an affectionate, demonstrative nature, and was intensely attached to those who made up the intimate circle of his family and friends. He could never refuse anything for which they asked, and placed no

restrictions on himself in giving most lavishly of time and affection as well as money and other favors to those for whom he had a personal affection. As the government in James's eyes was as much his personal affair as any part of his private life, he naturally gave government positions and influence to his favorites. Therefore, alongside of those ministers and holders of office who had risen to their positions by virtue of their ability, services, or other influence, there were others who were in power simply because the doting king had become fond of them. Buckingham was the second of two young men who, each in his time, were so favored by the king as to have more influence over the government than all the other ministers together. The first was Robert Carr, a handsome young Scotchman who had attracted James's attention early in his reign. James became attached to him, knighted him, gave him lands, offices, and titles, and finally created him earl of Somerset. He was all-powerful with the king. James talked over everything with him, telling him his most secret plans and thoughts. Every one who wished to obtain anything from the king had first to obtain the favor of Somerset, for no request which he transmitted to the king was ever refused; nothing which he opposed was granted. The greatest noblemen, the most powerful ministers, the richest commercial companies, all had to make presents and pay homage to the king's favorite. This went on for some years, till Somerset became involved, along with his wife, in the charge of killing a man by poison. He was declared guilty in 1616 and, although the king would not allow the death penalty to be inflicted upon him, he was kept in prison for many years and disappeared from court forever.

355. Buckingham. — In the meantime a new favorite, George Villiers, had taken his place. He in the same way attracted the king's attention by his good looks and manners, his high spirits and his wit. He was knighted in 1616, and afterward ennobled, being raised finally to the highest rank of the peerage as duke of Buckingham. He exercised all the influence over the king that

Somerset had possessed, and more. He was granted lands and offices which brought him in a princely income, besides receiving a constant flow of presents or bribes from those who had suits to make to the king. He retained his influence through the remainder of James's life and had a similar influence over his successor Charles. The final influence in breaking off the Spanish match and deciding on the marriage with the French princess had been exercised by Buckingham. He was a man not without ability and high spirit, but he was poorly educated, without training in statesmanship, with all the self-confidence of ignorance, and, above all, spoiled by the possession of practically unlimited power.

In fact, at that time royal favorites seem to have arisen naturally in other countries as well as in England. Authority was almost entirely concentrated in royal hands, and the king, especially if he was a weak man, felt isolated. He needed some one in whom he could confide as an intimate friend, and who would relieve him of some of the personal burdens of his position by acting as distributor of the royal favors and as confidant in all the royal plans.

356. Bacon. — There were, however, men about the court of greater mold than the king's favorites. Many of the great writers, scholars, and statesmen of the reign of Elizabeth were still living, and this period produced great men of its own. Of the former none was greater than Sir Francis Bacon, or Lord Bacon, as he is usually called. He was more than forty years old when James became king and had already been an official and adviser of the government under Queen Elizabeth, although in no very high position. He was learned as a lawyer and as a student of natural science and of philosophy. He was witty, polished, and eloquent. He was repeatedly a member of parliament and took an active part in all its work. His best powers, however, were shown in political thought and in statesmanlike judgment. He had the clearest ideas of any man of his time as to what was wise policy in most of the matters of government. As James, however, did not feel personally attracted to him, he remained for a long

time in an inferior legal position, and his abilities were largely wasted. Every once in a while, when some difficult question came up, Bacon wrote a report or published a pamphlet or treatise upon it, usually dedicated to the king. His wisdom and skill were unquestionable, and he approved of the possession of great powers by the king, because he thought that the king could thus bring about needed reforms and carry on a wise administration of government. If James had been willing to trust Bacon and take him instead of his ignorant favorites for his principal adviser, he might have carried on an equally autocratic and a much more successful and useful government.

357. The Fall of Bacon. — Slowly, by hard work, by flattering the king, and by paying court to Somerset and Buckingham, Bacon was after middle life gradually promoted through successive offices till he became a member of the king's privy council, was made Viscount St. Albans, and finally became lord chancellor. He had not held this position many years, however, before heavy trouble came upon him. While he was sitting on the woolsack¹ in the House of Lords, and presiding over that body in his capacity of lord chancellor, charges of receiving bribes were brought against him in the House of Commons. On investigation it was found that various persons who had had suits before him as lord chancellor had made presents of money to him, which he had accepted. He does not seem to have looked upon them at the time as bribes, nor was it proved that they influenced the decisions which he gave.

It was quite customary at that time in all countries to give presents of money to all sorts of persons, from mere servants up to the king himself, with a view to obtaining their favorable influence whenever there was opportunity for it. Men who wanted positions under the government made presents to the king's

¹ A throne stands in the House of Lords which the king or queen occupies when present and presiding. At other times the lord chancellor presides and sits on a cushion or sack of wool, emblematic of the importance of wool as an English product.

favorite ; a newly appointed minister was expected to make a present of thousands of pounds to the king ; foreign ambassadors made presents or gave regular yearly sums to many persons connected with the court. The line between bribery and the giving of presents was a very indistinct one. Nevertheless Bacon had clearly overstepped it and had to suffer accordingly. Two other circumstances transformed his faults into a crime. There was a general and proper feeling that bribery was worse in the holder of the highest judicial position in the country than it would have been in any one else, and, secondly, opinion was changing, so that the offense of bribery was coming under more general condemnation than it had been in the past. Lord Bacon himself when all his offenses were stated said, after explaining some of the charges, "I do again confess that in the points charged against me, although they should be taken as myself have declared them, there is a great deal of corruption and neglect, for which I am heartily and penitently sorry." The trial was by the House of Lords, in the form of an impeachment. They declared him guilty, asked the king to deprive him of his high office, condemned him to a fine of forty thousand pounds, to indefinite imprisonment in the Tower, and to incapacity to hold any office or employment in the government. He himself acknowledged the sentence "just and, for reformation's sake, fit." He was soon released from imprisonment and his fine remitted, but he had to live the rest of his life in retirement, consoling himself by writing.

358. Raleigh. — Bacon was probably the greatest and wisest man of his time. But another man of genius of Elizabeth's time had also a period of prosperity and of disgrace within James's reign. This was Sir Walter Raleigh. During Elizabeth's reign he had frequently been employed by the government in various services, as a soldier, as an ambassador, and as a courtier, and he hoped to have still more influence under James. He had a clear mind, a bold heart, an active nature, and much experience, and he could have been of great service to James and to his country.

But he was not favored by the new king or by the most trusted ministers of the king. His old hostility to Spain and the Catholics was incompatible with the policy that James had determined upon. Not only was he not advanced but he was deprived of some of the offices and estates which he had held in the queen's time. He became restless, dissatisfied, and abusive of the ministers, and probably talked rashly and laid himself open to suspicion. He was therefore arrested and tried on the charge of taking part in a conspiracy to dethrone James and place Arabella Stuart, James's cousin, on the throne. After a long trial Raleigh was in 1603 declared guilty of treason and sentenced to death. It has since been generally believed that his conviction was a mistake and that he was not really guilty.

State trials at that time were seldom fair trials. The modern principle that a man is to be considered innocent until he is proved to be guilty had not yet been adopted. On the contrary, if a man was formally accused of a crime he was treated as if he were guilty until he could prove himself innocent. He was not allowed to have counsel, he did not know what he was accused of until he was actually before the jury, and the witnesses against him did not have to testify in his presence. If the charge was one of treason, as in Raleigh's case, the whole feeling of the court was against him. One of the greatest advances made since the seventeenth century has been the increased protection given to a prisoner accused of crime, and the provision of careful means by



Sir Walter Raleigh

which, if innocent, he may have every opportunity of proving himself so. Raleigh was unpopular and was known to be dissatisfied with his position. His guilt was therefore easily accepted. Although he was sentenced to be executed, he was reprieved by the king, and though neither pardoned nor relieved of his sentence, was allowed to live on in the Tower for many years, consoling himself, like Bacon, by writing a history and other works, and by making experiments in chemistry.

359. Raleigh's Last Expedition and Death. — After remaining in imprisonment for more than twelve years, Raleigh succeeded in getting the king interested in his plan of sending another exploring expedition in search of El Dorado, and a gold mine on the Orinoco River. He was not pardoned, but he was released, allowed to make preparations for his voyage, and given a commission allowing him to go out in charge of an expedition and to occupy any lands not already possessed by Spain or any other European nation. James hoped to procure gold in abundance from some unknown mine which Raleigh was to discover. Raleigh himself was tempted to take all sorts of risks and make all sorts of promises in order to obtain freedom from the Tower and to exchange the monotony of a prisoner's life for the joy of exploration and the wild freedom of adventure on the sea.

The expedition was more than a failure. The mine was not found, Raleigh's eldest son was killed, and a battle was fought with the Spaniards who were settled on the banks of the Orinoco River. As Raleigh had pledged himself not to go into territory occupied by the Spaniards, the Spanish ambassador demanded his punishment for piracy. James was not willing to be drawn into war with Spain, so after much hesitation it was decided that satisfaction should be given to the Spaniards by executing Raleigh under the old condemnation for treason which still hung over him. This was done in 1618, and one of the truest, boldest, and most gifted of Englishmen was beheaded, nominally for a crime of which he was in all probability not guilty, and really for an offense

which most Englishmen felt was no offense at all. On the scaffold he felt the edge of the executioner's axe and murmured, "This is sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all disease." When one of the bystanders begged him, as he kneeled at the block, to lay his head, for religious reasons, with his face toward the east, he replied, "What matter how the head lie, so the heart be right?" He, like Bacon, knew that his heart was right, notwithstanding that in the difficulties of life and perplexities of the times they had both come under the condemnation of the law.

360. Settlements in America. — The reign of Elizabeth had been a wonderful period of exploration and adventurous expeditions by sea to various parts of the world. The reign of James was a period of settlement, when Englishmen first began to establish themselves and found colonies on the coast of America, in the West India Islands, and in the East Indies. Several times there had been efforts to make settlements in America during Queen Elizabeth's time, but they were premature.¹ While Raleigh was lying in prison under sentence of death, the plans which had been formed in his busy brain gained acceptance with a number of prominent and influential Englishmen.

In 1606 a group of these men obtained from the king a charter authorizing them to make two settlements on the coast of North America, one in the southern, one in the northern part, and providing a form of government for the prospective colonies. Just at the close of the year 1606 three small vessels with one hundred and five adventurers set sail from London and made their way to the southern coasts of those regions of North America which were claimed by England. Early in 1607 they landed and founded a colony which was named Jamestown after the king, and which became the first permanent English settlement in America.

The northern settlement provided for in the charter of 1606 was established on the coast of Maine, but the colonists suffered so severely that after a few months it was abandoned. The

¹ See p. 354.

greatest difficulty in establishing the early colonies was to find suitable colonists. Criminals, vagabonds, and broken-down spend-thrifts gathered up from the streets of English cities were not fit to contend with the hardships of life in a new country. Not till more substantial classes were willing to leave the country could colonization take place. It was only gradually that men and women went over to Virginia who were able to establish a really successful colony.

361. The Pilgrim Fathers. — There was in England, however, another class of men who were so restless and dissatisfied with their position that they were ready to emigrate. These were the extreme Puritans. As the reign of James progressed, the laws requiring conformity to the established church were enforced so vigorously that both Roman Catholics and Puritans found life nearly unbearable. They were forced to attend services which seemed to the Roman Catholic tainted with heresy and to the Puritan to partake of idolatry.

The gown which the clergyman wore, the ceremonies he performed, and many of the doctrines he taught were especially hateful to the conscientious Puritan. If Puritan laymen refused to attend church, or organized congregations, or held services of their own, they were fined and put in prison. Clergymen of Puritan views found their way still harder. They were not allowed to teach the things which they thought were true, and were not allowed to conduct worship as they and their parishioners wished. A group of men of these views, most of them living in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, became "Separatists,"—that is, they separated themselves from the established church altogether, and since they were not allowed to form a separate organization in England, left that country and went to live in Holland, where religious freedom was allowed and where many Englishmen were already living for purposes of trade. They lived for a while in Amsterdam and then settled in Leyden, where they had a congregation of their own under a minister named Robinson. After remaining in Holland

for more than twelve years, many of them became dissatisfied and wished to establish themselves where their course of life should be under their own control. They applied to James for permission to settle in America. He was loath to give any privileges to Separatists, but finally assented, and they borrowed the necessary money from a company in London. In 1620 the "Speedwell" brought the "Pilgrim Fathers," as they have always since been known, from Holland to England, and the "Mayflower" took them from Plymouth in the old England to the new Plymouth in New England, which was to be their future home.

362. The Puritan Emigration. — When, under James's successor, religious persecution in England became still harsher, and when the growth of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth had proved the success of the experiment, many of the Puritans in England itself, even those who had not separated themselves from the church, began to look towards America as a place of greater religious freedom and of greater prosperity. Land was therefore bought from the successors of the old London Company, and in 1628 Salem, to the north of Plymouth, was founded. The next year more colonists left England, and within succeeding years a great number emigrated and established a group of settlements along the coast of Massachusetts. In the meantime the Bermudas, Barbadoes, and some other islands of the West Indies were colonized, and the fringe of settlements was gradually made more complete along the whole eastern coast of North America. By the close of the reign of James, or soon afterwards, the foundations were well laid for a greater England beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

363. Ireland and the East Indies. — A body of English and Scotch colonists was being established between the years 1610 and 1630 in a region nearer home than America. This was in Ulster, the northernmost of the four provinces of Ireland. After a long series of rebellions of the native Irish in the reign of Elizabeth and the early years of James, the courts declared a large part of the land of Ulster to be forfeited to the crown.

In 1611 the government granted this land out in separate tracts to proprietors who would agree to bring over settlers from England and Scotland. Within the next few years some 20,000 of these colonists came over. They were mostly from the Lowlands of Scotland and deeply attached to Presbyterianism. Most of them were farmers, but several towns were founded and later various industries were established. This colonization of the north of Ireland is usually known as "the Plantation of Ulster." Although many of the former inhabitants remained in the district as laborers and tenants, Ulster came in this way to be quite different from the rest of Ireland in race, religion, occupations, and customs.

In other parts of the world also Englishmen were getting a foothold. The formation of the East India Company three years before the close of Elizabeth's reign has already been mentioned. The plan of the merchants who made up that company was to send vessels around the Cape of Good Hope for the purpose of trading with the ports on the coast of India and with the Molucca Islands, — bringing from them pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and other spices, calico, precious stones, dye woods, and other such products; and selling to the Orientals English cloth and other articles when they could. The company established agencies at various places in the East, but had much difficulty with the natives, with the Portuguese, and above all with the Dutch, who had just preceded them there. Nevertheless, its trade and capital grew and it became the strongest and richest of English commercial companies.

364. Discord between the King and the Nation. — While England was spreading her interests thus widely through the world, at home there was deep dissatisfaction. James was so unfortunate as to want just those things which the greater part of his subjects did not want and to disapprove of the things they did want. He wished a close union with Scotland, a marriage treaty with Spain, toleration for Roman Catholics, persecution of Puritans, and peace at any price with all nations. Popular feeling,

on the other hand, was opposed to union with Scotland, to the Spanish marriage, to the toleration of Roman Catholics, to persecution of the Puritans, and favored taking part in the war in Germany on the Protestant side. Besides this, James was constantly in need of money, while the people were reluctant to allow themselves to be further taxed. Above all, James believed he had a right to rule the country himself without criticism or interference on the part of others, and spoke and acted on that belief. There were many who agreed with him, but there was a far larger number who felt that the king was bound to give more consideration to the wishes of his subjects, who were opposed to his ministers, and disapproved of much of the policy that he was carrying out.

365. Discord between the King and Parliament. — This opposition naturally showed itself most conspicuously in parliament. There were eight sessions of that body during the twenty-two years of James's reign. A large part of the time of these meetings was occupied with disputes with the king, and more than one session was brought to a sudden close by a dissolution due to the king's losing patience and temper. Discord dated from the very first meeting of James's first parliament in 1604. The House of Commons claimed that the question of deciding a dispute between two men both claiming to have been elected to the same seat should be decided by their house as of old, while the king had ordered all such questions to be referred to the lord chancellor, one of his ministers. In this case, after much debate, the king gave way. James tried to force through the same parliament the union with Scotland, which parliament resisted, while the House of Commons strove to relieve the Puritans from some of the religious restrictions which were most burdensome, — a proposal which was opposed by the king.

366. The Financial Dispute. — The sharpest conflict, however, in this and later sessions was on the money question. This contest could not be avoided. Several of the permanent sources of

income of the crown were becoming steadily less profitable. The amount they brought in was, it is true, the same in pounds, shillings, and pence that it had always been. But all prices were rising so much that the same amount of money would pay less of the expenses of the government than it had in former times. A new and more liberal system of taxation was an absolute necessity. Even Queen Elizabeth with her habits of close economy in matters of government had scarcely been able to keep within the regular revenue. James needed more. Even if he had been economical and penurious some new taxes would have been needed, but he was exactly the opposite. He had a large family, which required a more expensive court, and instead of being parsimonious he was extremely lavish. He spent largely on court festivities, jewels, and personal adornments. He entered lightly upon lines of policy that cost a great deal of money. In fact he was a thoroughgoing spendthrift. As yet no distinction was made between expenditure for purposes of the government and that for the personal objects of the king. The result of the diminishing revenues and increasing expenses was that the king was soon in debt, his expenditure was far larger than his income, and the finances of the government remained in bad condition and the government in constant difficulties about money during the whole of the reign.

James was therefore in a position in which Henry VII had never been and the other Tudor sovereigns but rarely. He had to make frequent appeals to parliament for an increase in taxes and grants. This gave parliament an opportunity to ask for a reform of many things connected with the government, to demand changes in the law which the king did not wish to have made, to criticise his wastefulness, and to object to his lavish grants to worthless courtiers. At several periods a long time was allowed to pass without any session of parliament being called. There was no session held during the whole seven years between 1614 and 1621. But the money needs of the king always made it necessary sooner or later to call parliament again. When it met, disputes immediately

arose on the questions of policy in which the desires of the majority of the people and those of the king differed, and on special grievances about which the members of parliament complained.

The different ideas held by the king and parliament as to their respective powers came out clearly in these disputes. James summoned the members of parliament before him and scolded them or praised them as if they were children and he their father. On their side they drew up protests and claims as to their rights, or refused to grant money unless the king gave way to their requests. This conflict of opinion came to a head in the meeting of the year 1621. The House of Commons drew up a long petition to the king, in which they pointed out much that they thought was wrong in the government and dangerous to England at home and abroad, and asked him to give aid to the Protestants in the war on the continent, to make war on the king of Spain, to marry the prince to a Protestant princess, and to enforce the laws against Roman Catholics. Although this petition was expressed in respectful and even humble terms, James was very angry and wrote a sharp letter to the commons, telling them that they had been discussing matters far beyond their reach or capacity, and infringing on his royal prerogative. He forbade them to mention the matter of the prince's marriage, to say anything against the honor of the king of Spain, or in any other manner to meddle with affairs of government or "deep matters of state." As to their privileges of freedom of speech in parliament, he wanted them to understand that he considered himself "very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting as after." He threatened to use this power "upon any occasion of any man's insolent behavior there."

367. The Great Protestation. — The House of Commons was not willing to acknowledge this doctrine, so after a further exchange of letters with the king they drew up and entered on their minute book a formal protest declaring their right of free discussion. Its

most important paragraph was as follows : "That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England ; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defense of the realm and of the church of England and the making and maintenance of laws and redress of grievances which daily happen within this realm are proper subjects and matters of counsel and debate in parliament ; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses every member of the House hath and of right ought to have freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same." James heard of this action and a few days afterwards, during an adjournment of parliament, sent for the journal in which this "Great Protestation" was entered, and in the presence of his council and several of the judges with his own hands tore out the page containing it. Shortly afterwards he dissolved parliament.

368. Close of the Reign of James. — The one remaining parliament of James was on better terms with him. By this time his plan for the Spanish marriage and the whole fabric of his foreign policy which was built upon it had fallen, and he did not feel the same self-confidence as of old. His son and the duke of Buckingham were taking the powers of the crown out of his hands, and parliament obtained his consent to measures that he would have resisted in earlier days. Among other things the lord treasurer Middlesex was impeached and driven out of office, another instance of the revival of the old parliamentary power of impeachment. Parliament, on the other hand, granted liberal taxes for the war with Spain which was now imminent. James died in 1625 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

369. Charles I. — Since Charles and Buckingham had exerted so great an influence over James during the last two years of his life, there was no great break when Charles took the throne on his father's death. There was little probability that his government would be a wiser one than that of James, or his reign more

successful. He was finer looking than his father and more manly in manner and character, with more personal dignity, self-respect, and conscientiousness. The many portraits that have come down to us, painted for the most part by the court painter of the time, Vandyke, show a handsome face and a graceful person. He was fond of ceremony and formality. On the other hand, he was reserved and silent. He was not nearly so well educated as his father, and he was narrow-minded and slow of apprehension. He could never see two sides of a question, and he had no respect for those who differed from him or for their arguments. He had been brought up to believe in all the high ideas of the authority and independence of the king which his father had held and which were fashionable at his father's court, and he held these views with a tenacity and a conscientious seriousness which made him even less reasonable than his father.



Charles I

Buckingham was more influential than ever. He not only took part in all the discussions of the privy council but was constantly with Charles privately and was consulted by him in everything.

370. War with Spain. — When Charles and Buckingham on their visit to Spain had found themselves deluded and outwitted, they had gone to the opposite extreme and determined to make war upon that country. When the new reign opened, therefore, England was being plunged as recklessly into war as she had been inconsiderately pledged to peace at the beginning of James's reign. In order to get help for this war the new king and his

favorite had made a whole series of plans, promises, and treaties. They expected to carry them out themselves, and thought that parliament would furnish the armies, ships, and money without asking any questions. But one of their plans after another failed. An army which was sent to the Netherlands accomplished nothing and was almost destroyed by disease; a fleet which was lent to the king of France was used by him not to fight against Spain but to put down the Huguenots, much to the disgust of the English Protestants. A third fleet and army was organized in 1625 and sent as in the old days of Drake to capture Cadiz and there wait for and capture the Spanish fleet which was due from America, laden with gold and silver from the mines. But nobody's heart was in the expedition. The volunteer navies of Drake's time were a thing of the past. The ships were now mostly merchant vessels, forced to take part in the expedition, and their captains wanted only to keep out of danger and get safely home again. The soldiers who were taken along were for the most part men pressed into the service. Everything was mismanaged; they failed to capture Cadiz, and the treasure ships slipped safely into port while they were looking for them somewhere else.

371. War with France.—Soon England drifted into war with France also. Another fleet and army under Buckingham himself were sent in 1627 to the Isle of Rhé in the west of France to help the Huguenots of Rochelle and to strike a blow at the French government. This likewise was a complete failure. The fact is that these expeditions were looked upon as private ventures of the king and his favorite only. They were not authorized nor approved by parliament, there was no national interest taken in them, and no proper equipment, support, or leadership provided for them. The English have never fought successfully unless their hearts have been in the contest, and at this time their interest in the matters about which they were fighting was very slight indeed. Thus in foreign affairs Charles and his minister had nothing but a record of blunders and failures to show to parliament when it met.

372. Charles and Parliament. — This naturally did not make it easier for Charles to get along with his parliaments. He asked his first parliament in 1625 to make a large appropriation of money, but did not explain how it was to be used or why there had been such failure already. Parliament declined to grant the money if Buckingham was to have the direction of the spending of it. They had no confidence in his ability or in his character, and believed that the money might be used for something of which they did not approve, or if devoted to war purposes would almost certainly be wasted and bring but another harvest of failures. Back of this lack of confidence was their opposition to the very position and powers of Buckingham and their wish to use the opportunity to put pressure on the king to remove him from his offices and influence. Charles, on the other hand, resented this as an effort on the part of parliament to prevent him from choosing his own ministers and to get practical control of the government. He therefore dissolved parliament, even though it had voted him only a small sum of money and had done almost nothing in the way of legislation.



Duke of Buckingham

The next year a new parliament was summoned which took still stronger ground against Buckingham. The House of Commons now impeached him before the House of Lords, and charged him with some crimes and many lesser offenses, few of which could ever have been proved. Charles did not wait to let the proof be shown, but in great anger dissolved parliament before it had time to carry the trial farther or in fact to do anything else.

New subjects of discontent now sprang up. In the active preparations for war made by the king and his ministers there

had been much disregard of the people. Soldiers were billeted¹ on householders without their consent. When disputes broke out on this account private citizens were punished or had their cases settled by the decisions of the military commanders. Although parliament had refused to authorize taxes to carry on the war, the king ordered a forced loan. That is to say, the sheriffs and other officials of the king throughout the country were required to summon before them all the persons of any property in their districts and put all the pressure they could, by persuasion, threat of the king's displeasure, and otherwise, upon them to induce them to lend money to the king. It was well understood that the loan was not likely to be repaid, and it was generally felt to be simply an unauthorized tax. When some men refused to pay the forced loan, they were imprisoned for a time on the mere order of the king and the privy council without any special charge being made against them and without being brought to trial.

373. The Petition of Right. — When Charles's third parliament met, in 1628, these recent grievances were taken up even before anything was said about Buckingham or older subjects of dispute. Several leaders now became prominent in the debates in parliament. Among these the most conspicuous were Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Eliot, and John Pym. Wentworth was a country gentleman from Yorkshire. He was a born reformer, clear-headed, vigorous, and determined. He was disgusted with the incompetence of Buckingham and the inefficiency of the government. He had no great faith in parliament, but he thought it could bring enough pressure to bear on the king to induce him to choose wiser ministers and to follow a more reasonable policy. Eliot was a gentle, high-minded patriot, who believed thoroughly in the wisdom and devotion of parliament, and glorified the old laws and personal rights of Englishmen. He was willing to

¹ Billeting is placing soldiers to board in private families, the rate of payment not being one voluntarily agreed upon but set by the government or military authorities.

perform any labor and make any sacrifice for the sake of what he considered the preservation of the rights and liberties of the nation. Both Wentworth and Eliot were vigorous and influential speakers and exercised much influence over the House of Commons. Pym was still more persuasive and skillful in expressing the feelings of the members and carrying measures through parliament. He was by nature a party leader. These men and other patriots combined to proclaim the illegality of the actions spoken of above and to try to get a measure passed declaring them so. When the king resisted, Wentworth withdrew from the struggle. The other leaders, however, drew up what was called the "Petition of Right." This was a law declaring that enforced billeting of soldiers, trial by martial law, loans or taxes not imposed by parliament, and imprisonment without a specific charge were all illegal and should not be practiced in the future. This was passed through the two houses and Charles was asked to sign it. He resisted for a long time, and tried to evade its acceptance or rejection by giving an answer in general terms. But parliament was insistent and the king's need of money great. He therefore gave way, agreed to the Petition, and it became part of the law of the land. This was in 1628.

The Petition of Right has often been compared with the Great Charter signed four hundred years before, and although it is much shorter there are in fact several points of similarity. They both have to do with practical questions which had recently been in dispute rather than with general principles. They have both since been referred to as statements of fundamental principles of the English constitution. The really important point, however, is that they were both wrung by representatives of the people from an unwilling king. They showed that the king had not unrestricted power in England but was bound to acknowledge certain rights of his subjects. In 1628 more than one hundred and fifty years had passed since parliament had forced any measure upon an unwilling ruler. During this long period the kings had been

nearly absolute rulers and parliament had been willing to have it so. The signing of the Petition of Right by Charles I, therefore, represents the beginning of a new period of assertion of the rights of the people. With these questions out of the way the House of Commons again began an attack upon Buckingham, but the king immediately prorogued¹ parliament for six months. During this prorogation Buckingham was murdered by a man who had a private grudge against him, and had besides been stirred to action by the hard things said in parliament against the unpopular minister.

374. Religious Disputes. — Neither the Petition of Right nor the death of Buckingham settled all the questions in dispute between Charles and his parliament. The religious question was still an unsolved problem, as it was long to remain. King and parliament, as usual, were on different sides. As the bitterness of the first contests of the Reformation passed away, a reaction occurred in the minds of many men. They were less hostile towards the Roman Catholics, they saw more to be admired and imitated in the old forms and ceremonies of the middle ages, and their theological opinions were different from those of the more extreme Protestants. Such persons, however, were in a minority. They had the sympathy and support of the king, and they were strong among the clergy, but the majority of the members of parliament and the great body of the people had no such tendencies. Puritanism, on the contrary, was becoming stronger every day, and the House of Commons represented the Puritanism of the time. Parliament therefore tried to punish those clergymen who introduced "popish" ceremonies or wrote books of non-Calvinistic theology. The king, on the other hand, protected them and

¹ Prorogation of parliament means the postponement of its sittings for a certain time at the command of the king. Adjournment means a similar postponement by parliament's own action. Dissolution is a closing of its sessions altogether, so that new members will have to be elected when it is to meet again. The king alone can dissolve parliament, and he alone can order the election of a new one.

forbade parliament to mention the matter. The fate of the Stuart kings to be in opposition to the majority of their subjects thus led Charles into a struggle with parliament on the religious question.

375. Tonnage and Poundage. — During the same weeks another dispute was in progress in a field seemingly far away from religion but bringing up the same conflict of powers between king and parliament. Tonnage and poundage was an old and lucrative import and export duty of so much on each tun or cask of wine imported, and so much on each bale of wool and a few other articles exported. It had for more than two centuries been granted to each new king for his lifetime by parliament at the first session after his accession. The first parliament of Charles had in a spirit of defiance granted it to him for a year only, intending to make it permanent when their grievances had been attended to. The sudden dissolution of this parliament had prevented its grant in a permanent form and it was left as a temporary tax. Charles naturally felt that parliament was trying to deprive him of old established royal rights, and after the year ran out ordered his revenue officers to continue the levy and collection of tonnage and poundage, even without the assent of parliament. In 1629 parliament took the matter up again and a bill was brought in to grant tonnage and poundage for one year more. The king sent word that he would not approve the grant in this form and continued to collect it on his own authority. When parliament appealed to the Petition of Right the king replied that it was only taxes that were included in the Petition, and that he never understood it to cover tonnage and poundage, which was a customs duty, not a tax. The point was a more important one than it might seem, because England was fast becoming a great commercial country, and duties upon exports and imports formed a large part of the income of the government. Tonnage and poundage itself produced one fourth of the revenue of the crown. If the king could collect these commercial duties without any law allowing it by parliament, he would be to that extent freed from his dependence on parliament.

These quarrels came to a climax when parliament reassembled in the autumn of 1629. Some of the clergymen who had revived the old ceremonial forms were summoned before it, and revenue officers who had seized the goods of persons refusing to pay tonnage and poundage were likewise ordered to appear before parliament. The king, however, refused to allow his custom officers to appear at the bar of parliament. Things had reached a deadlock. The sittings were prorogued for a few weeks and when they met an order was announced from the king for another prorogation. One of the wildest scenes that ever occurred in parliament ensued. As the speaker of the House of Commons arose to announce the king's message two members rushed forward, pushed him down into his chair, and held him there while Eliot read a series of resolutions declaring that whoever brought in new and unauthorized opinions in religion and whoever paid or advised the payment of tonnage and poundage without grant of parliament was an enemy to the kingdom and a betrayer of its liberties. Some members rushed to free the speaker, others locked the doors and held the former back. For a moment it seemed that the members would draw their swords and fight. But amidst the uproar the resolutions were put and carried triumphantly. Then the speaker was freed, the doors were unlocked, and the members poured out. The king was very angry at this defiance of his authority. A proclamation was immediately issued announcing that parliament was dissolved.

376. Personal Government of Charles. — This occurred in 1629. It was the last parliament called in England for eleven years. If Charles could have had his way, parliament would not have been called again. The problem had arisen as to whether the king or parliament was, in the last resort, the supreme ruler of the country, and the king was determined to solve it in his own way. The years that followed were taken up with this effort to rule without parliament, and are commonly called the period of the personal government of Charles I.

In making up his mind to rule without parliament, Charles was doing just what kings in most other countries were doing at about the same time. In France, in Spain, in Germany, and in other countries the bodies of representatives of the people which corresponded to the English parliament were either being abolished altogether or reduced to a very inferior position. It was the natural culmination of a strong centralized monarchy as a form of government. The Tudor sovereigns only called parliament when they chose, but they never tried to abolish the custom of consulting parliament. Under James I the matter had hung in the balance. Now it seemed that under Charles the scale of absolute government had shown itself the heavier.

For some years this personal government of Charles bade fair to be a success. He had much better ministers than during the early part of his reign. His privy council was made up now mostly of men who had risen through their abilities, who did their work well, and who were quite willing to accept the claim of the king to absolute power. Lord Weston was lord treasurer and carried on the financial business skillfully. The king had already received one great recruit from his parliamentary opponents. Wentworth, who had previously opposed him in parliament, took office under the king, became a member of the privy council, and was made first a baron, then a viscount, and finally earl of Strafford. Wentworth, or Strafford, as he should now be called, ought not to be considered a turncoat. He had never objected to the possession of high powers by the king, and had opposed him only for the purpose of inducing him to choose wiser ministers. He had never believed that parliament ought to have a higher position in the government than the king. He was not a Puritan and did not sympathize with the religious intolerance of parliament. When he entered the service of Charles, therefore, he probably did so conscientiously and without any feeling of dishonor, though even in his own time he was hated by his older associates as a deserter.

Charles's principal adviser in all matters concerning the church was William Laud, bishop of London, who was later promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury. Without being a man of genius, like Strafford, Laud was conscientious, laborious, and determined.



Archbishop Laud

There were no triflers in Charles's council, and the king himself took an active interest in the work of government.

377. A Policy of Peace and Order.

—The wars with Spain and France had never had any very real reason for existence, and peace was now made with both countries. Good order at home was somewhat more difficult to obtain. The three members of the House of Commons who had made themselves most conspicuous in the disorder at the close of the last session were arrested

and tried on a charge of riot. They refused to plead, claiming that the judges could not take notice of things which had been done in parliament. They were nevertheless declared guilty, fined, and imprisoned. Towards Sir John Eliot, the most prominent of them, the king was more bitter than towards any one else during his whole career. Eliot was an old antagonist of the king in the earlier parliaments and had been the principal mover against Buckingham. He was now suffering from consumption and begged the king to be allowed to go to his country house to recover his health. Charles refused and Eliot died in the Tower of London. Even then the king refused to allow his children to take his body to be buried with those of his ancestors in his old home. He was buried with other state criminals in Tower Yard. The persecution of Eliot was a striking instance of Charles's poor judgment of character. He believed Eliot to be a wicked man, actuated only

by faction and interested motives. Yet there have been few purer patriots, few more unselfish and beautiful characters, than Sir John Eliot. He believed in the supremacy of parliament in a contest with the king, but only because he believed that parliament was the true representative of the liberties and virtue of England.

The two great difficulties of the time continued to be religion and the finances. Puritanism and the "high church" reaction were both growing stronger. The former was strong in numbers, zeal, and union with the cause of parliament and popular liberties. The latter was strong in the support of the king, the authority of the bishops, the influence of the universities, and the approval of many persons of moderate tendencies. Both parties included men of great learning and leaders who were thoroughly in earnest. But the party which possessed power was not likely to refrain from using it against its opponents, or to appreciate their excellences of character.

378. Punishment by Star Chamber and High Commission. — Many of the more violent Puritans were therefore prosecuted and punished for their writings or actions. This was done by Laud or some other person in authority bringing them to trial either before the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission.

It will be remembered that the Star Chamber was a special court for the trial of irregular cases and the punishment of those who could not be reached by the ordinary courts. It had become stronger since the time of Henry VII. At this time it consisted of all the members of the king's privy council with the addition of two judges. It was therefore merely an instrument in the hands of the king and his ministry to carry out their will under the form of judicial action. The Court of High Commission was a body of bishops and other clergymen who were empowered to carry out the ecclesiastical laws of the country. This body was almost equally under the power of the king's council, or at least of Archbishop Laud, who was the most influential member of both bodies. To be brought to trial before either of these courts was therefore

practically the same as to be condemned by them, for the same persons both prosecuted and judged.

In 1630 a Scotch pamphlet writer named Leighton was flogged and had his ears cut off by order of the Star Chamber for writing bitterly against the bishops. A short time later another man was heavily fined for breaking a church window enriched with pictures of saints, which seemed to him superstitious. One of the heaviest punishments ever inflicted was upon a learned lawyer named William Prynne. He was an extreme Puritan and wrote various books against drinking healths, against the fashion of men wearing their hair long, and other customs of the day, which seemed to him, as to many other Puritans, wicked. Later he attacked the prevailing theatrical representations in a long, learned, and dull book called *Histriomastix*, that is to say, "The Scourge of Stage Players." It was a series of charges of sinfulness against the drama and against the habit of attending the theater, in which his arguments were fortified by numberless examples drawn from antiquity and all history. His statement that all the Roman emperors who had encouraged the drama came to a bad end was considered to be directed against Charles, who was a great patron of the theater; and his charge in the index that all women who took part in plays were women of bad character was supposed by some readers to be a reflection on the queen, who had recently acted in a court play. He was prosecuted for these libels before the Star Chamber, and as a mark of their loyalty the ministers who made up the court condemned him to stand in the pillory, to have his ears cut off, to be fined five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned till the king should release him.

This was in 1633. Four years later Prynne with two others was prosecuted again before the Star Chamber on the charge of libeling the archbishop. They were all sentenced to the pillory with loss of the ears of those who had not already been mutilated, to pay fines of five thousand pounds each, and to be imprisoned for life. These sentences seemed the worse in that they were

inflicted on men of the legal profession, of private means and of high character. Crowds came around to express their pity for them at the pillory, flowers were strewn in their path as they walked thither, and the sympathy of thousands followed them to the various prisons to which they were taken. There were not many such prosecutions, but they made a great impression on the country. As a matter of fact Laud was obstinately determined to force everybody to conform to his and the king's ideas in religious practice, and this was gradually arousing as determined an opposition.

379. The Metropolitan Visitation. — Laud was a good man; learned, conscientious, and hard-working. There were, however, three reasons for his failure to rule the church and advise the king wisely. He did not understand or sympathize with the enthusiastic personal religious feelings of the Puritans, who included a large number of the best men in England; he had the exaggerated belief prevalent among the officials of his time of the duty of submission to authority in all things; and he was harsh, overbearing, and unwilling to try to persuade men if he thought he had the law on his side. In his effort to force all clergymen and laymen to use the same forms of religious service he carried out between 1634 and 1637 a "metropolitan visitation"¹ in each of the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. He either went himself or sent an official to each parish to question the clergyman there as to his practices. Unless the rector or vicar was in the habit of using the exact forms of the prayer book, unless he was willing to bow whenever the name of Jesus was mentioned in the service, and to have the communion table always placed at the east end of the church, he was referred to the archbishop for discipline, and in extreme cases brought before the Court of High Commission and removed from his office as minister. Laud claimed that he was only enforcing the law as it stood, but as a matter of fact the meaning given to

¹ Metropolitan is another name for an archbishop. A metropolitan visitation is an inquiry made by the archbishop or metropolitan into the condition of the church in his province.

the words of the law had with the growth of Puritanism changed very much in the last seventy-five years, and Laud was really trying to drive the whole church of England back into ways and beliefs that it had left behind it. He not only became very much hated for trying to enforce a law which men did not believe to be right or just, but it was widely, though of course mistakenly, believed that he was gradually preparing the way to reintroduce the old Roman Catholic religion, and that he would soon propose the restoration of the pope's authority.

380. The Declaration of Sports. — Laud opposed the Puritans in still other ways. They were usually very rigid in their observance of Sunday. Laud's party, according to the old mediæval custom, allowed much more freedom of action and amusement on that day. The magistrates throughout the country were very generally Puritan in their feelings, and they as well as the Puritan clergy imposed punishments on the people for what they considered breaches of proper Sabbath observances. At Laud's advice, therefore, Charles reissued the "Declaration of Sports," a proclamation originally put forth by James, authorizing with some restrictions the playing of ball, dancing on the green, and other amusements on Sunday afternoons, and forbidding judges or ministers to punish people for them. The king ordered that this declaration should be read in all the churches on a certain Sunday. This order aroused great resistance, for to many of the clergy it seemed a wicked, ungodly permission to do evil. Thus the outward uniformity and order of the church were being secured and enforced by Laud, but at the price of an amount of suppressed antagonism that was bound to show itself sooner or later.

381. Distrain of Knighthood, Monopolies, and the Forests. — In financial matters the lord treasurer had introduced many reforms increasing income and decreasing outlay. The close of the wars with Spain and France had also reduced expenditure. The old tonnage and poundage and other customs and duties were still collected without authority of parliament, and, fortunately for the

king, the income from these was increasing. Still the problem of how to get along without the constant grant of new appropriations by parliament was a difficult one. After all, additional revenue must be found somewhere, and Charles's ministers put their wits to work to devise plans. The result was a series of irregular expedients similar to the forced loan already described. All men who held land worth forty pounds a year in rent ought by an old law to become knights and hold their lands by feudal tenure. Although a great many had been knighted at coronations and other festive occasions, yet the old requirement had not been enforced for centuries, and the value of money had changed so much in the meantime that even small landholders would be subject to it if it were enforced. The king's officers, however, proceeded to collect fines from all persons who had neglected to take up knighthood under this law. The courts supported them, though the persons who paid the fines all felt that they were being unjustly treated.

Monopolies given to individual men for the sale or manufacture of certain articles had been lately forbidden by law, but nothing had been said in the statute about incorporated companies or groups of persons. Advantage was taken of this to create corporations and to give them the sole right to carry on certain industries in return for substantial payments made to the government.

Much of the land of England lay within the old tracts that were known as royal forests. Men who held these lands were not allowed to inclose them with hedges or fences and were limited in other ways in their use of them. These limitations, however, had not been enforced and had been very generally forgotten and frequently violated. Fines were now collected from landowners who were responsible for these encroachments.

382. Ship Money. — In these ways income was obtained, but at the same time one class of the people after another was being made to feel that their rights were being sacrificed in order that the king might have his way. Another scheme was now tried which was a still more general attack on men's property and liberties.

The income which the king received could be made to meet ordinary running expenses, but was certainly not sufficient to provide for any new emergencies. Yet the navy badly needed funds. The Dutch and the French navies were growing rapidly, while the English was declining. It had been an ancient custom in England that the seaport towns should contribute the vessels necessary for the national defense, or the money necessary to build them. In 1634, therefore, the king issued what were called "writs of ship money" to all seaport towns. The plan was quite successful. The seaport towns could not provide vessels of the size now



Hampden

usual in warfare, but they gave the money by which the government built and manned them. In fact the plan succeeded so well that the next year and the next, ship money was collected from all the counties of the kingdom as well as from the seaports. Moreover, as there was no restriction upon the use to which the king and his ministers should put money when once it was gotten into the treasury, ship money bade fair to be a permanent and lucrative source of income inde-

pendent of parliamentary grants.

The king and ministers claimed that ship money was not properly a tax but a payment made in lieu of military and naval service. It was generally felt, however, that it was an extortion, and if allowed to become a custom would free the king from the necessity of ever consulting parliament on money matters. A well-to-do landowner in Buckinghamshire, Sir John Hampden, felt this so strongly that he refused to pay the twenty shillings levied on his property. This brought the matter into the Court of Exchequer to be tested. A long and famous trial was held. The lawyers representing Hampden set forth the popular views of

the restricted powers of the king and the fundamental rights of his subjects. This was a welcome opportunity, for when parliament was not in session there was scarcely any means for such opinions to be publicly expressed. There were no newspapers, and no books could be legally published without having the approval of the government. No mass meetings were held, and there were few places where men got together to talk over public affairs, except at court, where liberal views were not in fashion.

On the other hand, the lawyers for the king defended his high powers, and there was of course strong pressure brought to bear on the judges to decide in his favor. When the decision came to be given, as it was in 1638, seven of the judges decided for the crown, five for Hampden. The king therefore had the victory, and ship money was declared to be legal. The decision was, however, given by such a narrow margin that it was little better than a defeat for the king and his ministers, and accordingly there was much rejoicing in the country.



Strafford

383. The Earl of Strafford Principal Minister. — As time passed on Wentworth, earl of Strafford, became more and more influential in the king's council. In many ways he was the ablest man in England at that time, and he was devoted heart and soul to a successful administration of the king's personal government. For a time he acted as president of the Council of the North, a court which took charge of all royal interests in the northern counties of England. It had been formed after the overthrow of the Pilgrimage of Grace, in the reign of Henry VIII, instead of a parliament which Henry had promised to call for the settlement of the grievances of the northern counties. In 1632 Wentworth was made lord deputy of Ireland. Here he carried on an administration vigorous and

enlightened to a degree almost unknown before in the history of that unfortunate country. During this time he was in correspondence with the king, and his counsel was occasionally asked and given on political questions. Finally in 1639 he was summoned to court by Charles and became his principal and constant adviser. Strafford's motto was "Thorough," by which he meant a thorough-going administration and a thorough devotion of every one to the interests of the king and of the country. In the north of England, in Ireland, and now at court he was determined that no opposition, whether of self-interest, of old tradition, or of a claim of parliamentary rights and privileges, should stand in the way of good and effective administration of the government. This was a high ideal, but it was the ideal of a despot, and it was likely to intensify, not to lessen, the growing spirit of resistance.

How long this form of government could have been kept up if nothing unforeseen or unusual had happened it is hard to say. Peace and order were undoubtedly being kept at home and abroad, and in one way or another money was being found to pay the regular expenses of government. At the same time there was a growing feeling of dissatisfaction and anger throughout the country, which could hardly be prevented from soon bursting forth in one form or another.

384. Summary of the Period from 1603 to 1640. — James I and Charles I had had to bear the brunt of the rising spirit of independence characteristic of England in the seventeenth century. A degree of absolutism in government against which the parliaments of Henry VIII or Elizabeth would have raised no murmur awakened the active and heated resistance of the parliaments of James and Charles. This growing desire for independence and for sharing in the control of government was closely connected with the growth of Puritanism. An independent, individual form of religion was apt to develop an assertive spirit in political matters. An unavoidable crisis in taxation also happened in the time of the first two Stuarts. The rise of prices due to the influx of silver

and gold into Europe from the mines of Mexico and Peru necessitated a larger money income for the government. This was staved off somewhat by the increasing productiveness of the import and export duties, but the pressure was constant and the Stuart rulers were in a position of absolute dependence on the grants of parliament, a disadvantage from which the Tudors scarcely suffered. They were also put before their subjects in the unenviable light of making demands for money far beyond those of the preceding rulers.

To meet these difficult conditions James and Charles were especially lacking in good judgment as to men and measures, and were dominated by a haughty sense of their own powers and rights which kept them from anything like conciliation or compromise. The result was that the successive meetings of parliament were occasions for endless disputes, and when parliament was not in session the king was carrying on a policy which was fast making the breach between him and his subjects too wide to be spanned by any agreement. The last test of this policy was in the period of personal government of Charles, from 1629 to 1640, and it was a failure, as will be seen from the next chapter.

General Reading. — The best general history of this period is GARDINER, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War*, 10 vols. It is full, scholarly, and fair to all parties, but is of course very long. *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution* (Epochs of History) is a little book by the same author and with many of the same excellences. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. viii, sects. 1-5. MACAULAY, *Bacon and Hampden*. Two brilliant and suggestive essays, of especially great value to young readers for the strong impression of personality they convey. HUME, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, is one of the best of many biographies of that favorite character. HUTTON, *William Laud*, is good though extremely favorable. HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England*, is a standard work. MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, and MEDLEY, *English Constitutional History*, are very good shorter works. TREVELYAN, *England under the Stuarts*, is an extremely interesting history of the period of this and the next three chapters.

Contemporary Sources. — The constitutional documents of the period are given in great fullness and with valuable introductions in PROTHERO, *Select Documents of the Time of Elizabeth and James I*, and GARDINER, *Select Documents of the Puritan Revolution*. The first writ of ship money and other documents are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, Nos. 181–193. Documents concerning the Puritans are gathered in *Arber Reprints*. Some more varied papers are in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 68–75, and COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 68–70. This period lends itself especially well to illustration by contemporary writings. A number of extracts from these are in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 244–279.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *The Fortunes of Nigel*; JAMES, *Arabella Stuart*; AINSWORTH, *The Spanish Match*, *Guy Fawkes*, and *The Star Chamber*; and MARRYAT, *The Children of the New Forest*, refer to this period. WORDSWORTH, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, is a fine sonnet; and on the same subject is Mrs. HEMANS, *The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*.

Special Topics. — (1) The Puritans, MACAULAY, *Essay on Milton*; (2) The Gunpowder Plot, GARDINER, *History of England*, Vol. I, chap. vi; (3) The Thirty Years' War, ROBINSON, *History of Western Europe*, chap. xxix; (4) The Ideas of Laud, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. IV, pp. 26–33; (5) Voyages and Travels under James and Charles, *ibid.*, pp. 51–57; (6) The East India Company, *ibid.*, pp. 130–138; (7) Disputes between King and Parliament, PROTHERO, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, pp. 310–317; (8) Riot in the House of Commons, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 72; (9) The Voyage of the "Mayflower," COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 70; (10) An Ideal Commonwealth, BACON, *New Atlantis* (in Morley's Universal Library).

CHAPTER XV

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH 1640-1660

385. **The Scottish Rebellion.**—The actual breaking up of Charles's plan of government without parliament came from outside of England. He was king, it will be remembered, of Scotland as well as of England. There were difficulties there which were still greater than those in England, though of a somewhat different kind. They were principally in regard to religion. In Scotland the mass of the people had carried the Reformation much farther than even the English Puritans would have advocated. Among other changes a set form of service was given up, episcopacy was abolished, and the presbyterian system introduced.¹ But the king had never been satisfied with this extreme simplicity of church government, and most of the Scotch nobles sided with him. Little by little, therefore, James had secured the reappointment of bishops, and then a restoration to them of at least a part of their old powers. Charles took still more active steps to make the Scotch church like the established church in England. In 1637 some of the Scotch bishops at the command of the king and with the help of Laud drew up a prayer book much like that of England, though even less

¹ Episcopacy means the government of the church by bishops, each having charge of his own large diocese. Presbyterianism means the government of the church by presbyteries instead of by bishops, a presbytery being a body made up of the pastors and certain laymen or elders from all the parishes within a certain district. The separatist, independent, or congregational system was the plan of allowing each congregation to govern itself.

satisfactory to the Scotch Presbyterians than it was to the English Puritans. The clergy, the people, and even the nobles were against this set form of service, both on religious grounds, because it was too much like the Roman Catholic form, and on political grounds, because it seemed like forcing English customs upon them. The new service was read for the first time in St. Giles's church in Edinburgh in July, 1637. A riot immediately broke out. A woman stood up and threw her stool at the head of the minister, and others thronged out of the church. There was much excitement throughout the country, and within the next year a pledge called the "National Covenant" was signed widely through all Scotland. Every one who signed it promised to try by all lawful means to restore the purity and liberty of the gospel as it had been before the recent changes.

Charles, in order to regain the good will of his Scotch subjects, withdrew the prayer book and promised to limit the powers of the bishops. In the fall of 1638, however, a great Scotch church assembly, consisting partly of clergymen, partly of laymen, gathered at Edinburgh and claimed the power to regulate all religious matters for the country. The commissioner representing the king refused to allow them to exercise such independent functions, and finally in the name of the king dissolved the assembly. They refused to be dissolved and proceeded with their work, abolished episcopacy, and reintroduced presbyterianism.

This refusal to obey the king's representative, and the subsequent interference in the organization of the church without royal authorization, amounted practically to rebellion. Charles felt it necessary to go up to Scotland with an army to reduce the assembly to obedience. He gathered forces as best he could and marched northward. When he got to the Scotch border he found that the assembly had itself raised an army stronger than his own. He was very short of funds and found it almost impossible to keep together even the troops he had. He therefore entered into a treaty with the Scots, agreeing that all the points in dispute

should be settled in a parliament and church assembly to be held in Edinburgh. Even after both bodies had met and approved of the abolition of episcopacy, Charles refused to give way, ordered assembly and parliament dissolved, and prepared for war against his subjects in Scotland. These two contests of 1639 and 1640 are often called the "Bishops' Wars," because they were fought for the sake of the Scotch bishops.

386. The Short Parliament.— Charles had to have more money if he was to raise an efficient army. Money could be found for the ordinary expenses of government, but the only way to meet any extraordinary expenditure, such as that for the formation and payment of an army, was to get the English parliament to authorize additional taxes. At Strafford's advice, therefore, in April, 1640, Charles called parliament for the first time for eleven years, hoping that it would grant the necessary funds and not stir up any other questions. The moment the representatives of the English people met after their long intermission, Pym laid before the House of Commons a statement of the popular grievances. They discussed these at the same time they were discussing the grant of money, and they also prepared to advise Charles to give up the war against the Scotch altogether. Rather than allow them to do this he dissolved parliament after it had been sitting only three weeks and before it had completed any one action. It is usually known as the "Short Parliament."

The king was now well-nigh desperate. The rebellious Scotch army was threatening the English border and the treasury was empty. Charles had men pressed into military service from all over England, bought the cargoes of pepper just brought from India on the East India Company's ships, promising to pay for it later, but selling it immediately at less than cost price so as to get ready money. With an army thus obtained he marched northward and met the Scotch army on the English side of the border in Yorkshire. But the English army did not want to beat the Scots, and it was evidently impossible to make them fight

against those with whose principles they sympathized. Negotiations therefore were opened with them. The Scotch army was allowed to remain in the two northern counties until a final settlement should be made of the questions in dispute, and were promised £850 a day for their expenses if they would not march any farther.

The king then tried the plan of summoning a Great Council to meet at York, to consist of noblemen only. But, as his money was entirely exhausted, the nobles had no advice to offer him except that he should summon a full parliament. Charles was now at the end of his rope. He had no money to buy off the Scotch army. He could not allow them to march as they would through England. He could not safely let himself fall into their hands. There was nothing to do except to take the advice given him, — to call parliament and to hope for the best from it when it met.

387. The Long Parliament.—At the king's summons, therefore, the body which was to be known as the "Long Parliament" met November 3, 1640. All those who had opposed the king in the recent Short Parliament and most of the surviving men of prominence from the earlier parliaments were elected, and it was made up, therefore, almost entirely of men opposed to the king's policy. Pym, a veteran opponent, was its most influential leader. John Hampden was a member, as was also another country gentleman, — then unknown but destined to future greatness, — Oliver Cromwell. The circumstances under which parliament now met were very different from those under which its predecessors had been called. Even the Short Parliament which had met in the spring was felt to be only an experiment to be dissolved immediately if it did not show itself obedient to the king, as actually happened. Now every one felt that the king had had his turn, and that parliament was at last to have its opportunity. Personal government had been tried and found wanting, and limited monarchy was to be reintroduced. From the moment of its first

meeting parliament took things into its own hands, and acted with the vigor, assertiveness, and unanimity of a body which feels that it has for the first time the real power and responsibility of government.

Its tone towards the king was respectful but no longer submissive. It did not hesitate for a moment to carry out any of its wishes because of the known objections of the king. Its meeting began a new period in English history. For the next twenty years, from 1640 to 1660, with some interruptions, parliament either actually or in the background controlled the course of English affairs, just as Charles had been in control of them for the preceding fifteen years. Nor has it ever since fallen to the insignificance of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

388. Execution of Strafford. — Strafford, Laud, and some of the other ministers were immediately ordered by parliament to be arrested with a view to impeachment. The first two were imprisoned in the Tower, the others escaped to the continent. Strafford was then impeached by the House of Commons on the charge of high treason. He had been dictatorial and had advised the king to do many despotic acts. Yet it was hard to show that he had done anything treasonable. He was very generally believed to have advised the king to bring an army from Ireland to force his will on the English people, but of this there was no certain evidence. Yet the parliamentary leaders felt that Strafford was the soul of royal absolutism, and that he must be removed if there was to be any real change in the king's system of government. For fear of acquittal the impeachment was therefore changed into a bill of attainder,¹ which the House of Lords would probably be

¹ In an impeachment the proceedings are in the nature of a judicial trial, the House of Commons being the prosecutors, and the House of Lords the judges or jury. A bill of attainder is a legislative act consisting of a bill carried through the two houses successively, and only requiring general argument, not specific proof of specific charges. The danger of injustice from it has led to its prohibition by the Constitution of the United States.

willing to pass. This plan was successful, and the bill of attainder was passed and brought to the king to be signed.

Charles was in a very difficult position. He had promised Strafford when parliament met that not a hair of his head should be touched, not a penny of his property seized. Nevertheless it was almost impossible for him to refuse anything which parliament demanded, for if he did parliament would not grant money to pay for the support of the Scotch army, and if the Scotch army was not paid it would continue its march southward. There were still more personal reasons why the king must yield. The queen had formed a plan to bring a foreign army and foreign money over to coerce parliament, and when this did not succeed she tried to get the English army which had lately been in the north to come down and put its power at the disposal of the king. When this became known she was threatened by a mob that gathered around the palace of Whitehall. Charles, worn out and fearing for the queen's life, gave way and signed an order empowering commissioners to give his approval to the bill of attainder against Strafford. Charles had already made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Tower to release him by force, and now begged parliament fruitlessly to substitute imprisonment for life for his execution. "Put not your trust in princes," was the comment of the great minister, although he had himself written to Charles that he would willingly forgive him his death if it would lead to better times. He was beheaded on May 12, 1641. Laud was kept in imprisonment in the Tower for four years, until, at a time when feeling had become still more embittered, he also was condemned and executed under a bill of attainder.

389. Constitutional Reform. — Parliament now protected its position by passing a bill providing that it should not be dissolved without its own consent. This the king reluctantly signed, and thus divested himself in this case of the power which he and all his predecessors had possessed of bringing a session of parliament

to an end when they wished. A bill, known as the "Triennial Act," was passed providing that parliament should meet every three years, even if the king should not call it.

Next a series of acts was passed introducing constitutional reforms which had been suggested by recent experiences. The Court of Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the Council of the North, and a somewhat similar body, the Court of the Marches of Wales, were abolished altogether. The collection of ship money was declared to be illegal, and acts were passed prohibiting the levy of tonnage and poundage or of other customs duties without the consent of parliament. Fines for not taking up knighthood and for encroachments on the forests were also prohibited. All these measures were passed in the years 1640 and 1641. To all of them Charles affixed his signature officially and formally if reluctantly. They became therefore the law of the land and in most cases have ever since remained so. It was worth parliament's while to be suspended for eleven years to obtain such a complete victory for its principles at the end of the period. The whole system of personal and despotic government by the king seemed to be destroyed. Indeed parliament had gone one step farther and introduced into the government a degree of parliamentary control which was much more of an innovation than anything which the king had done. It is hard to see how any king could now carry on the government without frequently calling parliament and without taking its advice in all the main lines of his administration. So much having been accomplished, the necessary appropriations and negotiations were carried through for satisfying the Scotch army and inducing it to leave England, and for dissolving the temporary army which the king had collected in the north. The original occasion for the calling of parliament and the most pressing grievances had alike been attended to.

390. The Grand Remonstrance. — Unfortunately matters could not stop just there. New difficulties were looming up in the

midst of all these victories of parliament. One was the fear that Charles would in some way get control of an army and forcibly dissolve parliament and reverse all its actions. The other was the fact that the burning religious questions had not yet been taken up, and as soon as they were it was practically certain that parliament itself would divide into parties instead of acting unanimously as it had done on constitutional questions. In view of the first possibility, a forcible dissolution, the leaders of parliament drew up a long document known as the "Grand Remonstrance," which they planned should be their justification in the eyes of the nation for their past actions and future plans. They hoped that by appealing to the opinion of the country they could disarm any attempts of the king to take revenge for their action in the future. The Remonstrance stated one by one with a great deal of boldness, but with a great deal of exaggeration, all the crimes and wrongdoings which could be charged to Charles since the beginning of his reign, proposed radical reforms to prevent their recurrence, and ordered the document printed and circulated among the people. It was carried only after sharp debates and even then with but a small majority.

391. The Religious Question. — In the debates connected with the Remonstrance and on many other occasions the religious question came up. The claims of the established church had been as much a source of dissatisfaction during the personal government of Charles, when acting under the advice of Laud, as any of the other matters now disposed of had been. Some corresponding action must therefore be taken upon the laws governing religion. A party composed of moderate men, who wanted only religious liberty, proposed simply that the powers of the bishops should be limited and a few reforms introduced. They were perfectly willing still to leave the general oversight of the church to the king and did not wish any fundamental changes. The strongly Puritan party, however, who had been clamoring for changes ever since Elizabeth's time, wanted episcopacy abolished

entirely and all religious questions referred for settlement to an assembly of clergymen to be appointed by parliament. It was easy to see what such an assembly would do. It would surely adopt presbyterianism, abolish the prayer book, and make the whole church of England rigidly Puritan. In the meantime, before any settled plan was adopted, attacks were made upon the bishops. The House of Commons passed an act providing for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, but the latter defeated this on the ground that each house should be left to decide on its own membership. Then the Commons impeached as traitors and placed in custody twelve of the bishops who had questioned the legality of actions taken by the House of Lords while they were absent. A petition signed by fifteen thousand citizens of London was read in parliament, asking for the abolition of episcopacy "root and branch." On the basis of this petition a bill was introduced, called the "Root and Branch Bill," providing for the entire abolition of the episcopal system, but it received much opposition and was soon withdrawn. In the country at large there was a rain of pamphlets for and against changes in the church.

392. The Irish Rebellion. — While religious questions were thus dividing parties in parliament, news suddenly came that a great rebellion had broken out in Ireland October 23, 1641. The native Irish had risen against the English and Scotch settlers in Ulster, and in fact against the whole English government of Ireland. The most terrible barbarities occurred. One story after another reached England of the slaughter of the English colonists, men, women, and children, and of their unspeakable sufferings. It was commonly believed that twenty or thirty thousand had been killed, though of course this was a greatly exaggerated estimate. A cry of vengeance for their fellow countrymen in Ireland went up from all England. This introduced a new difficulty. Parliament was no more willing than the king to see Ireland slip from the control of England, and wanted besides to punish the

Irish as Roman Catholics. An army must be raised and sent to Ireland. It would of course be in the hands of the king and would remain in his hands after the rebellion was crushed. What would prevent him from using it to dissolve parliament, after which he could withdraw the reforms which had lately been granted?

The king, anxious for revenge for the execution of Strafford, resenting the appeal to the people in the Grand Remonstrance, recognizing that parliament was not so unanimous as it had been at first, and looking forward to having an army soon at his back, began to feel that he might resist parliament and immediately took a higher tone in his intercourse with it. Thoughtful men realized that no real agreement between king and parliament had yet been reached. Although Charles had given way in the main points, disputes had been continual and bitter, and a reaction was always possible.

Charles had, moreover, obtained a weapon which he thought he could use against the leaders in parliament. He thought he had found evidence indicating that the Scotch army, when it invaded England in 1640, had actually been invited to come by Pym, Hampden, and some others who were now prominent members of parliament. This, if true, would make them guilty of treason, and he therefore took the unusual procedure of ordering the attorney-general to impeach them as traitors.

393. Attempted Seizure of the Five Members. — But the king was not willing to let the case take its ordinary course. In January, 1642, he took some five hundred armed men with him, went to the parliament house, stationed the soldiers outside, and then himself strode into the House of Commons and declared that he had come to arrest five traitors. Not seeing them he called upon the speaker to point out to him the men whose names he mentioned. No one of the privileges of parliament was more dear to its heart than its freedom from the intrusion of the king. When the king wished to address the House of Commons it was the invariable custom that he should sit on his throne in the House of Lords and

have the Commons summoned before him there. In origin this was of course a form of respect. But in the course of time the custom had served to protect the Commons from intrusion and to guarantee their independence of action.

By coming in their midst in this rough and informal way the king was therefore acting most offensively and imprudently. In answer to the king's question as to where the desired members were, the speaker, Lenthall, though he knelt before the king, boldly replied, "May it please your majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as this house is pleased to direct me." As a matter of fact the five members had learned of their probable arrest and had taken refuge in the city of London, four miles from where parliament was sitting at Westminster. Failing to find them the king remarked, "The birds have flown," and in some embarrassment hastened out of the house.

The dispute between king and parliament now became more bitter. The House of Commons moved for a few days to London, professing fear that the king was going to attack them through their leaders. Although the city now extends over such a great area that Westminster is only one part of it, they were then separate cities, four miles apart, with the village of Charing Cross halfway between them. The Thames, however, made a convenient highway on which barges were continually going to and fro. The citizens of London welcomed, supported, and encouraged parliament, and the militia of the city turned out for its protection. A few days afterwards the king also left Westminster and went northward to Yorkshire, carrying on his negotiations with parliament by letter. The queen went to France, taking with her the crown jewels, which she planned to sell in case there should be an opportunity to obtain an army by the expenditure of money.

394. The Militia. -- Both king and parliament felt that the stage of peaceful debate, and even of embittered dispute, was fast passing away, and that unless one or the other gave way entirely fighting would soon follow. As neither king nor parliament was

now likely to yield, there was nothing left but for each party to prepare for war.

There was no standing army in England. The king had a few guards, there were some hundreds of soldiers kept in garrison at four or five castles, and there was a small amount of war material stored here and there in the royal castles. But the only organized body of soldiery was the militia, or trained bands. These were much like the present militia of England or the United States. They comprised certain men who came out for awhile every year for drill and then returned to their ordinary occupations. Both houses of parliament united in passing a bill, which they could hardly have expected the king to sign, putting the control of the trained bands when called out in the hands of a general appointed by parliament. To this the king promptly and harshly refused to agree. Then the House of Lords united with the House of Commons in ordering on their own responsibility that the country should be put in a state of defense, and appointed a lord lieutenant of each county to take charge of this defense. Charles, on the other hand, with a group of armed followers rode to Hull in Yorkshire, where the arms and ammunition which had been provided for the Scottish war were stored, and demanded possession of them. The commander, Sir John Hotham, who had been placed in charge of that castle by parliament, refused to admit the king, drew up the drawbridge, and shut the gates.

Charles declared Hotham a traitor, rode southward to Nottingham, and there on August 22, 1642, in the castle yard, set up the royal standard and called on all loyal Englishmen to gather to its defense against a rebellious parliament. Parliament appointed one of the members of the House of Lords, the earl of Essex, general of its forces and proceeded to organize an army and get control of the navy.

395. The Civil War.—This was the beginning of civil war. Generally speaking the northern and western parts of the country took the side of the king, the southern and eastern the side

of parliament. If a line were drawn roughly from the mouth of the Humber River southwestward to the mouth of the Severn, most of the country to the northwest of this would be royalist, that to the southeast parliamentary. Most of the nobles, wealthier gentry, and higher churchmen were royalist, the middle classes were parliamentary. The more thinly settled districts, a few of the large residence towns, and most of the smaller country towns were in favor of the king, while London and other manufacturing and commercial towns were strongly in favor of parliament. There were of course many exceptions to these divisions. In general it may be said that the more advanced, thoughtful, and active-minded classes and localities were parliamentary, the more conservative royalist.

Something more than a majority of members of the House of Lords and a considerable number of the Commons went to join the king at Nottingham. Those who took the king's side were called "Cavaliers"; the parliamentary army were known as "Roundheads." These party names had arisen during the period of dispute while the king was still at Whitehall palace in Westminster. The courtiers in his service there were called "cavaliers," or soldiers, a term of reproach suggesting recklessness of life and manners. They in turn called the Puritan tradesmen and apprentices who made up the mobs which gathered around the parliament house "roundheads," because they wore their hair cut short instead of allowing it to fall in long curls on the neck, as was the fashion of the time among the upper classes.

The details of the war cannot of course be given here. There were many skirmishes and sieges in various parts of the country. At first the king tried to push right to London to end the war at a blow, but the hard-fought battle of Edgehill¹ and the solid front

¹ Soon after this battle Hampden was killed in a skirmish, and the same year Pym died. Falkland, one of the early reformers who had, though with much reluctance, taken the king's side, was killed at the battle of Newbury, also in the same year, 1643.

shown by the trained bands of London as they marched out from the city forced him to withdraw to Oxford and lose the best opportunity of the war.

The fighting, however, for some time went pretty steadily in favor of the king. He organized three armies, one in the north, one in the west, and one with Oxford as its headquarters. His plan was for the first two of these to advance southward and eastward to the Thames below London, cutting off its commerce, while he should with the third dash again upon the capital from the northwest. There was, however, so much besieging of parliamentary towns, fighting of parliamentary armies, and cutting through of districts held by parliamentary troops that this policy could never be thoroughly carried out, even though the royal army was usually successful in the engagements.

396. The Solemn League and Covenant. — Parliament soon entered into a treaty with the Scots, who were already on the verge of renewed rebellion. The treaty was known as the "Solemn League and Covenant," and was an agreement entered into by the Scottish and English parliaments and ordered to be sworn to by all Scotchmen and Englishmen. All those who signed it agreed to bring the religion of England, Scotland, and Ireland to the same form, which should be "according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches." Money was sent by the English parliament to Scotland, and a Scotch army was soon organized and marched southward to help the parliamentary army against the king. A "Committee of both Kingdoms" was also appointed by the two parliaments to take charge of the war.

397. Oliver Cromwell. — The result of this alliance was seen soon afterwards. In the battle of Marston Moor, fought July 2, 1644, the royalists were badly defeated by the united English and Scotch armies. The parliamentary officer who was in command of the cavalry, and who really did most to win this battle, was a man who from this time onward began to come into greater prominence, — Oliver Cromwell. He was a member of the House

of Commons, representing the town of Cambridge. He had taken an active though scarcely a leading part in all the actions by which the king had been forced to grant reforms. He had early volunteered for military duty and had organized a cavalry troop, known as the "Ironsides," which became famous for its discipline, fighting ability, and constant success. Cromwell had next been made second in command of a portion of the parliamentary army formed by a group of the eastern counties, known as the "Eastern Association." He was an earnest Puritan and drew men into his regiment who were equally religious and earnest. He believed the only way to meet the spirit and courage of the gentry in the king's army was to awaken religious enthusiasm and extend religious discipline among the men fighting on the parliament's side. At Marston Moor, after defeating with his cavalry those immediately opposed to him, he wheeled around and attacked the remaining part of the king's forces on the flank, threw them into confusion, and won the first important parliamentary victory.

398. Presbyterianism. — By the summer of 1644, although the tide of war seemed to be turning in favor of parliament, the majority of that body and many of the leaders of its army were beginning to lose their interest in the struggle and to look forward to some kind of a compromise with the king. This was due to the course of religious change. Parliament had carried out its plan of calling an assembly of Puritan clergymen to meet at Westminster whose duty it should be to draw up regulations for the form of government, ceremonies, and doctrines of the English church. During its deliberations the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into with Scotland and went far to pledge the English parliament to introduce presbyterianism. The Westminster Assembly declared against episcopacy, and soon an ordinance¹

¹ As the king would not now sign any bills passed by parliament, they could not properly be called laws. The term "ordinances" was therefore applied to resolutions carried through both houses of parliament and put into force by their authority alone, without the king's signature.

was passed by the two houses of parliament making the English church presbyterian in its organization.

There were no longer any bishops. Each minister had much power over his own congregation, though a still higher power rested in the presbytery or organization of the ministers and elders of each district, and all were alike subject to the General Assembly of the church. The doctrines of the church were drawn up in the form of the Westminster Confession, still the rule of faith in Presbyterian churches. The services and ceremonies were made much simpler than they had been. The use of the book of common prayer was forbidden and a book of general directions for church worship issued. Altars and communion rails were removed from the churches, images and crucifixes destroyed, and such of the stained glass and other mediæval religious monuments as had not already been destroyed by the religious fanatics of the early Reformation were now sacrificed almost without exception.

399. The Independents. — But in all this there was no religious freedom or toleration. It simply established the Presbyterian organization and doctrine in place of the regulations of the old established church as Laud had enforced them. Presbyteries took the place of the bishops; the Assembly took the place of the king and High Commission. One party of the Puritans and of parliament had imposed their system upon all others, whether the latter agreed with them or not.

Those who did not agree with them were scarcely in a minority, for it was a time when men were coming to have many different beliefs in religious matters. This was the period when the foundations of the later religious sects — Baptists, Quakers, Unitarians, and others — were being laid. The belief was growing that religion was not a matter on which men's minds should be forced. "Brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason," said Cromwell. Milton pleaded for toleration in religious belief. Many men claimed the right to be bound to no religious belief at all. As one soldier said, "If I

should worship the sun or moon, like the Persians, or the pewter pot on the table, nobody has anything to do with it."

There was no more hope for such liberty of conscience under presbyterianism than under episcopacy or under the papacy. Those who wished this liberty saw no way of attaining it except to allow each congregation to organize itself as it saw fit. They were therefore called "Independents." To independency were attracted not only those men whose broad views were repelled by the idea of religious compulsion, but many of the officers of the army, who, like Cromwell, wished to use and promote a good soldier no matter what his religious beliefs might be.

400. The New Model Army. — The two branches of the Puritans, Presbyterians and Independents, were therefore as much in opposition to each other as churchmen and Puritans had formerly been. Moreover, the Presbyterians had obtained all the political and religious reforms they wanted, and they thought the king might be induced to acknowledge the system which had now been introduced. They dreaded, besides, the growing power and claims of the Independents. They had become a conservative party, and they were anxious to bring the war to an end and to come to terms with the king. Several of the higher officers of the army belonged to this party and did not want to push the king too hard or to subject him to any further defeat. The Presbyterians were therefore a peace party.

The Independents, on the other hand, were a war party. They were not content to rest under Presbyterian domination in church matters and felt that in political matters the work was only half done, — that no terms could be safely made with Charles so long as he had an army in the field. They wished to continue the war until the king was completely defeated. To this party Cromwell belonged, and he complained bitterly of the inactivity of the older parliamentary generals. There were enough men of the same opinion in parliament to carry out a change. By their efforts a new army was constructed, called the "New Model," to take

the place of the existing parliamentary army. It was somewhat smaller than the old army, but was more completely under the control of parliament, more regularly paid, and better equipped. A change of officers was brought about by the passage of the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which every member of either house must within forty days lay down any military command which he held. The old officers resigned and were thanked by parliament for their services. Sir Thomas Fairfax became commander in chief, and within a short time, notwithstanding his membership in parliament, Cromwell was made second in command with the title "Lieutenant General."



Wooden Figure of an
Officer of Infantry
of the New Model
Army

401. Defeat of the King at Naseby. — Independents were more numerous in the New Model army and it was filled with a new vigor and enterprise. It soon showed what it could do. After a number of minor engagements a great battle was fought at Naseby, June 14, 1645. The king's army was scattered and the king himself driven into flight accompanied only by a small body of horsemen. Cromwell again had the principal part in the victory. Almost as injurious to the king as the loss of the battle was the capture by the parliamentary army of his private cabinet containing copies

of the letters he had recently written to the queen. These showed that while negotiating with parliament he was planning to bring a foreign army into England, and that no promises which he had made could be depended upon. The war went on for some months longer, but it all went one way now. In almost every battle the New Model army was victorious; one after another they captured the castles, forts, and fortified country houses held for the king, till there was no organized royalist army in the field, and Charles

at his headquarters in Oxford had no choice but to surrender in some form. He chose to give himself up to the Scotch army, and rode into their lines in May, 1646. Soon afterwards the Scots handed the king over to commissioners representing the English parliament, by whose order he was held in honorable imprisonment at Holmby House, Northamptonshire. The Scotch army had its expenses paid by the English parliament and marched back to Scotland.

402. Negotiations with the King.—From the time of Charles's surrender a continuous series of negotiations was carried on between the king and parliament. Plan after plan was proposed by one side or the other, according to which the king should be restored to the throne and guarantees be given for the Presbyterian organization of the church and the liberties of parliament. But one after another the plans were refused either by the king or parliament. As a matter of fact Charles was always hoping that something would turn up to prevent the necessity for his giving way. He entered into various secret negotiations with the Scots, the Irish, the French, and others, and at the very time he professed to be negotiating with parliament as to a plan for reëstablishing the government he was arranging to bring in a foreign army to overthrow it.

Charles had never been a man on whose public faith any reliance could be placed. At the very outset of his reign he had broken the promises of his marriage treaty with the French. When he signed the Petition of Right he had not intended to keep it. When he signed the bill providing that parliament should not be dissolved except by its own consent he intended to dissolve it by force as soon as he got an army. The duplicity of his nature was made more evident by the disclosures of the cabinet captured at Naseby. The full untrustworthiness of his character came out still more strongly in these negotiations, and it seemed impossible to bind him by any conditions which he would be likely to keep.

403. The Second Civil War. — During these discussions the hostility between the Presbyterians and the Independents was approaching a culmination. The former had a majority in parliament, the latter in the army. The Presbyterian majority in parliament were willing to agree to almost any terms with the king in order to preserve the settlement which they thought they had reached. They dreaded the Independents more than they did the king. The Independents in parliament and in the army, on the other hand, had not yet gained the liberty of conscience which they wanted, and were not willing to see the king put back into power with so little restriction. Many of them also were men who had risen lately from lower positions and had ideas of more democratic government than the more aristocratic Presbyterians who made up the majority in parliament. The officers of the army met in a council and discussed all these questions, and even the common soldiers elected representatives from each company, known as "agitators" or agents, who met and consulted on things of interest to the army. Parliament and the army were therefore in fatal opposition.

The war being over, parliament tried to disband the army, but would not pay the soldiers the arrears of their wages and refused to pass an act of indemnity freeing them from prosecution for acts done in war time. The army therefore, June 4, 1647, refused to be disbanded, and issued a declaration of its intention to hold together until a permanent peace and satisfactory settlement of the government should be reached. Cromwell during this time occupied a midway position. He was a member of parliament and at the same time the idolized general of the army. He tried his best to arrange terms which would satisfy king, parliament, and army, but in vain. The army became so suspicious of parliament that a detachment of troops was sent to take Charles from the possession of the parliamentary commissioners and retain him in the custody of the army. He was kept successively at Newmarket, Hampton Court, Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, and other

places. The army then sent to parliament a complaint against eleven of its most prominent members on the Presbyterian side, and at the same time dispatched a body of troops to Westminster and London, nominally to keep order. The accused members fled to the continent. In June and July, 1648, feeling became so intense that risings in favor of the king took place in Kent, Essex, Surrey, Wales, and Scotland, and Cromwell and his generals had, after two years of peace, a second civil war on their hands. A series of short campaigns by the veteran army, however, soon put down these risings.

404. Pride's Purge.—When parliament still continued to negotiate with the king, and actually passed a resolution of reconciliation with him, the army finally lost all patience. General Cromwell and the other leading officers who were in the vicinity rode into London, December 6, 1648, and a body of soldiers under a colonel named Pride was stationed at the door and kept out all members of the House of Commons who were known to be favorable to the king. This act, by which one hundred and forty-three Presbyterian members were excluded, is usually described as "Pride's Purge," and of course resulted in the Independents having a majority in the House of Commons. The lords had long ceased to exert any great influence on proceedings. This remnant of the Long Parliament, known as the "Rump,"¹ was no more humble because of its reduced numbers and dependence on the army. Within a month its Independent majority declared themselves to be the supreme power in England, since they had been elected by and represented the people.

405. The Trial and Execution of the King.—They proceeded to appoint a "High Court of Justice," consisting of one hundred and thirty-five men, to try the king for high treason to the nation. Many of these refused to serve, but some sixty attended in Westminster Hall and the king was there brought to trial. He refused to plead, on the ground that no court could try the

¹ Because it was the "sitting part" of parliament.

king. Nevertheless, after some days of formal testimony and discussion he was declared guilty of being a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation," and ordered to be executed. On January 30, 1649, he was led through a window of his palace of Whitehall to the scaffold and there in the sight of the people beheaded. The House of Commons and the High Court of Justice, in their condemnation and execution of the king, clung to the forms of law wherever they were able, and strove to give to the whole occurrence the appearance of



Westminster Hall, where Charles I was tried

legality ; but their action was in reality a part of the war. The forms which they followed so scrupulously were never intended to be used for any such purpose, and what the leaders were doing was justifiable, if at all, not because the king

was guilty of treason but because the period was one of revolution and his removal was, perhaps, one of the necessary and unavoidable steps of the revolution.

406. Feeling in Favor of Charles. — To many, probably to most persons in England, however, the beheading of the king by warrant of the House of Commons seemed mere murder. Through all these later days Charles had behaved with dignity and courage. As his fortunes went down his personal demeanor rose. The good points of his character — his courage, his self-control, his religious faith, his purity of life, his devotion to his family and intimate friends — now showed themselves more clearly.

while the weak points of his nature — his ignorance and obstinacy, his duplicity and untrustworthiness — were no longer prominent. A contemporary poet wrote of the death of Charles :

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed.

Shortly after the execution there appeared a book called *Eikon Basilike*,¹ which professed to contain the pious soliloquies of the king during his last few days. The tone of resignation and confidence in the justice of his cause shown in this book likewise tended to raise the king in the people's estimation. Scarcely, therefore, had Charles been put to death before a revulsion of feeling set in, and a vast number of people who in the king's lifetime had made but languid efforts for his support now mourned for him, regretted his defeat and death, and dreaded the punishment of God for their national sin in allowing his execution. A glorified ideal of Charles grew up, now that he was gone, which was very different from the unwise, untrustworthy, and unloved king who had really lived and reigned. He had a party following after his death far more numerous and devoted than he had ever had during his lifetime. His eldest son Prince Charles, who was then a fugitive, was acknowledged by many in their hearts as the rightful holder of the crown, and hailed by his personal companions as Charles II. Long afterwards, when the Restoration gave him actual possession of the throne, his reign was officially dated as beginning on the day of his father's execution.

407. The Commonwealth. — Whatever might be the feeling of the majority of the nation, there was no weakening among the men who had led in the war against the king and the moderate party. The sixty members of the House of Commons who still held their seats considered themselves the sole representatives of

¹ Greek for *The King's Image*.

the people of England, since they alone had been chosen in regular elections, and continued to call themselves the parliament. They acted usually without consulting the House of Lords, and quietly ignored even the wishes of the army expressed in a document laid before them by the council of officers. This proposal, called the "Agreement of the People," had been drawn up by the more radical officers and the common soldiers, and provided for a reorganization of the government and the army on a completely democratic basis. The more practical men of the army, like Cromwell, only partially approved of this scheme, and relying on their support the Rump Parliament followed its own plans without either accepting or rejecting the Agreement of the People.

It appointed a council of state, consisting of forty-one persons, to exercise executive functions. Then the Commons abolished the office of king and the House of Lords, declaring the latter to be "useless and dangerous." England was thus made a republic, and on May 19, 1649, parliament declared "the people of England to be a Commonwealth and Free State, by the supreme authority of this nation."¹ Back of the council of state and parliament in this new government was the army, now a veteran and ever-victorious body, under its general Fairfax and its lieutenant general Cromwell. The army still took great interest and part in political affairs through the organization of its officers and the representatives of the privates, and for the present at least was tolerably well satisfied with the Commonwealth as a form of government. Fairfax and Cromwell were made members of the council of state and served as a bond between parliament and army.

¹ The events here described can perhaps be made more clear by dividing them into the following periods :

1629-1640, Personal Government of Charles I.

1640-1642, Reforming Period of the Long Parliament.

1642-1649, the Civil War.

1649-1653, the Commonwealth.

1653-1660, the Protectorate.

408. Conquest of Ireland and Scotland. — The Commonwealth proved to be a vigorous and warlike government. On the execution of the king Ireland declared for Charles II, and Catholics and royalist Protestants combined to drive out the representatives of parliament. An army was sent over in August, 1649, and Ireland was soon more thoroughly conquered than it had ever been before. Cromwell, and after his return to England in 1650, his son-in-law, Ireton, who succeeded to the command, carried their troops through every part of the island, captured cities, battered



Seal of the Commonwealth, 1651, showing England and Ireland, and Parliament

down castles, and confiscated the lands of rebels, Catholics, and native Irish. By 1652 Ireland was completely in the power of the Commonwealth.

In 1650 Scotland also acknowledged Prince Charles when he came there and agreed to accept the presbyterian system. Parliament ordered the main part of the army to Scotland, and when Fairfax refused to go, on the ground that the Scots had a right to take Charles for their king if they wanted to, displaced him and made Cromwell general of the whole army. In September, 1650, he defeated one Scottish army at Dunbar and captured Edinburgh. A year later another Scotch army was formed, with which Charles pushed into England, hoping for a royalist rising. Cromwell

hastened after them, and September 3, 1651, the anniversary of Dunbar, overtook and crushed them at Worcester. The military power of the Commonwealth was now complete. No armed resistance within the British Isles was any longer possible.

409. The Navigation Acts and the Dutch War.—Outside of England, however, a warlike struggle was drawing on and could no longer be avoided. England and Holland were both rising commercial nations. English merchants since the time of Elizabeth had been pushing their commerce into every part of the world, but everywhere they went they found the Dutch just ahead of them. The enterprise and capital of the Dutch merchants, the skill of Dutch shipbuilders and sailors, the support given to commercial ventures by the government of the Netherlands since they had won their independence from Spain had made them the most successful traders of Europe. On the continent, in the East Indies, in America, and even in England itself, English merchants had to meet the competition of the Dutch, and as a result disputes between the merchants and between the two governments were constant. These included political as well as trade disputes. The council of state, for instance, tried to force the Dutch government to expel Prince Charles, who was living in Holland in exile, but they were repulsed and protection was still extended to the prince.

In 1651 the English government determined to drive the Dutch merchants from that one field of commerce over which it had entire control. This was the carrying trade¹ between England and

¹ The carrying trade is the business of taking cargoes from one foreign port to another for hire. Dutch vessels, for instance, took goods from the East or West Indies or from German, French, and Italian ports to England, and then took English goods to these or other countries, just as a modern "tramp steamer" seeks a cargo wherever it can be obtained and takes it to whatever port it may be consigned to. Vessels engaged in exporting the products of their own country and importing goods into their own country from abroad are not spoken of as in the carrying trade, but as in the export and import trade.

other countries. Parliament therefore passed in that year a law which has since been known as the first of the "Navigation Acts."

According to this law, goods from Asia, Africa, or America could be brought into England and its possessions only in vessels owned and manned by Englishmen. Goods from the continent of Europe could be brought into England only in vessels belonging to the country in which the goods were produced. This left to the Dutch, so far as England was concerned, only the trade in the few products of their own country which were in demand in England or her colonies, depriving them of the profitable business of bringing goods from distant parts of the world or from other European countries to England. The Dutch government protested against this law, and the old disputes became at the same time so much more bitter that in 1652 war was declared between the two nations. A naval struggle followed in which successive battles were waged in the Channel and the North Sea, resulting mainly in favor of the English. In this naval war Blake, one of the old parliamentary generals, though he had probably never been at sea till after he was fifty years old, proved himself an even abler naval than a military commander. After two years of war a treaty was signed in 1654 by which Holland agreed to recognize the Navigation Act and to show proper marks of respect to English vessels when they were met near the English coasts.

410. Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell. — Notwithstanding the military and naval successes of the Commonwealth, parliament was exceedingly unpopular. In 1653 the Long Parliament had been sitting for thirteen years without reëlection, and there was a widespread feeling that it should now dissolve itself and allow new elections to take place. This desire was especially strong in the army, and Cromwell and other officers frequently urged parliament to give way to new men. Its members were, however, unwilling to dissolve. They believed, and rightly, that a freely elected parliament would immediately call in Charles II and that the work of the last ten years would be undone.

If the republic was to be maintained, some control must be exercised over the choice of new members. No satisfactory plan was settled upon, and in the course of the discussions there were frequent disputes between parliament and the officers of the army almost as bitter as in the old days when there was a Presbyterian majority in parliament hostile to the army.

By this time Oliver Cromwell had become far the most prominent and influential man in England. His progress from an unnoticed member of parliament and a mere colonel of a cavalry



Oliver Cromwell

regiment up to the leadership in the army and in the council of state has been described. His character and abilities were such as inevitably to transform this leadership into actual rule. Cromwell was tall and impressive in demeanor, with a countenance rugged but of great dignity. He was fond of hunting and other vigorous exercises, but no less fond of music, art, and learning. His religious nature was deep and sincere. He had an overwhelming sense of personal responsibility and of God's part in all the events of daily life.

Each step that he took he believed he was taking because he was required to do so by religious duty. His gifts of mind were great. In military matters he showed real genius and seldom made a mistake. In statesmanship he was somewhat slow and unimaginative but clear-sighted and determined. He was liberal-minded, inclined to toleration, and on the whole kindly. He had all the powers of mind which the Stuart sovereigns lacked, and if he had been born a king, instead of being drawn step by step into the position of a revolutionary despot, he might have guided England happily through the crisis of the seventeenth century.

Instead of this it was his unfortunate destiny to destroy the last trace of legality in the existing government. Cromwell's mind was above all practical. He had come to the conclusion that the remaining members of the Long Parliament were incompetent and obstinately determined to retain their position and power. When, therefore, he was informed one morning that they were about to pass a bill for the perpetuation of their own membership in the next parliament he lost patience, and, taking some troops with him as far as the lobby of the parliament house, went into the session. After listening for some time to the debate, he rose, made some remarks on the subject, then began to complain of the members, and with rising excitement stamped on the floor, called in the soldiers, and drove the members out. He ordered the mace to be removed by one of the soldiers, saying, "What shall we do with this bauble? There, take it away." He then ordered the door to be locked, put the key into his pocket, and went back to the palace of Whitehall, which as general of the army he was now occupying. The council of state was declared by Cromwell to be dissolved.

411. The Little Parliament. — There was very little left now in the nature of government. King, House of Lords, House of Commons had all been destroyed. There was no authority left but that of the army, represented by its officers and especially by Cromwell, who was in supreme command of all the military forces. Cromwell did not wish to be a dictator. He only wished that government should be carried on wisely and efficiently. With a provisional council of state, therefore, appointed by himself, he undertook to draw up a list of men who should fill the place of parliament. Nominations were asked for from the Independent ministers throughout the country, and one hundred and twenty-nine men, known for their religious activity and their prominence in the contest with the king and the moderate party, were selected and given commissions signed by Cromwell. They met a few weeks after the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

This assembly is often called the "Little Parliament," or the "Nominated Parliament." The fanciful name of one of the members from London led to its being called at the time "Praise-God Barebone's Parliament." The experiment was not a success. Cromwell and the officers tried to keep in the background and leave government to the new assembly. But its inexperienced and unpractical members introduced radical reforms and changes in all directions when the great need of the hour was some degree of stability and cessation of change. They aroused discontent and distrust everywhere. Among their number and in the army and community were all kinds of fanatics and extremists who urged them on. The general break-up of old ways had given origin to a great number and variety of religious sects, some moderate and reasonable, others of the most extravagant character. The beginnings of the Baptists, Quakers, and Unitarians were, as has been said, in this period; but there were also "Fifth Monarchy Men," who believed that the biblical prophecy of the reign of the saints was about to be fulfilled and that they were the saints; "Levellers," who wished to institute a system of absolute equality in property and political position; "Muggletonians," "Familists," and other curious sects. Jews were now readmitted to England.

The actual reforms of the Nominated Parliament were not extreme, but there was a constant dread of their becoming so. A large part of their own number became convinced that they could not carry on the government. These men at an early morning session on December 11, 1653, carried a resolution dissolving their assembly and putting their authority in the hands of the lord general, Oliver Cromwell, whom they looked upon as the representative of power, order, and practical moderation.

412. The Protectorate. — Again there was no government in England but that of the general with the army at his back. The higher officers with his agreement now drew up a written constitution for England, known as the "Instrument of Government." It gave the principal power to a lord protector, who was of course

to be Cromwell himself. He was to be aided and at the same time restrained by a council, and a parliament was to meet once in every three years. All adherents of the late king were to be excluded from voting and from membership in parliament. In December, 1653, there was a ceremony in which Cromwell was placed in a chair of state and invited to take the office of "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." Oaths were taken and given, and from this time forward much the same ceremony was observed towards him as had been shown toward the king. He called himself "Oliver" in all state papers and was king in all but name.¹ Two years later he was

asked by parliament to take the title of king but he refused. In fact his real powers were more than those of a king. He was a dictator with a powerful and devoted army at



Seal of the Protectorate, 1653, showing Arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and Oliver Cromwell

his disposal. However much he may have wanted to restore the power of parliament and of the people, he could not do so in the confused circumstances of the time without withdrawing from affairs altogether. This he would have felt to be a mere abandonment of duty, since he believed in all sincerity that he was called and chosen by God for the work in which he was engaged. For the remaining five years of his life he was the real ruler of England. No government of England was possible just then but

¹ "Noll" and "Old Noll" were nicknames commonly applied to Oliver by the royalists. "Crummel" was the popular pronunciation of his name, as in the line,

Oh for an hour of Crummel and the Lord.

the government of some one man. The struggle of the Long Parliament with the king had developed into a great military conflict in which power necessarily came into the hands of the strongest party. This party was the army, and Oliver was the soul and representative of the army.

413. Policy of the Protectorate. — In foreign affairs the ensuing years formed a period of greatness and brilliant success for England. Cromwell made treaties with the Dutch and the French, gaining advantages which neither James nor Charles had been able to secure. He forced the French government to spare the Protestants in Savoy, and secured protection and indemnity for English merchants in the Mediterranean. The English fleet became as famous and as successful as the army. He made war on Spain and the army gained some victories in Europe, while the fleet captured the silver vessels from America, destroyed a Spanish fleet, and seized Jamaica in the West Indies.

In England itself, however, there was constant trouble. The Protector had frequent quarrels with his parliaments. There was much opposition to him both from those who favored the king and the old church and from those who wished to introduce a more democratic government and still further religious changes. More than one plot to murder him was discovered. There was also difficulty in raising enough money for the expenses of the government now that the country was at war again. To meet these difficulties the Protector divided England into eleven military districts, at the head of each of which was placed a major general with almost arbitrary powers. In the intervals of the sitting of parliament, taxation was imposed by the mere will of the Protector and council, and collected by the major generals. Thus the country was under what was practically a military government, which has always been the most hated of all forms of government. Notwithstanding the liberal sentiments of Cromwell, the party which had brought him into power was a rigidly Puritan party, which insisted on ascetic religious customs that bore hardly on

the great number of the people. Earnest, therefore, as were the efforts and desires of Cromwell and his supporters to give England a good and acceptable government, the hearts of the people turned more and more back to the old ways, and it became clearer and clearer that the task undertaken by them was a hopeless one.

In the summer of 1658 Oliver sickened and died. He was saddened by the apparent failure of his work, by the troubles hanging over his country, and by losses in his own family circle. His strong religious nature showed itself on his deathbed as at all other periods of his life. In one of his last prayers he implored favor for the people in these words: "Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Pardon such a desire to trample on the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen."

Cromwell was a sincere and devoted laborer for the good of the people. His high position and great powers were forced upon him by the necessities of the time. He was one of the greatest men in English history and one of the greatest military commanders in all history. His funeral took place with great pomp and all the ceremonies usually reserved for royalty. He was buried in Westminster Abbey in the presence of the highest nobles and the representatives of foreign governments.

414. End of the Protectorate. — If Oliver Cromwell could with difficulty fill the office of Protector, it was hardly likely that any one else would be more successful. Certainly his son Richard, who by his appointment succeeded him, was not able to do so. He was neither a Puritan nor a soldier, and after less than a year, which was constantly filled with disputes with the army, he found his position untenable and abdicated. The Protectorate now

practically came to an end and the officers of the army invited the survivors of the Long Parliament to come together again.

There were a few months more of confusion till parliament, under pressure from General Monk, head of one division of the army, at last agreed to dissolve itself and to leave the destinies of England to a new parliament to be freely elected in its place.

415. Summary of the Period 1640-1660. — Thus the Long Parliament—which had been called by Charles in 1640, had declared war against him in 1642, put him to death in 1649, been itself ejected by Cromwell in 1653, and again restored by the army in 1659—came at last in 1660 to an end, according to the act passed in its first year, by its own consent. It had begun as a reforming body and within the first year and a half of its existence had changed the system of absolute government of the Tudors and Stuarts to a strictly limited monarchy. But this period of reform had been followed by civil war, by the formation of a republic, and finally by its own overthrow and the military rule of Cromwell and the army. Now every one knew that the new parliament would call back the king. The period of the Commonwealth had been a time of great deeds, high ideals, and strong feelings, but they had led to no permanent and satisfactory settlement of the form of government. The nation was tired and sick of military rule and of political change. The people wanted to be ruled by civil authority and they wanted a settled government. They longed to return to the old established ways and institutions that had existed before the feverish excitement and rapid changes of the civil war and the Commonwealth.

General Reading. — Most of this period is covered in full by GARDINER, *History of England from 1603 to 1642*, vols. 9 and 10; *History of the Great Civil War*, 4 vols.; and *History of the Commonwealth*, 3 vols. His volume *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution* (Epochs of History) is the best short work on the period. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. viii, sects. 6-10. Three admirable histories of the civil war and the Commonwealth, MORLEY, *Cromwell*; ROOSEVELT, *Cromwell*; and FIRTH, *Cromwell* (Heroes

of the Nations), are given in the form of biographies. FIRTH, *Cromwell's Army*, is a very interesting book. MACAULAY, *Milton*. GARDINER, *Cromwell's Place in History*.

Contemporary Sources. — The documents are very fully given in GARDINER, *Select Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660*; and almost equally so in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, Nos. 195-220. KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 76-89, includes a number of interesting extracts from contemporary writers. CARLYLE, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, is a standard work of great importance. *Evelyn's Diary* is a valuable record of a contemporary royalist. The following numbers of the *Old South Leaflets* are valuable illustrations for this period: No. 24, *The Grand Remonstrance*; No. 26, *The Agreement of the People*; No. 27, *The Instrument of Government*; No. 61, *Pym's Speech against Strafford*; Nos. 28 and 62, *Two Speeches by Cromwell*; No. 63, MILTON, *A Free Commonwealth*. HENDERSON, *Sidelights on English History*, contains much that is useful here, but is large and expensive. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 280-307.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *Legend of Montrose and Woodstock*; SHORTHOUSE, *John Inglesant*; Mrs. CHARLES, *The Draytons and Davenants*; AYTOUN, *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*; and BROWNING, *Strafford*, are fair illustrations of the times.

Special Topics. — (1) The Trial of Charles, LEE, *Source-Book of English History*, Nos. 160-163; (2) the Character of Strafford, ROBERT BROWNING, *Strafford*; (3) Cavalier and Puritan Poetry, Miss BAKER and Miss COWAN, *English History told by English Poets*, pp. 317-340; (4) the Trial and Execution of Strafford, GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, chap. viii, sect. 6; (5) the Early Career of Cromwell, *ibid.*, sect. 7; (6) the Expulsion of the Long Parliament by Cromwell, *ibid.*, sect. 8; (7) the Two Parties in the Civil War, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. IV, pp. 218-226; (8) the Military Equipment for the Civil War, *ibid.*, pp. 226-239; (9) Women in the Civil War, *ibid.*, pp. 315-320; (10) the New Sects of the Commonwealth Period, GOOCH, *Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 1660-1689

416. **The Declaration of Breda.** — Five days after the new parliament met it received a message from Charles, commonly called the “Declaration of Breda,” because he had signed it at Breda in Holland, where he was in exile. In this declaration Charles offered a general pardon to all those who had taken part in the rebellion, except such as should be specially exempted from pardon by parliament. He also agreed not to disturb the owners of estates confiscated from royalists, to approve the payment of the arrears of wages owed to the soldiers, and to consent to any bill which parliament was willing to pass in favor of liberty of conscience. By his voluntary acknowledgment of parliamentary powers Charles showed that he had given up his father’s claim to rule without parliament.

The declaration was received with universal gratification, and a resolution was passed the same day, May 1, 1660, declaring that “according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons.” If this were so, the sooner the king came back to take part in the government the better. Three weeks afterwards Charles II landed at Dover and hastened to London amidst general expressions of welcome. He took up his residence at Whitehall palace, swore to observe the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, and other important statutes, and gave legal sanction to the existing parliament,¹ which had been elected on the summons only of the preceding parliament, not of the king.

¹ Such a parliament is called a “convention.”

The new king was just thirty years of age. He was active, handsome, and witty. He was quicker and more farseeing than his father. On the other hand, he was indolent, pleasure-loving, and selfish. He had not his father's sense of duty or his willingness to make sacrifices for what he thought right. Therefore, although he might try to outwit or deceive or neglect parliament, if a contest should arise he would be pretty sure to give way where his father would have fought to the bitter end. Charles is reported to have said that whatever happened he would not go on his travels again, which could only mean that in a trial of strength with parliament he would always give way rather than carry things to their last extremity. There were better reasons for the moderation of Charles II than mere indolence. Although the Commonwealth had fallen, yet no one could ever afterwards forget that a king had been resisted, conquered, deposed, and executed. Experience had proved that, in a final test of strength, power was in the hands of parliament.



Charles II

417. The Action of Parliament. — The Declaration of Breda had mentioned four points, — confiscated estates, the army, amnesty, and religion. Parliament settled the first three of these promptly. Estates which had been actually confiscated from the king and the church were returned, but the lands which royalists had been forced to sell by the harsh laws of the Commonwealth were confirmed to their new purchasers. Many of those who had stood by the king through all his ill fortune were bitterly disappointed at not regaining their land now that Charles had returned to his own.

Money was appropriated for the payment of the wages of the soldiers, and the army was then disbanded. The return of these soldiers of the New Model quietly to their homes, after fifteen

years of victory and power, shows of what stuff it was made. This was an age when armies were often merely licensed plunderers, and to disband an army meant to let loose on the land thousands of desperate men. Yet Oliver's soldiers were soon absorbed again into the community and known only as good tradesmen, artisans, or farmers.

An act of indemnity or pardon for recent occurrences was passed, but with a long list of exceptions. Many men not included in the general pardon were forced to go into exile for the rest of their lives. Others were fined and imprisoned, and thirteen "regicides," as those were called who had sat upon the High Court of Justice and voted for the death of Charles, were hanged, drawn, and quartered with all the old barbarous accompaniments of death for treason. The same punishment was also inflicted upon Sir Harry Vane, who was not a regicide but had been an influential member of the Long Parliament through its whole career. An unworthy revenge followed upon even those great men of the Commonwealth who were already dead at the time of the Restoration. The bodies of the great Protector, Ireton, his second in command in the army, and Bradshaw, the president of the High Court of Justice, all of whom had been buried in Westminster Abbey, were dug up, hung in their shrouds, and then thrown into a pit outside the abbey. The bodies of Pym, the great orator, Blake, the great naval commander, and others were likewise removed from the abbey and thrown into the same pit.

Some of the old subjects of quarrel between king and parliament were now settled by abolishing all feudal payments owed to the king. To make up for this royal loss of revenue a new tax was laid on malt and some other articles of common use, which with tonnage and poundage gave a sufficient income to the king for all the usual needs of government. The abolition of feudal tenures was to the special advantage of the large landowners who were represented in parliament. They freed themselves in this way from old and vexatious payments to the crown, while the

new tax was paid not especially by them but by all classes of the people.

The religious question was a more difficult one, and, notwithstanding the king's offer of toleration, was brought no nearer settlement than it had been before. The Convention Parliament represented those who had suffered from the heavy hand of the Puritan parliament and the Puritan army. Therefore although many of them, perhaps a majority, were Presbyterians, yet they were so anxious to prevent a return to the excesses of the Commonwealth that they were afraid to stand out for religious reforms. At first they advocated a plan by which there should be bishops with powers much limited by the clergy of the diocese. When the Anglicans opposed this they gave way, followed the guidance of the Cavaliers, and allowed them to bring back episcopacy and the prayer book.

The next parliament, known as the "Cavalier Parliament," which met in 1661, having been elected during the excitement of the Restoration, was even more opposed to everything like Puritanism or toleration of different sects in the church.

Various efforts were made outside of parliament to reach a settlement of the church which would satisfy both Puritans and high churchmen. A conference between certain bishops and some of the Presbyterian ministers was held at the Savoy palace, similar to that held before James at Hampton Court. Compromises were discussed but no agreement could be reached. The king, who felt attached to the Roman Catholic church and later became secretly a member of it, was in favor of general toleration for all alike, whether Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or members of the new sects. This proposal, because it included the sects, was hateful to Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and because it included Roman Catholics was hateful to all except the few members of that body. All plans failed one after another, the majority in parliament was given its way, and the church was reëstablished in its old form.

418. **The Dissenters.** — In 1661 appointments were made to all the old bishoprics, and in 1662 an act of uniformity was passed, requiring every clergyman and every schoolmaster to express immediately his full consent to everything contained in the prayer book. About two thousand ministers resigned their positions rather than agree to this requirement. These were mostly Presbyterians. They and the congregations who wished to worship with them were thus placed in a position practically the same as the Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and other new sects. They all came, therefore, to be known alike as “Dissenters,” that is to say, such as dissented from the established church. The Dissenters would have been satisfied if they had been allowed to form congregations and carry on worship in their own way, even if they did not have the use of the parish churches or receive tithes for the support of their clergy. But even this was not allowed. Parliament was afraid to allow the formation of new congregations for fear the Dissenters, influenced by their ministers, might try to reintroduce the Commonwealth. In 1664, therefore, the “Conventicle Act” was passed, which punished any one attending a conventicle¹ with penalties increasing with each repetition of the offense, till in case of a fourth repetition the offender was transported to endure seven years’ servitude in the West Indies. The next year, 1665, still another step was taken in the same direction by the passage of the “Five-Mile Act.” This prohibited the ministers who had lately been turned out of the parish churches from coming within five miles of any place where they had formerly preached, or of any large town, unless they would take an oath declaring that it was not lawful under any circumstances to take up arms against the king, and would renounce the Solemn League and Covenant.

¹ A conventicle was a gathering for religious worship not in conformity with the law. According to this statute it was a gathering where more than four persons outside of a household were present, and where some other form of service than that of the prayer book was used.

Another act passed in 1661 led to the repression of the Dissenters by more indirect means. This was what was called the "Corporation Act."¹ According to its provisions all who held office in any city or town were obliged to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant taken in 1643; to swear that it was unlawful to bear arms against the king; and to attend the sacrament of communion as it was given with the rites of the established church of England. This put the government of all the towns in the hands of church of England men. Since in many of the towns the corporation elected the representatives of the town in the House of Commons, this also served the purpose of excluding Dissenters from future parliaments.²

The church of England in its old form was now rapidly regaining its former power. It was powerful not because it was upheld by the king and his ecclesiastical advisers, as under Elizabeth, James, and Charles, but because it stood midway between the Dissenters on the one hand and the Roman Catholics on the other. The first of these groups, the Dissenters of various sects, were so numerous and had been so closely connected with the rebellion that they were dreaded by moderate men as revolutionists and extremists. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, were so few that the widespread fear lest they should get back into power and make England again a Catholic country as we look back upon it now seems to have been childish and unreasonable. No one could have believed it probable that the great mass of the English people would ever again become Roman Catholics.

¹ The word *corporation* as used in England means the government of a town or city; the body of regularly organized members of a council; aldermen, or whatever other name they are known by in each particular case.

² The four laws which have been here described, sometimes called the "Clarendon Code," namely, the Corporation Act of 1661, the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the Conventicle Act of 1664, and the Five-Mile Act of 1665, deprived Presbyterians, Independents, and several other religious bodies of their hard-won privileges and brought them all again under the control of the established church.

There were, however, two reasons why the people might fear the restoration of "popery," as Roman Catholicism was then usually called in England. One of these was the attitude of the king, who certainly favored the Roman Catholics; the other was the danger from the great Roman Catholic governments on the continent, which might at any time send their armies to the help of their English co-religionists.

419. The Declarations of Indulgence.—Early in his reign Charles had issued a declaration stating that the laws forbidding any other worship than that of the established church would not be enforced and that for the time no one would be disturbed in his worship if it was peaceable and without public scandal; but parliament had petitioned him to put the laws in force. Nevertheless Charles, in secrecy and among a small group of his most intimate friends, in the year 1669, declared himself a Roman Catholic, while his brother James, the heir to the throne, publicly acknowledged his conversion to that faith.

The king was now even more anxious to favor his fellow-religionists. In 1672 he issued by virtue of his dispensing power¹ a second and more formal "Declaration of Indulgence." This proclamation suspended the enforcement of all laws punishing Roman Catholics or Dissenters for their failure to conform to the ecclesiastical laws.

¹ The dispensing power or power of dispensation was a right claimed by the king to free persons from the necessity of obeying some law. Just as the right of pardon allows the king to free a person from punishment for some breach of law which he has already committed, so the right of dispensing would allow him to permit men beforehand to do something which was forbidden by the law. Even without the exercise of the dispensing power it was possible for the king to do much to shelter the Dissenters and mitigate the rigor of the law. Magistrates, sheriffs, jailers, and other law officers were servants of the king, and they could not act against his wishes. Therefore the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics were not severely persecuted in Charles' time, except when, in order to obtain favor with parliament, the king found it desirable to conform to its wishes and enforce the laws strictly.

In itself this was a just, liberal, and wise measure ; but in the eyes of the country it was an effort on the king's part to restore the Roman Catholics to power, and it was certainly against the law. Parliament, therefore, protested strongly against the declaration, claiming that by it forty laws on the statute book were rendered of no effect and that "penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." As the king was extremely anxious just at this time to keep on good terms with parliament he gave way again and reluctantly withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence.

Parliament was not satisfied with this concession but took more positive action. In 1673 it passed the "Test Act," a law requiring that no one should hold any office under the government who would not first declare his disbelief in the doctrine of transubstantiation and receive the sacrament of communion according to the rites of the church of England. No Roman Catholic could now share in the government of the nation, just as neither Roman Catholics nor Dissenters according to the Corporation Act could share in the local government. The supremacy of the established church was now complete. The entire control of ecclesiastical, educational, and charitable organizations was in its hands ; it had a strong majority in both houses of parliament ; a vast proportion of all offices in the country was occupied by its adherents ; and it was strengthened and supported in its position by the foolish but almost universal dread of the Roman Catholics.

420. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot. — This fear was intensified by the growing military power and victorious wars of the French king. So long as England had a king suspected of being a Roman Catholic, and an heir apparent who was known to be of that faith, French regiments might be brought in at any time to put her religion and her liberties under the yoke. In 1678 fear was raised to a panic by the revelations made by a certain Titus Oates concerning a supposed "Popish Plot." This man

took his oath before a London magistrate that he knew of a great plot according to which Charles was to be murdered, his brother James immediately placed on the throne, a French army landed to support him, and the Protestant religion in all its forms absolutely suppressed. It was an absurd story and Oates was afterwards proved to be a liar born and bred, with a long career of deception and dishonesty behind him, but no one at that time took the trouble to look up his record.

His story was generally believed and a chance occurrence that followed spread it far more widely. The dead body of the magistrate who had listened to his story and taken his deposition was found the next morning lying in the street. This was probably the work of robbers, but many jumped to the conclusion that he had been murdered by the "Papists" for his interference with their plot. London was in a fever of apprehension, many believing that the city was about to be burned and the Protestants massacred. A little flail with a lead tip which could be carried in the pocket and used to defend one's self against attack was invented and named the "Protestant flail." So many were bought that the inventor made his fortune. Various persons who were suspected of favoring Roman Catholic plans or taking part in conspiracies were tried and executed, and some of the Roman Catholic noblemen were imprisoned in the Tower. A whole class of base informers arose who gave perjured testimony to support the prevailing panic.

421. The Exclusion Bills. — The new parliament which met in 1679 shared in the general excitement and fierce opposition to the Roman Catholics. This opposition took the form of a vigorous effort to exclude James from the succession to the throne. The House of Commons believed that if a devotedly Roman Catholic king came to rule over England he would certainly attack the Protestantism of his subjects. Charles, however, was loyal to his brother. He had no legitimate children of his own, and had, with a devotion to principle quite unusual to him, determined to

support his brother's right of inheritance at all hazards. He announced that he was willing to sign a bill placing restrictions upon the exercise of many royal powers when the king was a Roman Catholic. But parliament was not satisfied with such a compromise and in 1679 prepared to pass an Exclusion Bill which would have prevented James from inheriting the crown at all. Charles dissolved parliament rather than allow the bill to pass.

Again the next year a new House of Commons passed a similar Exclusion Bill, and, although it was temporarily defeated in the House of Lords, Charles thought it safer to dissolve parliament again. Still a third parliament attempted to pass the same bill and was also dissolved by the king.

422. The Succession to the Crown. — The person whom the leaders of parliament had in mind as successor to the throne, if they could have carried the Exclusion Bill, was the oldest illegitimate son of Charles, the duke of Monmouth. He was known to be a Protestant and was commonly spoken of as the "Protestant Duke." He had neither high ambitions nor great abilities and did not show much suitability for the throne. His illegitimate birth was a bar to any unanimous acceptance of him by the English nation. To overcome this obstacle a report was spread abroad and very generally believed that his mother had really been married to Charles and that the king would acknowledge the marriage in good time. A large party of the Protestants were willing to favor Monmouth and they were headed by skillful leaders in parliament.

Many, on the other hand, were willing to let matters take their natural course. James would be a Roman Catholic king, but he would not be likely to outlive his brother very long. He had two daughters, Mary and Anne, who had been brought up as Protestants, the elder of whom, Mary, would naturally succeed him. She was married to a Protestant prince, William, prince of Orange. It seemed altogether probable, therefore, that England would have a Protestant ruler again within a comparatively short

time. The only cloud on the horizon, as far as this expectation went, was that James later in life married a second time and chose a Roman Catholic princess. If he should have a son, this prince would undoubtedly be brought up as a Roman Catholic, and would inherit the crown in preference to his elder sisters.

423. Dread of Civil War.—The advocates of the Exclusion Bill for a while kept up their agitation even more violently. In 1681 parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford instead of at Westminster, which had long been its regular meeting place. The reason for this was that the London mob had showed so much favor to the exclusionists that the king and his ministers feared it might break in on parliament and influence its decisions. The leading parliamentary agitators, on the other hand, professed to believe that the king wanted to force them by arms to do as he wished. They urged the members therefore to bring with them bands of servants armed for self-defense. This was mistaken advice. The sight of gentlemen gathering with bands of followers and with arms in their hands awakened among the people dread of a new civil war. The remembrance of the late conflict and of the rule of the army was still too fresh and hateful for men to look with equanimity upon the possibility of its return. Most Englishmen dreaded Roman Catholics, but they hated the rule of soldiers still more.

Very soon, therefore, the violent agitation against the "Papists" and against the succession of James came to an end, and the tide of popular feeling began to flow the other way. Several of those who had been most active in prosecuting Roman Catholics were now themselves prosecuted, and the inventor of the Protestant flail and others were convicted and executed for having borne arms and planned to attack parliament and the king. Representatives of the strongly royalist party were elected in the city governments and the king became much more popular.

This general reaction in the country was favored by the discovery in 1683 of a plot to attack and seize the king and his

brother as they passed, on their return from a hunting trip, a building called "Rye House," not far from London. The plan failed, as the king came back some days earlier than he was expected. This conspiracy, which is known as the "Rye House Plot," had been formed by a few old soldiers of the Commonwealth who were keeping up the agitation against James and the Roman Catholics. The conspirators were discovered and most of them executed, but the whole exclusionist party had to bear the blame of their violence.

424. Execution of Russell and Sidney. — At about the same time the existence of another association for political objects was discovered. It was composed of noblemen and gentlemen of liberal views who wanted to force the king to withdraw his support from the Catholics and to yield to the demands of parliament. At another time this union of high-minded and prominent men would probably have been considered innocent enough. But just now, when there was a general feeling that those who were opposing the king had gone too far and were threatening to bring on civil war, it was construed as treason and the members of the combination were arrested and accused. Lord Russell, one of the noblest and best of men, was subjected to a long trial. More fortunate than Raleigh, his wife was allowed to sit at his side taking notes of the proceedings and assisting him to remember what had been said and done. He was nevertheless declared guilty of treason and executed. Algernon Sidney, a man of the same stamp, a student, thinker, and eloquent writer, a theoretical republican, but without any intention or desire to bring about a change in the government, was executed at the same time for conspiracy against the king. The duke of Monmouth, who had been connected with the organization, was pardoned by his father but sent to Holland as an exile. The earl of Essex committed suicide in prison. The popularity of Charles lasted out the remainder of his life and served to insure the peaceful accession of James in 1685.

425. Relations of England with Holland and France. — The two foreign countries with which England now had most to do were Holland and France. At the beginning of Charles's reign England was hostile to Holland and on tolerably good terms with France. The clashing of English and Dutch commercial interests has already been described. The two countries were still engaged in building up trade and colonies in the East Indies, the West Indies, and America. They both had fishing fleets in the North Sea and trading settlements on the west coast of Africa.



An English War Vessel: the "Royal Charles," the Vessel on which Charles II returned to England in 1660

English and Dutch vessels were still competing for the carrying trade¹ of Europe.

The Dutch were such skillful sailors and had such good vessels that they had generally proved themselves able to underbid the English, even in trade with England herself. The

English government, on the other hand, had long tried to encourage its own seagoing merchants in order to give them occupation and also that there might be an abundance of vessels and sailors in case they were needed for a maritime war. To keep the carrying trade of England for its own merchants the Navigation Act had been passed in 1651. In 1660 this law was reënacted and other still stricter Navigation Acts afterwards passed. The old disputes about the Spice Islands in the East, the fisheries in the North Sea, and other questions still went on. Feeling became

¹ See p. 456.

more bitter till in 1664 war broke out again and raged on the coast of America and Africa and in the English Channel.

A series of destructive sea fights took place, but decided nothing. After one series of victories the Dutch admiral sailed up and down the Channel with a broom at his masthead to show that he had swept the English from the sea. But soon afterwards the English fleet ravaged the coast of Holland, and then in turn a Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames and captured ships almost in the harbor of London. The two countries were too evenly matched upon the sea to reach a decisive result by war, and peace was agreed upon in 1667. By this treaty the Dutch ceded New Amsterdam to the English, and England yielded the Spice Islands to the Dutch, confining her eastern trade to the mainland of India. New Amsterdam was renamed New York after the king's brother James, duke of York. The Dutch forts on the coast of Africa were also surrendered to the English, and the first English "guineas" were coined from gold imported from the Guinea coast. They were intended to be worth a pound, but were soon taken and have always since been estimated at twenty-one shillings.

426. The Triple Alliance. — The war with Holland sprang from temporary commercial conditions. When English trade supremacy had once been secured in England, America, and India, and when the Dutch had established their own independent fields of activity, the old bonds of race and religion again asserted themselves and drew the two nations more closely together. This was the more inevitable because of their common danger from the rising power and aggressiveness of France. France under Louis XIV had a strong government, a full treasury, and a well organized and equipped army. Most important of all, the national power and the foreign and internal policy of France were under the sole control of the king. No parliament or other body existed in France which could restrict the action which he and his ministers wished to take. Louis had an ambitious desire to extend

his territories and to make France supreme over all the surrounding countries of the continent. England, although an island, was not without interest in his policy. She, like other countries, was in danger from his interference in her internal concerns, if he should at any time find it to his interest so to interfere.

The danger of Holland was of course still greater, as nothing but the Spanish Netherlands separated her frontiers from those of France, and there were frequent causes of dispute. The need of common resistance to France gradually convinced thoughtful statesmen in England that their interest lay in peace with the Dutch, and that the two countries should be allies, not enemies. This conviction led to the formation in 1668 of the Triple Alliance, an agreement between England, Holland, and Sweden to force Louis to agree to reasonable concessions and to bring his wars to an end. From this time forward the popular English hostility to the Dutch died out, while there was a growing antagonism to France.

427. Subserviency of Charles II to France. — This was not, however, either the feeling or the private interest of Charles. There were many reasons why he should feel friendly to France. His mother was Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII, and he had been well treated in France during the time of his exile. His Roman Catholic religious proclivities drew him in the same direction, and, probably stronger than all, Louis had a full treasury which might be drawn on should Charles need money that he could not conveniently get from his own subjects. His policy, therefore, during his whole reign was one of subserviency to France. He acted in the interest of France whenever he could do so secretly or without bringing about a serious conflict with his own parliament. An early and especially unpopular instance of this was his cession to Louis XIV, for the sum of £200,000, of the city of Dunkirk, which had been captured by Cromwell's army and was commonly looked upon as in a sense an equivalent for Calais.

The Triple Alliance was distasteful to Charles both because his commercial ambitions for England still made him suspicious of the Dutch and because it placed him on bad terms with the French king. He entered upon it unwillingly, partly at the urgency of his ambassador, the gifted Sir William Temple, partly with the idea that Louis would offer him good terms to withdraw from it. It had not been two years in existence, therefore, before Charles made a treaty with the king of France which was kept secret from his most trusted ministers, being negotiated through one of Charles's sisters. It is commonly known as the "Treaty of Dover." There was good reason for keeping it secret, for by it Charles agreed to desert Holland, to assist Louis in obtaining certain territory from Spain, and even to allow a large force of English soldiers to serve in the French army when war between France and Holland should break out. In return for these concessions Louis agreed to give Charles a large sum of money immediately, and a still larger annual sum when the time should come for England to give help to the French against the Dutch. At the close of the war England was to receive some territory from Holland and Spain, and six thousand French troops were to be sent into England to aid Charles if he should decide openly to declare himself a Roman Catholic.

428. The Third War with the Dutch. — The full terms of this treaty did not come out for years, but that part of it which brought England into another war with Holland was made the basis of an open treaty some time afterwards. The king's will and the remaining commercial disputes were sufficient to precipitate it, though it had neither general approval nor enthusiastic support. This war began in 1672. The struggle against the French and English in alliance was desperately hard for the Dutch. On the sea the usual destructive but indecisive battles were fought between the Dutch and the English fleets. On land the Dutch territories were rapidly overrun by the enormous armies of Louis. Finally as a last resort the Hollanders cut the dikes which kept

the seas and rivers from their fields, allowed the waters to rush in, and at this heavy price put an impassable girdle around their cities and forced the French to retire. The hearts of the English people and of the best of English statesmen turned more and more against the war with the Dutch and it was brought to an end in 1674.

Charles and Louis now both recognized that it would be impossible to draw the English again into an active war against the Dutch. The most the two allied sovereigns could hope for was to keep England neutral. For the purpose of securing this object Louis took Charles regularly into his pay, granting him £100,000 a year so that he might not be forced to ask parliament for money and as a result be induced to consent to a war against France. Louis also gave him £1,600,000 to prorogue his restless parliament, and gave him special sums at other times. Charles was in the main faithful to his paymaster, postponed the calling of a parliament as long as he could, and prorogued it when it threatened to put pressure upon him to join the contest against Louis. This remained the condition of English foreign affairs during the last ten years of Charles's reign. The English king, in the humiliating position of being in the pay of France, was keeping England out of a combination with Holland, which otherwise would have been her natural policy, and keeping her in close alliance with France, her natural rival.

429. Charles and his Ministers ; Clarendon. — Charles, as has been seen, never trusted implicitly in his ministers, never identified his fortune with them, and never had a "court favorite," as his father and grandfather had had. In the early years of his reign his principal minister had been Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, who occupied the office of lord chancellor. This statesman had been one of the opponents of Charles I at the beginning of the Long Parliament, but before the outbreak of the civil war had taken the side of the king. He was a laborious, devoted, and moderate minister and gave Charles good

advice; but he was a strong Anglican and opposed the favor which Charles showed to the Roman Catholics. He protested also against the king's immoral life and his lavishness and subserviency to his mistresses.

In 1667 parliament tried to increase its control over taxation. According to law the king could collect no taxes except by grant of parliament; but when once collected there was no further control over the way in which they should be spent. It was pretty certain that of the money which had been granted by parliament on the claim that it was needed for war, the navy, and other public uses, Charles had spent a great part lavishly on worthless women and other personal and unworthy objects. The House of Commons now demanded an inquiry into the way money which they had granted had been expended. Clarendon resisted the demand most vigorously on the ground that it would limit the proper freedom of action of the king and his ministers. Parliament as a result attacked him bitterly. Since the king himself was weary of Clarendon's remonstrances against his personal life, he dismissed him from office. He was soon afterwards impeached by the House of Commons on various charges. As the king made no attempt to defend him, he fled to France, where he remained in exile the remainder of his life. He spent his time writing a most valuable and interesting history of the "Great Rebellion," as he called the series of events from the meeting of the Long Parliament to the Restoration.



Earl of Clarendon

430. The Cabal. — No one minister afterwards took the leading part which Clarendon had played. Five of the ministers were of

almost equal influence in the government and equally received the apparent confidence of the king. They were all noblemen of high rank, more lenient to the profligacy of the king than Clarendon had been, and more willing to support his policy of religious toleration. Some one noticed that the initials of the names of the five ministers, Lords Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, formed the word *cabal*, which meant a committee or group of conspirators. They were therefore frequently spoken of as the "Cabal," and that word has come to have a new and more odious meaning from its connection with this group of rather selfish and unprincipled ministers.

Charles, however, gave his confidence to them but partially. Two who were Catholics knew of the Treaty of Dover, the others were kept in profound ignorance of it. In fact Buckingham and Ashley were allowed to take part seriously in the formation of a pretended treaty with France which was to hide the real but secret agreement. These ministers as yet had no meetings, combined on no general policy, and did not acknowledge the duty of supporting one another. It was not, therefore, a ministry in the modern sense of the word.

The members of the Cabal one after another resigned or were dismissed and others took their places. Ashley, who had been made earl of Shaftesbury and lord chancellor, and who was the ablest of the group, was dismissed by the king for supporting the Test Act. He then became the bitterest opponent of the king and of James, and was for years the leader in the agitation for the Exclusion Bill. He was also the leader in parliament of a small but growing party which favored granting toleration to the Dissenters though not to Roman Catholics. He was a gifted but reckless man, and in later years did much to organize that lawless opposition to the government which made men fear civil war again and at last brought about a reaction in favor of the king. In 1682 he was in such danger of prosecution for treason that he fled to Holland, where he died the next year.

The most influential minister during Charles's later years, the earl of Danby, was impeached by the House of Commons under the belief that he had taken bribes from France not to stand in the way of her war with the Dutch. The king, who was the real recipient of French bribes, after protecting Danby for some time, fearing that he would betray the royal secrets, dismissed him from office and imprisoned him in the Tower. The House of Commons then dropped the impeachment proceedings.

431. Recognition of the Power of Parliament.—It may be noticed that Charles II dismissed his ministers as soon as they became clearly unpopular with parliament. Clarendon and Danby went into exile or imprisonment not because they had lost the confidence of the king, but because they had lost the confidence and approval of the majority in parliament. The king would not have acknowledged, any more than Elizabeth, James, or Charles I, that parliament had a right to control him in choosing his ministers. Nevertheless, as a practical matter, he recognized that to get along with parliament he must be represented by men who were tolerably satisfactory to its majority. It was fast coming to be a settled rule that a minister must satisfy parliament as well as the king.

Nor did Charles openly and for any length of time oppose the wishes of parliament in his main lines of policy. With the one exception of his manly and determined support of his brother's claims to the crown he either yielded to the wishes of parliament or took refuge in secret and underhand attempts to oppose them. Although he favored toleration he signed the various persecuting and restrictive statutes which parliament passed and sent to him. Although he was favorable to France and opposed to Holland, he at one time allowed the Triple Alliance to be formed, and at another ceased to give the support to France which he wished and for which he had been so well paid. These actions indicate that the power of parliament was growing. No conditions had been imposed on the king at the Restoration, but the changed circumstances made parliament a more influential body than it had

been before, and the personal indolence, good humor, and good judgment of Charles prevented him from opposing this growth.

432. Growth of Political Parties. — This was the period in which permanent political parties came into existence. In earlier times there had been no settled parties, though of course members of parliament divided into those who favored and those who opposed particular measures. During the sixteenth century the share taken by parliament in the work of government was too small and parliament met too infrequently for parties to be formed. In the Long Parliament party divisions had shown themselves, but the first parties soon transformed themselves into the opposing forces of a civil war, and the later divisions were suppressed by the army. After the Restoration, however, things were different. Parliament met frequently, and the growing power which has just been spoken of made it worth while for parties to form themselves, adopt principles, and assert their influence.

The division into parties that took place was a natural one, based on the attitude of different men toward the government. One class of men both in and outside of parliament felt very strongly that the government ought to be upheld through everything. The things that struck them as most important were the good order, peace, and quiet that came to the country from a strong government. As the government of England was monarchical, all their feelings led such men to loyalty and devotion to the king. The same men naturally supported the established church of England, as it also was part of the old well-ordered system of the government of the country.

Other men, without being exactly opposed to this set of views, were more impressed with the need of protecting men from the oppression of government. Their inclination was to restrict the royal power and to give greater liberty to individual men. They were opposed to much control by government. Such men naturally adopted a policy of toleration in religious matters, since this also was a form of individual liberty.

These differences of views came out frequently in the Convention Parliament of 1660, and still more clearly in the Cavalier Parliament, which sat in successive sessions during the next seventeen years of Charles's reign. Ministers recognized these differences and appealed to them. The earl of Danby strove regularly for the support of men of the former class, the earl of Shaftesbury for the support of those of the latter.

433. Petitioners and Abhorrrers; Whigs and Tories. — The first occasion when any distinct party names were used or organization effected was in 1680. Parliament had been dissolved in 1679 to prevent its passing the Exclusion Bill. Within a few months numerous petitions were sent to the king, evidently by a preconcerted arrangement, urging him to call parliament together again, so that the Exclusion Bill could be passed. Great numbers of counter addresses were then sent to the king declaring the abhorrence felt by the writers at the efforts being made to force the king to call parliament until in his own good judgment he should think best. Those who sent the first set of petitions were commonly called "Petitioners," those who sent the others "Abhorrrers."

In parliament, when it met, the same division was kept up. Petitioners and Abhorrrers were soon superseded by "Whigs" and "Tories." These terms were in the first place words of abuse or ridicule. "Whigs" was an abbreviation of "Whigamores," the name applied to the fanatical Scotch Dissenters who were then in rebellion in the western counties of Scotland. Tories were Irish outlaws or highwaymen. Terms which were at first applied in ridicule, as so often happens, were later accepted seriously and became the well-established names for the two great political parties. After this time those who belonged to the same party generally held together on public questions, and in parliament one or other of the parties usually had a distinct majority. Having once come into existence, the parties adopted certain points of policy which had very little to do with

their origin. In order to win adherents in parliament the miserable system of bribery sprang up, and the leaders of both parties frequently won members for their side by payment in money, offices, or other considerations.

The formation of parties had a most important effect on the growth of the powers of parliament. A body of men with distinct principles, a party organization, and acknowledged leaders was so powerful that when it proved itself to be in the majority on any question the king and his ministers practically had to conform to its wishes. On the other hand, in earlier times, when just as many adherents of one view had existed, but without party organization or name, neither they nor the king had known their strength. The division into two well-marked parties has been the foundation of English parliamentary power.

434. The Whig Nobles and Merchants and Tory Gentry and Clergy. — The classes of the people which belonged to the Whig and the Tory parties respectively were well defined. The men of most of the great noble families were Whigs. The heads of these families were members of the House of Lords, they had much power in the counties where their estates lay, and many members from the smaller boroughs were elected to the House of Commons by their influence. The merchants of the commercial towns were almost always Whigs, that party usually favoring trade and enterprise. The Dissenters were usually Whigs.

The great mass of the country gentry and clergy, on the other hand, were Tories in their political principles. The country squire with his lands and manor house and the country clergyman with his parsonage and parish church formed the great backbone of loyalty to the king and to the church. The country gentleman found occupation in looking after his lands, and acting as justice of the peace, and, in occasional instances, in literary and scientific pursuits. His amusements were hunting and such social intercourse as he could carry on with other families of the same region. The country clergyman performed more or less faithfully the church

services, attended to the duties of his parish, and ate, drank, and played cards with the families of the neighboring gentry. Neither squire nor clergyman knew much of the world beyond his immediate neighborhood, and both were correspondingly narrow-minded, prejudiced, and loyal.

435. The Attack on the Charters. — The Whig principles of the merchants were exercised in steady opposition to the autocratic tendencies of Charles. Their influence over the commercial cities was clearly shown in the elections to the later parliaments of his reign, and in the agitations led by Shaftesbury, which were so nearly successful in forcing the Exclusion Bill upon him. To overcome this opposition the king and his ministers devised a plan to put the control of the towns into the hands of men of more royalist tendencies. It will be remembered that each town had a charter or series of charters giving it a right to carry on its own government, but at the same time requiring those who directed its affairs to fulfill certain conditions. In 1682 a prosecution against the city of London was brought into the courts by a writ called "*Quo Warranto*," claiming that the city had failed to conform to the requirements of its charter and asking that the charter should therefore be forfeited.¹ After a long trial the judges, who were much influenced by the crown, gave a decision against the city, its charter was forfeited, and for a while the king appointed the city officers in entire disregard of its old rights of self-government.

This procedure having proved successful in the case of London, similar suits were brought against a number of other towns. The cities in each case were compelled to surrender their charters, and, although new ones were granted to them, the members of the new

¹ The words *quo warranto* were the first two words of the order of the court requiring the city authorities to appear in court and tell "by what warrant" they still exercised their powers if they had failed to conform to the conditions of their charter. If they could prove they had done so, they retained their charter; if not, they lost it.

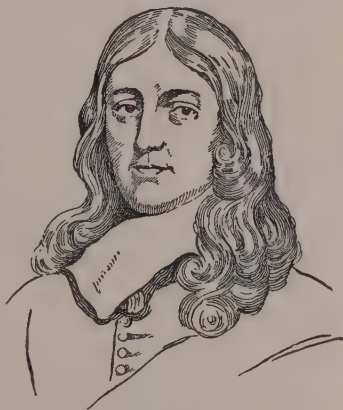
government or corporation, who were named by the king in the charter itself, were in almost all cases Tories. The result was that those town governments which elected members to parliament now chose Tories where Whigs had before been sent. But natural tendencies were stronger than royal schemes, and little by little the governments of the larger towns gradually came again into the hands of the Whigs.

436. Creation of the Standing Army.—In still another way more influence was gained by the king. In earlier times the English government had kept no troops except in time of war. One of the provisions of the Declaration of Breda had been that the Commonwealth army should be paid off and dissolved. Most governments on the continent of Europe, however, now kept up standing armies, and Charles II had several reasons for wanting to retain soldiers permanently in his service. Instead of disbanding the whole army, therefore, he retained three regiments, one of cavalry and one of foot in England, and one at that time in garrison at Dunkirk. Charles's wife was a Portuguese princess, who brought with her as part of her dowry the possession of Tangier in Africa and Bombay in India, so that there was an excuse for keeping up these regiments for garrison purposes even after Dunkirk was ceded to France. The standing army therefore continued to exist, though for a long time it amounted only to about five thousand men.

437. Milton.—Most of the literature of the period of Charles II reflected the character of the court, — brilliant, witty, reckless, with no very high vein of imagination. Dryden is almost the only great name in poetry which really belongs to this period. There were two other men, however, whose writings fall largely within the period of the Restoration and yet whose life and character reflect rather the great Puritan period which had just passed. One of these was John Milton. A brilliant student at Cambridge, while Laud and Wentworth were supporting Charles I in his personal government he was producing poetry imbued with the

spirit of the old Greeks and Romans and some of it written in the ancient languages. The civil war and the Commonwealth, however, appealed strongly to his Puritanism and his love of liberty, and he produced a number of prose works on questions of the day. His *Areopagitica* was an appeal for freedom of reason and of the press against the restrictions imposed by the Westminster Presbyterian Assembly. His *Eikonoklastes*,¹ issued just after the execution of Charles I, was an answer to the *Eikon Basilike* and an attack upon the king and his system of absolute monarchy. Along with these and other essays he wrote from time to time sonnets and other shorter poetic pieces called forth by the great events in the struggle then in progress.

He held also an official position, serving as corresponding secretary to the council of state and later to the government of the Protector. His duties were principally to translate into Latin and sometimes to draw up letters



John Milton

or treaties with foreign governments. He had no actual responsibility under the Commonwealth and was therefore allowed at the Restoration to go into an undisturbed retirement. At this time he became totally blind, and all his later productions were preserved by dictation. Composed in this way, he published in 1667 *Paradise Lost*, his greatest poem and one of the greatest in the English language. Its biblical subject, its sense of reality of divine things, its high tone of earnestness, and the sonorous eloquence of the blank verse in which it is written are all characteristic of the best of Puritanism and represent in literature

¹ Greek for *Image Breaker*.

much the same spirit as Cromwell expressed in the practical tasks of government.

438. Bunyan. — John Bunyan was a wandering tinker who became a soldier in the parliamentary army and was later an earnest Baptist preacher. After the Restoration he attempted to continue his preaching, notwithstanding the laws against Dissenters, and as a result was imprisoned for a long time in Bedford jail. From his prison he sent out a series of religious tracts and other works. In 1678 appeared his *Pilgrim's Progress*, the most popular allegorical work ever written.

Looked upon simply as a story, the reality of its characters, the simplicity and clearness of the narrative, the quaintness of the observations have delighted millions of readers. It has been translated into all the languages of Europe and has been published in every form of which the printing press is capable. It has also given religious teaching to many hundreds of thousands. It represents the feelings of the more extreme Dissenters of that time. They believed that they were living in the midst of a wicked world from which but one person here and there would be saved, and that only by fleeing from the occupations, the amusements, and the lighter interests of their time.

439. The Habeas Corpus Act. — There are three important events which belong to the reign of Charles II which have not yet been mentioned, — the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act, the Plague, and the Great Fire of London. The writ of *habeas corpus*¹ was an order granted by a judge upon any man who was holding another in confinement, requiring the captor to bring his prisoner before the judge to tell why he was confining him. Then, if a good reason for keeping the prisoner in custody was given, the judge appointed a time for his trial, if not he ordered his release. This writ had been used for centuries in England,

¹ *Habeas corpus* means "You are to have the body," which, with the words which follow in the writ, require the jailer to have the body of such a person, not merely a message from him, at such and such a time before the court.



Village of Elstow, Bedfordshire, where Bunyan was born

but there were many ways in which jailers and judges eluded its requirements. This was done especially when the king or ministers wished a man to be imprisoned and held without being able or willing to make any formal charge against him. In 1679, under the influence of Shaftesbury, an act was passed which put an end to all these interferences with the free and effective use of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Comparatively little interest was taken in the passage of the act at the time, but afterwards it came to be more and more highly valued. It was long a special mark of the freedom enjoyed by the English people, as it gave them a protection possessed by subjects of no other European government.

440. The Plague. — In the summer of 1665 there was a visitation of pestilence in London, probably almost as destructive as the Black Death of 1349, and possibly a recurrence of the same disease. Epidemics of pestilence were a frequent occurrence in those days of close building, narrow, dirty, and badly repaired streets, and lack of medical knowledge, but this attack was of such destructiveness as to stand out from all others and to be known especially as the "Plague." It spread into other parts of the country, but was not so severe, and it died away when winter came. During its ravages deaths became so numerous that the ordinary arrangements for funerals were no longer practicable, and wagons were sent by the city authorities through the streets at night, the driver ringing a bell and calling out, "Bring out your dead." The Plague has been made familiar through the well-known description contained in Dryden's poem *Annus Mirabilis*, and in the account written afterwards by Defoe, the author of *Robinson Crusoe*.

441. The Great Fire. — One of the other events which led Dryden to speak of 1665-1666 as the "wonderful year" was the terrible fire which raged for three days over the most closely built parts of London. Almost the whole of the ancient city was swept away. St. Paul's Cathedral and most of the other buildings

which had made up the London of the middle ages, of Queen Elizabeth, and of the early Stuart period were destroyed. London, therefore, has fewer mediæval remains than any other old city of Europe. The fire caused terrible loss and privation, but there were some compensations. In the first place the germs of



St. Paul's Cathedral

the Plague were effectually destroyed, and in the second place the streets were made wider and the houses more healthful as the city was rebuilt.

442. Architecture and Painting.

—Plans were made for a restoration of the city on one great system, and, although these were not carried out, yet an admirable opportunity was given for the erection of new buildings.

It was a time of much interest in architecture and there were in England several architects of ability and originality. Of these Sir Christopher Wren was the most famous. He had been trained in Italy and was imbued with admiration for the work of the Italian Renaissance. The works on architecture also which had the greatest reputation at this time were written by Italians. Most of the

building of the later seventeenth century, therefore, both in the country and in the burned city, was of this style. St. Paul's Cathedral as we see it now was designed and built by Wren. He is buried within it in a tomb which bears the inscription

Si monumentum requiris, circumspice,

"If you seek his monument, look around you."

In architecture the designs came from abroad, but the architects were usually Englishmen. In painting the artists themselves were still foreigners. The German Holbein and his pupils had painted the portraits of the men of Henry VIII's day; Dutch, Italian, and Spanish painters, those of Queen Elizabeth and James I and their courtiers. In the time of Charles I, Vandyke, a gifted Flemish artist, settled in England as court painter and left numerous and charming portraits of the king, his family, and other prominent men and women of the time. Sir Peter Lely, a Dutchman, was the court and popular painter through much of the period of the Restoration, but he had not the grace of Vandyke, and the court beauties and noblemen of the time of Charles II were either not so handsome in themselves or not so fortunate in their painter as were those of the time of Charles I, or even of the Commonwealth. There were only a few native artists, such as Samuel Cooper, who has left a fine portrait of Cromwell.

443. Science. — The English accomplished more in the investigation of nature than in the production of works of art. In the early years of the seventeenth century, when Sir Francis Bacon was making experiments in natural science and striving to base a philosophy entirely upon such investigation, he had found but few to take an interest in his work. But since then men had more and more turned their attention and their learning to the study of matter, force, the appearances of the outer world, the laws of mathematics, and the variety of vegetable and animal nature. A group of men interested in such matters began to hold weekly

meetings in London and Oxford in the midst of the civil war, and in 1662 a number of them obtained a charter under the name of the "Royal Society." They began in 1665 the publication of the series of transactions which has been kept up ever since. Many discoveries were made and recorded by the scientists of this time, especially by the greatest of them, Sir Isaac Newton.

444. Chocolate, Coffee, and Tea. — A change of great interest and importance in the habits of life came about during this period in the growing custom of drinking chocolate, coffee, and tea. Native beer and ale and imported wine had been the common beverages of England. During the middle years of the seventeenth century the use of chocolate made its way into England from Spain and Italy, whither it had been brought from Mexico and the West Indies, where the cocoa tree is indigenous and the habit of making a drink from the nuts a native one. At first it was recommended and used as a medicine, but soon it became customary to take it as a pleasant drink instead of wine or beer. The increasing connection with eastern countries made many new products more familiar during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. Among these coffee was introduced from Arabia and some other parts of Asia where it had long been familiar. Tea began to be used about the same time but grew more slowly into popularity.

One of the results of the common use of these beverages was the opening of rooms known as "coffee-houses" where they were provided and sold. The first of these was opened by a Greek in London in 1652. They became the customary meeting places, in London and the larger cities, of men of leisure who took an interest in public affairs. Here current events were talked over and opinions expressed and compared. The actions of the government as well as books and the fashions were subjected to discussion and criticism. A body of common public opinion, small but influential, was thus created. As far as it related to politics coffee-house opinion was like the opinions of the readers

of a modern daily newspaper ; in matters of literature it was more like the common judgment on books obtained by the readers of some literary review.

445. Newspapers. — At the coffee-houses the current newspapers could be found and read. Newspapers had been first printed in the reign of James, probably the earliest known dated paper being *The Courant* or *Weekly News*, begun in the year 1621. Notwithstanding the name neither this nor other such publications came out very regularly. They might be described as small pamphlets dealing with the occurrences of the time and appearing about once a week, often with a new title for each number.

When the civil war broke out there was so much of interest going on that a number of newspapers appeared more regularly, once a week being the usual time. Then came a period when the government tried to suppress all of them but one or two, which were authorized to print public news. After the Restoration this effort to put an end to most of the newspapers was kept up. A severe licensing act was passed in 1662 forbidding all publications except those which had passed the government censorship. A regular officer was appointed to hunt out and prosecute all writers and printers of unauthorized papers. This officer was himself allowed to print a newspaper with the authority of government. After many changes and difficulties the *London Gazette* became the only authorized newspaper in 1666. It was a small paper containing very little news and that badly told. Everything that might have been of political interest was kept out by the government, and it did not occur to the publishers to describe the everyday occurrences that fill so much room in modern newspapers.

In the latter part of the reign of Charles II other newspapers were started and either approved by the censor or published secretly. There was so much excitement that there was a ready sale for newspapers, both Whig and Tory, and gradually a number

came to be established and regularly supported by sympathizers with one or other of these parties.

446. Death of Charles II. — Charles died in 1685. The scenes at his deathbed were significant. He suffered from an apoplectic stroke but recovered consciousness and lingered several days. His usual wit did not desert him, for he asked pardon of those around him for his delay, saying that he was an unconscionable time in dying. When he was failing, a Roman Catholic priest was brought to him by his brother. Then, after the church of



James II

England clergymen and all others had left the room, Charles confessed, received absolution, and died a member of the church of Rome. There was little that was high-minded or admirable in the character of Charles II. None the less the twenty-five years of his reign had been a period of much constitutional, commercial, and intellectual progress.

447. Accession of James II. —

James, duke of York, the late king's only brother, was immediately proclaimed king. It was well known

that he was a Roman Catholic, and it was true, if not so well known, that he held the same views of the powers of the king and had the same obstinate determination to have his own way as his father. He had but little of the ease of manner, the wit, and the good nature of his brother. Nevertheless the Tory reaction in the country had been so clear, and the feeling that the king's authority must be upheld in order to avoid something worse was still so strong, that he came to the throne on a wave of popularity. All classes seemed inclined to put the best interpretation possible on what he said and did. His first expressions

of good will and statement of his intention to support the church and state as they were then established also favored the expectation that he would carry on a moderate and reasonable rule. It is true that Titus Oates was tried for his libels upon the Roman Catholics, and in accordance with the known wishes of the king condemned to successive whippings on his bare back through the streets of London and to stand in the pillory ; but there was a general acceptance of this as a fair vengeance upon the inventor of the Popish plot which had brought so much suffering upon the Roman Catholics.

448. Invasion of the Duke of Monmouth. — A small party, however, had never given up the plan of the Exclusion Bill and the succession of the "Protestant Duke." Within a few months after the accession of James, relying upon these discontented men and upon the large number of Dissenters in the west of England, Monmouth sailed from the continent, landed at Lyme in Devonshire, and declared himself the legitimate successor of Charles II. He was well received by the lower classes in the country and the citizens of many of the small towns, and soon had an army of five thousand men behind him ; but not a man of any rank or position took his side. News soon came also that parliament had passed an act of attainder declaring him guilty of treason and condemning him to death without further trial. He marched towards London, still hoping that some men of more influence would take his side, but none came. Soon James marched to meet him with a part of the regular troops and some militia forces. At Sedgemoor on July 6 "King Monmouth," as his followers called him, tried with his raw volunteers to surprise the king's army. They were, however, discovered, the rebels defeated and scattered, and Monmouth himself was captured and taken to London. A few days afterwards he was executed as a traitor.

449. The Bloody Assizes. — A sad sequel to this hopeless rising was the series of trials held before a special body of judges

sent through the southwestern counties to punish those who had given encouragement to Monmouth. The unavoidable harshness and the danger of injustice inseparable from treason trials were made far worse by the action of Jeffreys, at that time chief justice of the Court of King's Bench and president of the special commission. This judge was abusive, profane, and cruel. He seemed to take delight in sarcasm and mockery at the expense of those who were brought before him. He never failed to stretch the law to its fullest degree of severity, condemned many to death who might well have been spared, and made unjust sentences doubly hard by adding to them words of contempt and scorn. More than three hundred persons were hanged as a result of these trials and eight hundred and fifty-one condemned to be transported to the West Indies and sold into virtual slavery. A characteristic instance is that of Alice Lisle, an aged and charitable lady of Winchester, who was condemned to death and executed because she had hidden two fugitives in her house, knowing that they were rebels. When Chief Justice Jeffreys returned from the "Bloody Assizes,"¹ as they have always since been called, James showed his approval of his actions by appointing him lord chancellor.

450. Increasing Tyranny of the King.—This appointment was one of the earliest of James's actions which showed his inclination to disregard the feelings and the wishes of his subjects. It was quickly followed by others. Indeed a perpetual succession of acts of unpopularity and violations of the existing laws now ensued. Within three short years James aroused the antagonism of one class of people after another till the opposition to him was universal. He made no attempt to secure the good will and support of either the Tory or the Whig party, and consequently gained the distrust of both alike.

An effort on the part of the king to put the Roman Catholics of the country in a better position was natural but was sure to be unpopular unless it were carried out with the greatest care and

¹ "Assizes" meant a session of a court.

moderation. James, on the contrary, entered immediately upon a reckless and illegal course of action to reach this end, and set himself in opposition to the strongest prejudices and fears of the English people.

He quarreled with his ministers and dismissed Halifax and Sunderland, who refused to support him in the measures which he was planning for the aid of the Roman Catholics. As actions of doubtful legality would sooner or later come before the judges, he consulted them beforehand to see which of them would give decisions in agreement with his wishes. Those who opposed him he removed and replaced by such as would be compliant. He used the rebellion of Monmouth as an excuse for increasing the standing army and established a permanent military camp on Hounslow Heath, not far from London. For the purpose of disciplining clergymen who opposed his actions he appointed an "Ecclesiastical Commission Court," at the head of which he placed Lord Chancellor Jeffreys. This was practically a reorganization of the old Court of High Commission which had made itself so obnoxious and had been abolished by the Long Parliament. The king claimed, however, that the latter had been a court having power over both laymen and clergymen, while this had power only over clergymen. He acknowledged that a court having cognizance of affairs of laymen was under the control of parliament to create or to abolish, but pointed out that the king himself was by law supreme governor over the church of England and might regulate the clergy in any way he pleased.

451. Use of the Dispensing Power. — The Test Act had required that every person appointed to office should take certain religious tests to which no Roman Catholic could conform. James now appointed officers in the army who would not take the test, and declared to parliament that he intended to support them in their refusal. The House of Commons remonstrated against this, and as a result James prorogued and afterwards dissolved parliament. He declared that the king had always possessed the power of

dispensing with the law in special cases. Charles II had made the same claim, but when parliament protested against it had dropped it for the time, as he so generally did matters of dispute. James was more determined. He had a collusive suit brought before the court to which he had appointed, as just shown, new judges for this very purpose. An officer of the army was prosecuted for exercising his powers without having taken the test. This officer produced in court a written dispensation from the king freeing him from the requirement to conform to this particular law. The judges decided that this dispensation was valid, and that the king had the right, when he thought best, to dispense with the fulfillment of the law in special cases.

452. Appointments in the Church and University.— Making use of the dispensing power, James authorized a number of clergymen of the church of England who had recently become Roman Catholics to retain their benefices. He appointed a Roman Catholic to be dean of Christchurch College, Oxford, and allowed the head of University College to announce himself a Roman Catholic, to have mass said openly in the college chapel, and to set up a printing press in Oxford for Roman Catholic literature. He appointed as bishop of Oxford, Parker, a man who was universally believed to be a Roman Catholic, though he had not announced himself publicly to be such. When church of England clergymen preached against “popery” he ordered them to be silent, and when the bishop of London refused to enforce these orders by suspending a prominent clergyman who had disobeyed them, the bishop himself was brought before the new Ecclesiastical Commission and suspended from his office.

In 1687 the position of president of Magdalen College, Oxford, became vacant. James ordered the fellows, who had the right of election to the vacancy, to choose a certain clergyman, a Roman Catholic. When the nominee of the king was shown to be of bad character James recommended another, Parker, the newly appointed bishop of Oxford. The fellows in

the meantime had elected one of their own number, John Hough. They were summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission and browbeaten and abused by Jeffreys. They refused, however, to submit, claiming that they had made their election and that Hough was now legally president of the college. James was furiously angry at this somewhat unexpected opposition and insisted on carrying out the sentence of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The fellows were expelled from their positions and Parker was installed in the office. Obstinacy was not all on the side of the king. The fellows would not surrender the keys and it was necessary to break open the doors of the president's lodging in order to allow the new head to enter into possession. In no other way than this could James have more effectually aroused against himself the feeling of influential men of the established church and the educated classes. The very men who had been loyal to his father and his brother now at last felt themselves as much insulted and aggrieved as any Dissenter or parliamentarian.

453. James's Declarations of Indulgence. — In fact James was being forced by the nature of his position to favor Dissenters in order to be able to favor Roman Catholics, and favor to these two bodies of course meant at that time opposition to the claims of the established church. At the very time when the contest was going on with the fellows of Magdalen College, James was in consultation with members of parliament to find whether or not they could be induced to grant toleration. Finding that parliamentary sentiment was all against it, he determined to dissolve that body and use his dispensing power still further. In 1687, therefore, he issued a Declaration of Indulgence similar to those which had been issued and then withdrawn by Charles II in 1662 and 1672. By it he suspended all laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters and gave to all men alike the privilege of worshipping publicly and freely as they pleased. This freedom was immediately made use of by Roman Catholics but only slightly by Dissenters. Many of the latter were Whigs and did not want a

freedom granted by royal breach of the law ; others acted according to the advice of leading men of the established church, who were coming to see that they could not spare the support of Dissenters, and who now gave them private assurances that when parliament met again they would use all their influence to have a bill for the toleration of Dissenters passed.

The next year, 1688, James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, which extended even farther in its provisions than the former. The king, in order to secure for his action the widest publicity, ordered the declaration to be read in all the churches on two successive Sundays in April. Scarcely a clergyman obeyed the king's order. In Westminster Abbey one of the bishops, who was especially subservient to the king, began to read it, but his whole congregation immediately arose and left the abbey. In one of the London churches the minister, instead of reading the declaration, preached on the text, "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy golden image which thou hast set up." It was very clear that the general feeling was opposed both to toleration and to the dispensing power.

454. Petition of the Seven Bishops. — The archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops in the meantime had prepared a petition asking that the clergy might not be compelled to read the Declaration of Indulgence and presented it to the king at his palace at Whitehall. The king, as in the case of Magdalen College, was furious at the resistance to his will and the disobedience to his commands, and exclaimed : "This is a great surprise to me. I did not expect this from your church ; especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion. . . . God has given me the dispensing power and I will maintain it." They were then dismissed but soon afterwards were arrested on the claim that their petition was a libel and tended to sedition. They were tried in Westminster Hall in the presence of a great gathering of sympathizing noblemen, merchants of London, and other citizens. In the eyes of the people they were martyrs for

the English church and for English liberties. Even the dissenting ministers sent a deputation to the jail to assure the bishops of their sympathy.

The jury could not at first agree, but on the second day they brought in a verdict of "not guilty." It was received everywhere with a tumult of joy. It was the first important decision adverse to the crown since the Restoration. Even the soldiers in the regular army broke into shouts of approval when they heard the news of the acquittal of the bishops. As James heard the universal rejoicing he was struck, apparently, with the first suspicion that his subjects were turning away from him. His obstinate self-confidence and conviction that he was right, and his utter contempt for laws which interfered with his will, had hidden from him the change that was going on in the nation.

455. Birth of a Prince. — This growth of unpopularity and distrust had led many to turn their thoughts to James's successor. The king was already well along in life and might die at any time. His eldest daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, prince of Orange, were already making arrangements for their expected inheritance of the English throne. William's representative in England gave assurances to the leaders of various parties and religious denominations that they would have religious toleration and civil freedom when the princess and her husband came to the throne. All such hopes and plans were brought to a sudden close June 10, 1688, two days after the arrest of the bishops, by the birth of a son to the king and queen. They had been long married, and the fear on the part of the people that there might be a prince to be brought up as a Roman Catholic to succeed his father had almost disappeared.¹ Now it seemed probable that this would take place, that Mary and her husband would never come to the throne, and that England would have to look forward to a line of Roman Catholic rulers.

¹ According to the rules of inheritance of the English crown a male child takes precedence of his older sisters.

456. Invitation to William of Orange. — The birth of the king's son changed the whole situation. There was no advantage now in waiting for better times. If there was to be any opposition to the crown, the sooner the better. A group of prominent men, some bishops and some noblemen, some Tories and some Whigs, on the very day of the acquittal of the seven bishops sent an invitation to William to come over immediately to England to preserve its liberties against the attacks of the king. William had now become stadtholder of the Netherlands and was engaged in almost constant warfare with Louis XIV of France. The various countries of Europe were pitted against one another, almost all except England being ranged on one side or other of the great struggle. William felt this to be a golden opportunity to gain control of England and bring it into the great alliance which he was re-forming against Louis. He therefore immediately began to make arrangements for an invasion of England in the interest of the discontented subjects of James and of his wife's candidacy for the throne. He sent over and caused to be scattered through England a declaration stating the grievances of the English people as he understood them, and explaining that he was coming over to call a free parliament and to protect the nation against the tyranny of its king.

The eyes of the king were at last opened. He realized his position and began rapidly to reverse the most unpopular of his recent acts. He restored the president and fellows who had been expelled from Magdalen College and the bishops and clergymen who had been suspended from their positions. He abolished the court of Ecclesiastical Commission, restored the charters of those towns which had recently been deprived of them by the courts, and prepared to call parliament. But it was too late. William was on the sea with a large fleet and an army of fourteen thousand men, the king had lost the confidence of all parties of the people, and his concessions were taken as an indication of his weakness, not of a change of opinions or intentions.

457. Landing of William. — On November 5, 1688, William landed at Tor Bay, in the southwest of England, not far from where Monmouth had disembarked three years before. The events which followed in this case were vastly different from that unfortunate expedition. William was a trained and tried ruler, a general with a high military reputation, and a statesman with the complete confidence and respect of his subjects in Holland and of those who had invited him into England. His wife had long been looked upon as the next heir to the throne, and it was natural to anticipate that her husband would exercise much influence over her and over the country of which she was queen. The people were therefore not unprepared to receive him.

As William marched towards London by slow stages, with his Dutch army, most of the nobility and gentry of the country through which he passed rode to his camp to offer their services. Soon throughout the whole country the great nobles began to announce themselves for William, and they in turn received promises of support from the gentry of their sections of the country. James marched with the army to meet William, but many of his officers slipped away to the other camp. His personal followers and courtiers did the same thing. Even his daughter Anne and her husband and some of the most intimate of his friends deserted him. He recognized that his army was untrustworthy, and at Salisbury halted and shortly afterwards returned almost alone to London.

From this time James lost courage and spirit. The completeness with which all classes deserted him and turned towards the invader, and the neglect with which he was personally treated, astounded him and he attempted no further resistance. He opened negotiations with William, sent his wife and child to France, and at the same time made preparations to follow them. But he still hoped that in some way he might regain his position and power, and with a view to throwing everything into confusion in the meantime destroyed the writs of summons for parliament

and dropped the great seal into the Thames. Unfortunately, as he was on his way in disguise to take ship to go to France, he was recognized by some sailors and brought back to London. William did not want to make another royal martyr, so he gave orders that James should be furnished with every facility for a more successful flight. At the same time he hastened his march to London. December 18, 1688, James left for France, and on the same day William took up his dwelling at Whitehall.

There had been riots in London and the country was without any regular government. It was necessary, therefore, to do something to reestablish order immediately. William called together the members of the House of Lords, all the members who had sat in the House of Commons during any of the parliaments of Charles II, and a number of the leading men of London, and asked their advice as to what should be done. They advised the calling of a convention, which, as in 1660, would be a parliament in all respects except that the summons which called it together would lack the signature and the seal of the king. This was done. William sent letters to all the county and town authorities, and a body was elected and gathered at London that was a parliament in everything except name.

458. William and Mary elected to the Throne.—After long debates a resolution was passed by this convention declaring that “King James II, having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between the king and the people, and having by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked people violated the fundamental laws and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, the throne is thereby vacant.” This declaration was not very logical and not strictly true. James had not abdicated the government, and his withdrawal was not the result of his violation of the laws, but of an armed invasion. But there were so many men in the convention who had preached and taught and forced others to acknowledge that resistance to the king was wrong under any circumstances that it was hard now for

them to find any very logical excuse for their action in resisting the king. By common consent consistency was ignored and the doctrine of nonresistance quietly abandoned. The really important declaration of the resolution was that made in its last clause, that the throne was vacant.

This being so, the convention passed a bill offering the crown to William and Mary as joint sovereigns, the administration of the government to be in the hands of William. With this offer they combined a declaration of rights enumerating the actions of the late king which they considered illegal, and stating their expectation that the new king and queen would agree to the parliamentary view of them. William and Mary accepted the crown on these terms and February 13, 1689, were proclaimed king and queen of England.



William III

459. The Revolution of 1688.

—The deposition of James II and the elevation of William and Mary to the throne by act of parliament are known as the "Revolution of 1688." The revo-

lution was a final victory of parliament and the people whom parliament represented over the principle of absolute monarchy. The new king and queen and their successors were on the throne because parliament had placed them there, not by "divine right." They had received the crown on certain conditions which were set forth in the very document which granted to them their authority as sovereigns. In the future they could not act independently of parliament, because the same power that had placed them on the throne could exercise control over them when on the throne. The revolution therefore settled forever that the

will of the ruler must be subject to the will of the people as expressed in parliament.

In other respects the "Glorious Revolution," as it is often called, accomplished less than has been sometimes claimed for it. No new classes were given the right to vote and there was no effort to represent the people more completely in parliament. It brought few if any advantages to the common people. It was a very successful revolution, but not one that extended very deeply or affected very many of the interests of the people. Nor was it a very high-minded revolution. The general desertion of James by the army, the nobles, and gentry, and even by those who owed all their fortunes to him and who had been in daily intercourse with him, was ungenerous and disloyal. Many of those also who now betrayed him and took the part of William, afterwards, when there seemed some possibility of his return to England, made secret agreements with him by messenger or letter, promising to give him their aid if he should get back. Thus they were twice betrayers. Among the men who carried out the Revolution of 1688 there was little or none of that devotion to high principles and ideals which governed the Puritans who resisted Charles I in the Long Parliament, and the royalists who sacrificed property and life to the support of the king in the Great Rebellion.

460. The Bill of Rights. — After the new king and queen had been crowned they transformed the convention into a regular parliament, and it proceeded to pass various bills. The most important of these was the "Bill of Rights," which was a reënactment in the form of statute law of the declaration of rights accepted by William and Mary the year before. Some of the most important of the thirteen clauses of the act were the following :

That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king; and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law.

That election of members to parliament ought to be free.

That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

That excessive bail ought not to be required nor excessive fines imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

And that for redress of all grievances and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

The Bill of Rights of 1689 should be classed with the Great Charter of 1215 and the Petition of Right of 1628 as the three most important and fundamental documents which define the English constitution. It has also been copied into the amendments to the constitution of the United States and into various other written constitutions. But it must always be remembered that the English constitution is not a written document like that of the United States and those of most other modern countries. The English constitution is merely the form of government of England, and this has been a matter of gradual growth, sometimes settled by definite laws, more often defined only by custom. Originally the king had practically all rights and powers of government, and the three great laws mentioned above are so important because they have restricted the despotism or the misgovernment of the king, and thus allowed the people to govern themselves through parliament and in accordance with law.

461. Annual Taxes and the Mutiny Act. — Some other questions of dispute or doubt were settled immediately after the revolution in such a way as to increase the powers of parliament. A large proportion of the taxes which had formerly been granted for the king's life were now authorized only for a year at a time. William was very angry at this restriction, but finally accepted it. Since that time, although no formal statute has been passed requiring that parliament should meet every year, an annual meeting is practically necessary, for if parliament did

not meet the taxes could not be collected and there would be no money to pay the ordinary expenses of government.

Still in the same year, 1689, the Mutiny Act was passed for the organization and discipline of the army. It consisted of a special act appropriating money for the payment of the troops, and authorizing the use of martial law for one year only. Since that time it has been renewed every year; and here again, if parliament did not meet in any year, the army could not be held together, at least legally, for there would be no martial law in existence. Parliament thus secured control of the army and at the same time made its own annual summons certain.

462. The Toleration Act. — The old religious questions were brought somewhat nearer a solution. An attempt was made, as had been suggested and even tried several times before, to pass a Comprehension Bill. This was a plan to change the prayer book and the rules of the church in such a way as to make the Dissenters willing to conform to them. The established church would thereby have been made more comprehensive. But now, as before and since, no way could be found to accomplish it. No changes that the Episcopalians were willing to make went far enough for the Presbyterians and other Dissenters. In accordance with the promises of William and of leading church of England men, a toleration act was therefore passed, allowing the Dissenters to form congregations and worship publicly in their own way. It also allowed Quakers to affirm instead of having to take an oath. This toleration did not include Roman Catholics or any who did not believe in the divinity of Christ, nor did it allow any but church of England men to hold office. Nevertheless even those who were not given formal freedom of worship were not persecuted. The times had changed; a more tolerant spirit was growing up in all things. The Jews, after being excluded from England for centuries, had begun to come in, from the time of Cromwell, though without legal authorization, and they were by this time quite numerous. They were well

treated, though not politically or socially recognized. Roman Catholics had their own services in private, and little by little began to resume a public and recognized existence.

463. Liberty of the Press. — A few years after the revolution all restrictions on freedom of printing, except the ordinary libel and sedition laws, were taken off. This was not done with any great formality or realization of the greatness of the change. Various plans for the control of books and papers issued from the press had been tried since the invention of printing. At one time the Star Chamber issued ordinances and examined proposed publications ; at another the work was in the hands of the bishop of London. For a number of years acts of parliament had been passed from time to time, known as "licensing acts," which authorized the appointment of an official licenser without whose approval no book or newspaper could be published. In 1695 parliament defeated the licensing act of the year, and none was ever afterwards introduced. The press, like religious worship and many other things, had become free with the downfall of the Tudor and Stuart arbitrary government and the widespread beliefs and feelings which had supported it.

464. Summary of the Period from 1660 to 1689. — The restoration which took place in 1660 was not only a restoration of the old line of kings, it was a restoration of parliament, of the established church, and of old customs. People were glad to get back to their old habits, and accepted Charles II as part of the old condition of things. No restrictions were imposed upon him, but practically his powers were very much limited. Just how great this limitation was it took all his reign and that of his brother to find out. At first there were no bounds to the loyalty of parliament and that of the majority of the people ; then there was a period when the favor shown to the Roman Catholics awakened the opposition of parliament and the fears of the people ; after this came a third period in which parliament and the people, in their dread of a return of civil war, again turned to the support of the king.

Charles generally showed good judgment and ended his reign in peace and popularity. James showed very bad judgment. Between 1685 and 1688 he exercised all the old arbitrary principles of government in an obstinate effort to put Roman Catholics on an equality with Protestants when the great majority of the people were entirely opposed to it. His deposition followed, and the election of William and Mary in 1688 and the adoption of the Bill of Rights in 1689 marked the final success of parliament in its effort to control government.

During the Restoration period the Anglican church was established still more firmly. Roman Catholics on the one hand and Dissenters on the other were shut out from all offices and even prohibited from worshiping according to their own ideas. Only after the revolution did parliament grudgingly pass a bill for toleration.

In foreign affairs England held but a low position compared with what she had occupied under Elizabeth or Cromwell. Charles and James had both been willing to receive money gifts from the king of France rather than to assert the proper position of their country.

General Reading. — MACAULAY, *History of England*, Vols. I and II, is the standard history of this period. Its brilliancy of description and grace of language are well known. Its statements of fact are mainly correct, but its analyses of the characters and motives of men are not to be taken too seriously. They are usually the mere personal views of a man of a naturally partisan mind. He exaggerates the importance of the Revolution of 1688. RANKE, *English History*, Vols. III and IV, is a fairer history of the period. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sects. 1-7. MACAULAY, *Sir William Temple* and *Sir James Mackintosh*, are valuable essays. AIRY, *The English Restoration and Louis XIV*, and HALE, *The Fall of the Stuarts and Western Europe from 1678 to 1697*. MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, chaps. i-iii. ABBOT, W. C., "The Long Parliament of Charles II," in the *English Historical Review*, January and April, 1906, is an important article.

Contemporary Sources. — EVELYN'S and PEPYS'S *Diaries* are of great contemporary interest and value. The Bill of Rights is printed in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, No. 239, and in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 19.

DRYDEN, *Annus Mirabilis*, *Absalom and Achitophel*, and *The Hind and the Panther*, and DEFOE, *History of the Great Plague of London*, are valuable. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 308-334.

Poetry and Fiction. — SCOTT, *Peveril of the Peak*, *Old Mortality*, *The Pirate*, and *The Bride of Lammermoor* belong to this period. BLACKMORE, *Lorna Doone*; CONAN DOYLE, *Micah Clarke*; and Miss YONGE, *The Danvers Papers*, are stories of Monmouth's rising.

Special Topics — (1) The Great Fire, PEPYS, *Diary*, September 22, 1666, and EVELYN, *Diary*; (2) Scientific Knowledge in the Restoration Period, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. IV, pp. 403-408; (3) Literature of the Restoration, *ibid.*, pp. 422-438; (4) the Pilgrim's Progress, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sect. 2; (5) Shaftesbury, *ibid.*, sects. 4 and 5; (6) the Reaction from Puritanism, *ibid.*, sect. 1; (7) the Massacre of Glencoe, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 102; (8) Influence of the Bill of Rights on the Constitution of the United States, ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, No. 239, or *Old South Leaflets*, No. 19, and *Constitution of the United States*, Amendments 1-10; (9) Coffee-houses, COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, No. 79.

CHAPTER XVII

THE PERIOD OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE 1689-1763

465. **The Battle of the Boyne.** — William had to fight for his new crown. Although he was declared by the English parliament to be king of Scotland and Ireland as well as of England, his acknowledgment in those countries was not as easily obtained as it had been in England. Yet it was pretty certain that if James remained king of either Scotland or Ireland, he would soon regain the English crown as well, and William recognized that he must hold all three British countries or none. The most prompt and decisive struggle was in Ireland. The deposed king secured some aid from France and came over to Ireland, counting on the support of the Roman Catholic people of that country and of the officials whom he had appointed there before his deposition. He was not disappointed. When he arrived he found a volunteer army awaiting him. The Irish parliament acknowledged his claim and the whole country soon declared for him, except a few towns inhabited almost entirely by English and Scotch settlers. He tried to bring those to submission by force. Londonderry and Enniskillen, the two principal Protestant towns, were subjected to sieges, but showed noble endurance through months of close investment and repeated attacks. Soon William with his Dutch officers and veteran army came over to Ireland and marched to meet his rival. The two armies met at the river Boyne, July 1, 1690. A decisive battle was fought in which the army of James was defeated and scattered and he himself forced to flee to France.

466. The Reconquest of Ireland. — James had not borne himself very well in the field, and an Irish gentleman after the battle called to the English, “Change leaders with us and we will fight you again.” But the revolt of Ireland was not dependent on his leadership. The spirit of liberty of the Irish people was aroused and they continued their resistance to William on their own account, even after James had retired to the continent. William seized Dublin and besieged and captured a number of Irish towns, but his army suffered much from the long sieges, the bad weather, and the attacks of the Irish army, which was led by an able and beloved Irish officer, Patrick Sarsfield. In the fall William had to return to England, but the next year, 1691, those whom he had left behind finally scattered the Irish army and captured Limerick, the last important Irish city to hold out. Ireland was thus once more conquered, as she had been so often before, after an unsuccessful struggle for independence. Her struggle in this case was not, however, an entire failure. In order to obtain the surrender of Limerick, Ginkell, the Dutch general commanding the English army, had been forced to grant very favorable terms. All the Irish who wished to go over sea and enter the French service were allowed to do so. About twelve thousand Irishmen, many of them noblemen and officers, took advantage of this opportunity and frequently afterwards fought against the English as part of the French army. The history of Ireland was much influenced by this emigration. After this time the natural leaders of her people were gone, and the names of Irish families became prominent in the annals of France, Spain, and other Roman Catholic powers on the continent, while Ireland herself remained to a great extent a nation of peasants.

In the second place it was agreed in the treaty that the Irish should be allowed to exercise their own religion, as in the reign of Charles II, when the Roman Catholics had been put practically on an equality with the Protestants. This part of the agreement was not carried out. An Irish parliament, which now included

only Protestants, protested against this clause, and William disowned it. Limerick has since been known to Irishmen as "the city of the broken treaty." For more than a century to come the Catholic population of Ireland was terribly oppressed and persecuted by the English government and by the small minority of Protestant settlers in Ireland of English or Scotch birth.

467. Resistance in Scotland; the Massacre of Glencoe. — In Scotland a parliament, somewhat irregularly constituted, accepted the revolution and acknowledged William. Episcopacy, which had lately been reintroduced, was immediately abolished and Presbyterianism and the Westminster Confession reestablished. But some of the nobles and others refused to agree to the deposition of James, seceded from parliament, and dashed away to the north to rouse the Highlanders in favor of the old king.¹ William sent an army to Scotland to meet them, but the Highlanders defeated it at Killiecrankie. The leader of the Jacobite army, Viscount Dundee, was, however, killed on the battlefield, and the army soon afterwards went to pieces. With great shrewdness William's government distributed a considerable sum of money among the poor Scottish clan chieftains and thus detached them from their party. Edinburgh Castle was held for a while by the adherents of James, but it finally surrendered and by the year 1691 all open resistance ceased in Scotland as it had in Ireland.

One unfortunate scene of the drama remained to be played. A proclamation was issued requiring all those who had risen under Dundee to lay down their arms and take an oath of allegiance to the new king by the last day of the year 1691, or else be treated as rebels in arms against the government. This was yielded to with more or less willingness by almost all the highland clans. But the head of one small branch of the McDonalds,

¹ This created the "Jacobite" party, so called from *Jacobus*, the Latin form of the name James. The well-known song "Bonnie Dundee" refers to this occurrence. Many other stirring Scotch songs express the sentiments of the Jacobites.

living in a valley called Glencoe, had in a spirit of defiance postponed making his submission till the very last day, so as to be known as the last man to submit. Then he was astonished and alarmed to find that there was no one in reach who had the power to receive his oath. He was forced to make a long trip through the snow-covered mountains, and only succeeded in reaching Inverary and inducing the sheriff to receive his oath on the 6th of January. This somewhat belated submission might certainly have been pardoned under the circumstances. Instead a punishment was meted out to the neglectful clan which has ever since remained one of the dark spots in history. Like other Scottish clans, they had in times past swept cattle from the lowlands and killed men in the contests connected with such expeditions, and thus made themselves chargeable with other crimes besides that



Glencoe: the Scene of the Massacre

of the delayed submission. A warrant was signed by William authorizing the extermination of the whole body of inhabitants of Glencoe, — about a hundred and fifty persons. Soon afterwards a regiment of soldiers appeared in the glen under the command of a member of a rival clan, but a relative of the wife of McDonald, and acting in every respect in a friendly way. They were received unsuspectingly by the clansmen and lived in their houses as their guests amid much merrymaking for two weeks. Then early one morning the soldiers, in obedience to the orders of their officers, fell suddenly upon those who had so lately been their hosts, and proceeded to kill men, women, and children indiscriminately. In

the bloody massacre some forty or fifty were killed outright ; as many more, principally women and children who escaped in the darkness, died of cold and starvation on the desolate mountains ; while the others escaped altogether. Their houses were then plundered and burned and their cattle driven off. The responsibility for the massacre of Glencoe has been the subject of much discussion. The immediate action was certainly due to Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, the king's principal minister in Scotland, who was hostile to the McDonald clan and took this opportunity for revenge. Yet William signed the order, and although all the facts may not have been told him, and he may have relied on the judgment of his advisers, he made himself responsible for the action by supporting the perpetrators of it. The whole story of treachery and cold-blooded atrocity is rather to be looked upon as sad testimony to the barbarity of the times than proof of the especial cruelty of any one man.

468. England and France. — Ireland and Scotland had been secured by William, but the deposed king had an ally in Louis XIV of France, who now determined to give him help to invade England itself. War with France was inevitable, even if James had not sought and obtained help from that country in his effort to get back the throne. Feeling in England had long been rising slowly into a settled hostility to France. This was due to three causes. First, France had become the protector of the Roman Catholics of Europe, as Spain had been a century before, and had threatened to assist Charles and James in emancipating the English Roman Catholics. Secondly, England and France were brought into conflict by the jealousy between their colonists in India and America. Thirdly, the English shared to a certain extent that general feeling of alarm in Europe at the steadily growing military and naval power of France which threatened to make the whole of Europe dependent on that country.

The accession of William of Orange to the crown of England, therefore, precipitated a war which was already imminent.

William had long been the special champion of resistance to the overweening ambition of France, and as stadtholder of Holland he had been engaged for years in a deadly conflict with Louis XIV. The help given by Louis to James transformed this contest, which William was waging on general European principles, into a national English struggle. War with France was from this time forward a repeated occurrence. The first of these struggles began immediately. William having declared war at the request of parliament, an alliance was formed comprising the somewhat unfamiliar allies, England, Holland, Spain, and the German Empire. Hostilities had already begun when the alliance was signed.

469. First War with France. — While the struggles had been taking place in Ireland and Scotland the French had sent a fleet of eighty vessels to attack the coast of England on their own account as well as in the interests of James. In 1690 they gained a victory over a combined Dutch and English fleet off Beachy Head and burned part of the town of Teignmouth. Two years afterwards another French fleet, still larger and better equipped, met an English fleet near La Hogue on the French coast. This time the English, after a three days' battle, were victorious, the French fleet was scattered, and England saved from invasion. This was the greatest naval battle since the Armada. It was a doubly important victory, for it discouraged Louis, who after this more and more neglected the navy for his armies, and the English and Dutch fleets protected the Channel without difficulty.

England was now safe from invasion, and the later battles were for the general objects of the war, and not merely to keep the new king on the throne. These battles were fought on the continent, on the border between France and the Netherlands, William being in command of the allied armies. Successive battles went in favor of the French, though William was so skillful in reorganizing his defeated troops that the French obtained comparatively little advantage from their victories. William was able to keep troops in the field for an indefinite time, for he was provided plentifully

with money from England. This made it possible to block the progress of the French, who were finding it more and more difficult to secure funds for their constant and expensive warfare. In 1695 William was successful in capturing from the French the city and fortress of Namur in the Netherlands. It was the first time in fifty-two years that the French had lost a battle or allowed one of their fortified towns to be captured, and it indicated that the tide of success was turning against them, at least for the time. Two years afterwards, therefore, in 1697, a general European peace was agreed upon. The treaty is known as the "Peace of Ryswick," from the little Dutch town where it was signed. It was on the whole favorable to William, as by it he was recognized as king of England, and the French surrendered to their previous owners all the places which they had conquered during the war.

470. Personal Position of William. — William was less successful in obtaining the affection and loyalty of his English subjects than he was in securing his position on the throne and in carrying out his designs in Europe. He was, in the first place, a foreigner, and the English have never been fond of foreigners. He was a cold, silent, almost gloomy man, without any of that cheerful humor and habit of pleasantry which had gained popularity for many an English sovereign who had few other claims to the good will of his subjects. He was hard-working, true to his word, patriotic, and wise; but he was so deeply interested in his statesmanlike projects that he had little time for those lighter interests which make up an attractive royal court and even interest and please those classes which have little part in them. He was valued and respected in England, but never loved or received with enthusiasm. Six years after William and Mary had been crowned the queen died, to the king's sincere sorrow and to the loss of much of the affection in which they had both been held for her sake. Almost the only permanent memorial of Mary's part in the government is the foundation of Greenwich Hospital. Charles II had begun the building of a grand palace at Greenwich on the Thames

a few miles below London, but it had never been finished. Its situation did not suit William's delicate health, and the queen took up the task of completing it, and then endowed it as an asylum for disabled sailors.

William's position as king was probably as unattractive to him as his personality was to his subjects. He did not trust the English noblemen and ministers who surrounded him, and his distrust was fully justified. His lack of popularity had made it seem possible at various times that he might either lose his throne or abdicate it voluntarily. A number of the prominent men of the country, therefore, tried to make good their future fortunes by giving secret promises to James to bring about his return, if there should prove to be any chance of it. William learned of these instances of secret offers of assistance to James one after another, till he felt that there was no one at the court whom he could trust except his own Dutch friends and officers. These he advanced to highly paid places and rewarded with titles and estates. By this action he still further increased the discontent of Englishmen.

Besides these men who were trying to carry water on both shoulders a Jacobite party existed, consisting of those who had never favored the expulsion of James or were now for one reason or another strongly in favor of his return. They had a standing offer from the king of France to send over troops if they would first bring about an insurrection in England, but the whole reign of William drifted by without any good opportunity arriving. In 1696 a Jacobite plot to assassinate him was discovered and several men were tried and executed. The general preference of the nation for William and his system of government was shown at this time by the "Association," which was signed by thousands throughout the country, as was done when Elizabeth was threatened with assassination, declaring that in case he was murdered the signers would support the princess Anne, not James.

471. Political Position of William. — William had frequently to feel the tight rein kept upon him by parliament. In most

countries of Europe the king at this time was a ruler with unlimited powers. In England the rebellion and the revolution had placed the center of gravity of government in parliament, not in the king. Parliament was by no means loath to use the newly won extension of its powers. The Bill of Rights, the yearly grant of the revenue, and the passage of the Mutiny Act showed its intention to restrict the powers of the king. The moment the Peace of Ryswick was signed parliament insisted on a reduction of the army. It did not like its expense, and according to old experience dreaded its retention lest it should give the king greater personal powers. William believed that the keeping up



Royal Arms of William and Mary, including the Lion of Holland

of a large army was necessary to force Louis to keep the treaty and to be ready for the next war which should break out. He had to give way, however, and the army was reduced to seven thousand men, leaving out of the service even the Dutch guards of the king. William was so vexed that he seriously planned to abdicate the throne and return to Holland.

Parliament also remonstrated against and even withdrew grants of crown land which William had lavishly made to certain Dutch military officers, ministers, and favorites in his service. The complicated treaties into which he had entered with foreign countries were also much criticised in parliament, and four of his ministers were impeached by the House of Commons, though they were supported and protected by the House of Lords.

472. Party Government. — The power of parliament was no doubt made greater by the existence of the two great political parties. Usually either the Whigs or the Tories had a decided majority in the House of Commons, and it acted in important matters according to the principles or the policy of that party. The Tories wanted peace abroad and the continued control of the established church and of the landholding gentry at home. The

Whigs, who were in a majority during the early part of William's reign, were more inclined to keep up the army and the foreign war, to extend toleration in religion, and to favor the interests of the merchant class. In lesser matters parliament did not act very consistently, because the attendance was apt to be irregular and few devices had yet been invented to keep the majority together. At first William, like Washington in his first administration, chose his ministers from both parties, on the ground that both parties had joined to bring him into power. But the plan did not work well. There were constant disputes among the ministers and they did not get along well with parliament. In 1694, at the suggestion of Sunderland, a shrewd statesman, he dismissed the Tories and chose his ministers from the Whig party alone.

Now the ministers and the majority in parliament were of the same party, and everything went along much more smoothly. The Whig members of parliament attended more regularly, because if they did so, and thus helped the ministers, they were rewarded by appointments to office and other favors. If the ministry found the Whig majority in parliament becoming slender, they could and unfortunately did keep it together for some time longer by paying members to vote for the measures they wanted passed. The practice of bribery was on the increase. Ministers not only gave bribes to members of parliament but also got rich themselves by receiving bribes for their favor.

By choosing all his ministers from one party for the purpose of getting along better with parliament, William probably did not realize that he was making them his masters and putting still more power into the hands both of ministers and of parliament. But he soon discovered that he had done so. When the Tories obtained a majority in parliament and insisted on a change of policy, the king, in order not to be in constant conflict with parliament, found it necessary to allow the most prominent of his Whig ministers to resign and to appoint Tory ministers in their places. On the other hand, when a group of ministers of the same party

as the majority in parliament gave any advice to the king he found himself practically compelled to take it. He could not carry out plans against the wishes of his ministers, and he could not now very well choose new ministers, because they would be of the opposition party and would not be able to get along with parliament. The ministers were coming to have power even over the king through being the representatives of the majority of parliament.

473. The Cabinet. — Still another advance in the power of the ministers was being unwillingly conceded during the same time. Under Charles II, as has been seen, it had become usual for the king to dismiss individual ministers who became obnoxious to parliament. Under William and Mary, as just described, it had become usual for all the ministers to be of one party and for all to resign when their party lost its majority in parliament. It now became customary for a certain number to hold together and to be consulted together by the king. The first conspicuous instance of this was the group known as the "Whig Junto." After William had decided to have all his ministers of one party he regularly consulted the four who held the highest positions and in whom he had the greatest confidence. In earlier times the king had consulted the ministers, as in the case of the "Cabal," separately, not as a body; or if he consulted them in a group, it was the larger body known as the "Privy Council" which he called together. Now, however, it was a small group of influential ministers who met frequently for purposes of conference with the king or for consultation among themselves. Although this practice was by no means invariably followed afterwards, yet it was never long given up. It grew more and more to be the regularly established custom that a certain number of the king's ministers should form a sort of council, and that they should act together after once being appointed, and resign together when they were opposed by parliament. This was the earliest form of the cabinet, which has now become such an important part of the English government.

474. The National Debt. — Notwithstanding all the disorder and civil wars of the seventeenth century, England had been growing rich. Commerce had brought into existence a class of wealthy men, especially in London and the other large cities, who possessed larger amounts of capital than had been known before. This money was drawn upon by the government not only by taxation but also by borrowing. Loans were authorized by parliament, and those who lent to the government were assured of receiving the interest on their loans by a guarantee of the income from certain taxes. The permanent national debt of England began in 1692, when parliament authorized the treasury to borrow a million pounds. From this time forward the government has paid the interest on all that it has owed, but has made no attempt to repay all that it has borrowed, and has even borrowed more money from time to time whenever it has had any special need. When any person to whom the government owes part of its debt wishes the money, he simply sells his claim to some one else who has money to loan and is willing to take over the bond of the government. Thus the national debt has become a permanent institution and has always been a popular and safe form of investment.

475. The Bank of England. — In 1694 the Bank of England was founded. Before this time large amounts of money were usually deposited with the London goldsmiths, who had strong vaults and a high reputation for honesty. But a safer place of deposit and one more specially suited to its purpose was evidently needed for the large sums now being used in business. As the war with France dragged on, the government also needed to borrow more money for its expenses. A plan was suggested by a Scotchman named William Patterson, who was a member of parliament and also a friend of the chancellor of the Exchequer, by which these two needs were fulfilled and certain other advantages reached at the same time. Following his plan a number of wealthy merchants formed a company and agreed to loan the government

£1,200,000 at $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, and were in return granted a charter allowing them to establish, under certain regulations, a bank to receive deposits, loan money, and carry on a general banking business. This constituted the Bank of England. The bank has been rechartered by parliament time and time again, and the rules under which it has been allowed to act have been repeatedly changed. It has been the financial agent of the English government in all its larger money operations and its stock has been one of the most common forms of investment in England. It was later allowed to issue a certain amount of paper



The Bank of England

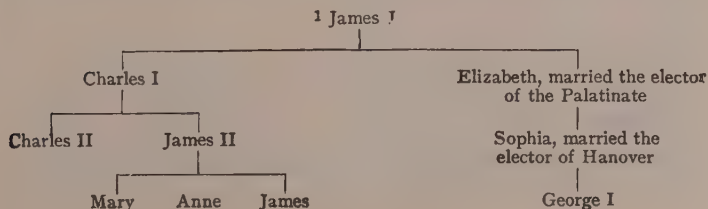
money, and Bank of England notes are the familiar form of paper currency. Its building was placed in the heart of the city of London and has been enlarged repeatedly until it has come to be one of the most conspicuous objects of the great city. It is sometimes called the “Old Lady of Threadneedle Street,” from the name of one of the streets on which it borders.

476. The Act of Settlement. — After the death of Mary the question of the succession to the crown came up. William and Mary had no children and William did not marry again. All the children of Anne, Mary's sister, had died. It was evident.

therefore, that, although Anne would succeed William, some further arrangements would have to be made as to who should succeed her. The "Act of Settlement" was adopted by parliament in 1701 to settle this and other difficulties. It passed over all the near relatives of Mary and Anne, because they were Roman Catholics, and arranged that the crown on the death of Anne should go to her second cousin Sophia, electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James I.¹ Sophia was the nearest relative who was a Protestant and therefore satisfactory to most Englishmen.

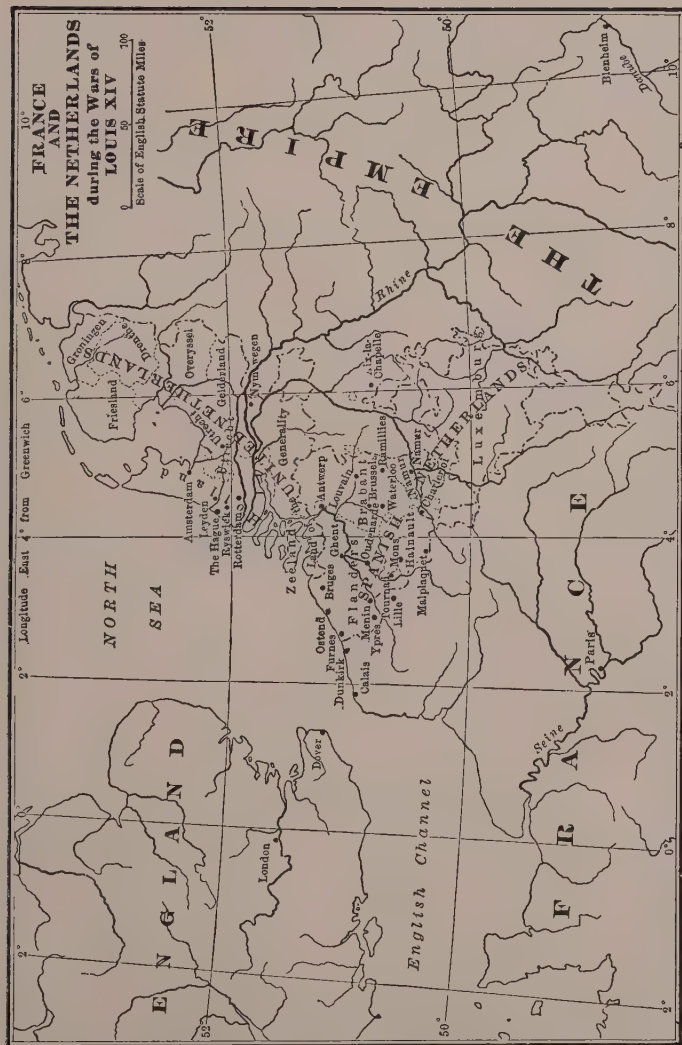
While the succession to the crown was being arranged by this act occasion was taken to include in it a number of provisions of constitutional importance. These were on points which had not been thought of when the Bill of Rights was drawn up, or which were suggested by recent occurrences or by the anticipated coming of a foreigner to the throne. In future, according to this act, every ruler of England must be a member of the church of England, he must not marry a Roman Catholic, nor may he declare war on behalf of his foreign dominions. According to its terms judges hold their offices during good behavior and can be removed only at the petition of both houses of parliament. No pardon granted by the king can stand in the way of an impeachment by the House of Commons. Other provisions were intended to prevent favoritism to foreigners, to restrict the influence of government officers in parliament, to lessen the authority of the cabinet, and to strengthen that of the old privy council.

477. War of the Spanish Succession. — During the later years of William's life clouds were gathering for another great war in



Europe. The king of Spain was weak-minded and had no children or other near relatives. There was great probability that a part or the whole of his widely scattered dominions in Europe and America would either come into the possession of Louis XIV of France or come under his influence by being bequeathed to a member of his family. This would enormously increase the already great French power in Europe; and it was therefore to the interest of other nations to prevent such a settlement. The rulers of the other countries of Europe also hoped themselves to obtain part or the whole of the Spanish inheritance. Two successive treaties between England, France, and the other countries interested were formed under William's influence, known as the "partition treaties," to arrange the division of the Spanish dominions peacefully. When the king of Spain died, however, it was found that he had left Spain and the great bulk of his dominions to the grandson of the king of France. The ambassador at Paris said "There are no more Pyrenees." Louis threw over the partition treaty and prepared to fight for his grandson's claims. Other countries declared their opposition to this increase of the power of France, and the long War of the Spanish Succession broke out.

478. The Grand Alliance. — This war began in 1701, but England was drawn into it only by later occurrences. Lying between France and the Dutch republic was a group of provinces then under the government of Spain and known as the "Spanish Netherlands." A number of towns in these provinces were heavily fortified and occupied by garrisons half Spanish and half Dutch. They were known as the "barrier fortresses," being intended to protect the Spanish Netherlands in the first place and Holland in the second from invasion by the French. On the outbreak of the war, by a secret agreement between the French government and the Spanish parts of the garrisons, the Dutch were suddenly driven out and French garrisons introduced. The barrier towns thus became a point of attack instead of a defense to William and constituted an immediate danger to his Dutch



dominions. William thereupon entered the struggle against Louis and signed a treaty known as the "Grand Alliance," — an agreement between England, Holland, and the Austrians to drive Louis out of the barrier fortresses and to prevent the union of France and Spain. At almost the same time Louis performed an act of hostility to the English people as marked as that against the Dutch. James II since his deposition had lived as an honored guest of the king of France in the palace of St. Germain, not far from Paris. Louis had nevertheless at the Peace of Ryswick recognized William as king of England. In 1701 James died and Louis immediately disregarded the treaty and roused the anger of all England by acknowledging the son of James as king of England, speaking to him as "your majesty," and inviting him to visit him in state as if he were a brother monarch. This young man, whose name was James and whom his followers called "James III," became known in England from this time forward as the "Pretender."¹ When parliament met the Whigs proved to be in a majority, and intense indignation was expressed that the king of France had recognized as king one whose claims had just been distinctly rejected by the English parliament in the Act of Settlement. On the strength of this feeling, combined with the former causes for hostility to France, England went heartily into the war. The army was raised to forty thousand men, the navy brought into good condition, and a large amount of money appropriated for their expenses.

William did not live to take the lead of these troops in the field, as he had anticipated. Early in the year 1702 he was injured by a fall from his horse and soon afterwards died. Anne then became queen.

479. Marlborough. — William before his death had placed temporarily at the head of the united English and Dutch forces a

¹ In later times when his son, Charles Edward, came to fight for his father's claims and his own they were called respectively the "Old Pretender" and the "Young Pretender."

man who was destined to win far higher military glory and success than his own. John Churchill, now earl and afterwards duke of Marlborough, was one of the courtiers of James II who had been taken into favor by William, enriched by the grant of estates, ennobled, and employed in many duties for the government. He had seen much military service and shown brilliant abilities when acting as an officer in Ireland and in the Netherlands. He was not a man of high character and he had, like other courtiers and ministers of William, at one time made secret terms with James.



Queen Anne

When this was discovered he had been for a while deprived of all his offices and disgraced at court. William was not a man, however, to let good ability be wasted when there was need for it, and men of military training and gifts were none too numerous at that time. Marlborough was therefore restored to favor and placed in command of the allied English and Dutch forces on the continent immediately under the king.

William's death left him for the time with all the military power and responsibility in his hands. In military and foreign affairs it was Marlborough rather than the queen who was the real successor of William. This resulted partly from the fact that he had directly and by means of his wife very great personal influence over the new queen. Anne was a good woman but not very bright, nor was she very strong-willed. Her husband, Prince George of Denmark, although he lived in England, was a foreigner by birth and interests and a quite insignificant man who furnished her no guidance. During the early part of her reign, therefore, while Anne ruled England, it was Marlborough, and still more Lady Marlborough, who ruled the queen. In their

private intercourse and correspondence Lady Marlborough addressed the queen as "Mrs. Morley," while Anne addressed her as "Mrs. Freeman," and no deference or ceremony was practiced. In fact Lady Marlborough frequently criticized the queen so harshly as to reduce her to tears, and dictated to her just what she should do and say under certain circumstances.

480. The Great Victories of the War. — Marlborough, who had been made by the queen captain general of all English forces wherever they might be, now proceeded to the Netherlands and in conjunction with other leaders of the allies worked out plans for the contest against the French. Year after year campaigns under various leaders were fought in the Netherlands, in southern Germany, along the Rhine, in Italy, in Spain, and in Asia and America. The fleets fought in the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies. Many sea and land battles were fought and both successes and reverses were numerous; but year by year Marlborough himself gathered a harvest of brilliant victories. Four great battles, fought respectively in the years 1704, 1706, 1708, and 1709, have become famous. They were those of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. The first of these was the culmination of a bold and skillful campaign in which Marlborough had fought his way through Germany till he had succeeded in uniting his troops with those of his Austrian and other allies near the little village of Blenheim on the Danube River in Bavaria. The French and their allies had gathered there to meet them, hoping in case of a victory to press on and capture Vienna. A bloody contest was fought between the two armies, each numbering more than fifty thousand men. It resulted in a brilliant victory for Marlborough and his allies, the destruction of a large part of the French army, the driving of the French permanently out of Germany, and a break in the tradition of their almost invariable success. Marlborough, who had already been created a duke and granted a life pension of £5000 a year, was now congratulated and thanked by

Anne and by both houses of parliament, and given the old royal manor of Woodstock, on which was built for him at public expense the great building which has always since been known as Blenheim palace.

The victories of Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet were won in various parts of the Netherlands, which was necessarily the principal theater of the war, as it was the border land between France and Holland. The war went generally against the French, and at various times they offered favorable terms to close it. The members of the Grand Alliance, however, were anxious to win still further advantages, and Marlborough was not as wise an adviser in statesmanship as he was a brilliant commander in war. It was continued therefore at enormous expense and for doubtful advantages.

481. Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. — Even when peace was finally made the terms were neither so disadvantageous to France nor so honorable to England as might have been secured at an earlier time. In 1711 the English ministers opened secret negotiations with the French king apart from their allies and agreed on all general points before they disclosed the matter to them. Finally the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713. The French prince was allowed to keep the throne of Spain, where he had already been crowned and obtained the acceptance of most of his new subjects. France on the whole, however, lost territory and prestige, and even the close family alliance with Spain proved to be of but slight advantage to her. The Italian possessions of the Spanish crown were handed over partly to the Italian duke of Savoy, partly to the Austrian emperor. Austria also obtained the old Spanish Netherlands. Holland gained little except freedom from the constant threat of being invaded and conquered by France.

England obtained greater advantages from the treaty than any other European country. Her gains were, however, not of European territory, but almost all in the direction of that extension of

her colonial empire and distant interests which was the most marked tendency of English growth during this period. On the continent of Europe she retained Gibraltar and Minorca, which had been captured by her fleet during the war. In America she obtained the recognition of her claims to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the land around Hudson Bay, and one of the West Indian Islands. She also obtained a valuable commercial concession from Spain in the form known as the "Asiento Treaty."

This gave her not only permission to take negro slaves from Africa to the Spanish West Indies, which had been a rather shameful object of struggle on the part of her merchants and sailors from the time of Queen Elizabeth, but also an actual and legal monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies for thirty years. She also obtained the right to send to Porto Bello annually one ship of six hundred tons burden loaded with goods to sell to the Spanish colonists. This entering wedge for trade with the Spanish colonies was valued and put to its fullest use by England shortly afterwards.

Somewhat similar trading advantages in another direction were obtained by means of a treaty with Portugal, which has always been known as the "Methuen Treaty," from the name of the minister who arranged it. By its terms England agreed to admit port and other Portuguese wines into England at a rate of duty one third lower than she admitted those of France, while Portugal in return gave admission to English manufactured goods on very favorable terms.

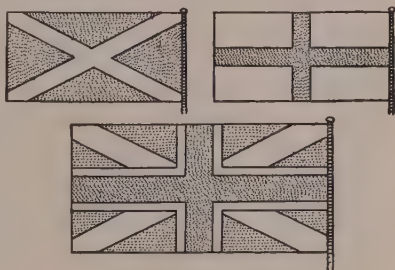
482. English Naval Supremacy. — England emerged from the War of the Spanish Succession with the strongest fleet in the world. The naval greatness of Spain had long since passed away. She was too poor, too badly governed, and too much occupied with contests on land to keep up a great navy. Indeed, after the loss of the Armada her fleet had never been brought up again to any considerable efficiency. The navy of Holland rose into prominence and strength when the long contest with Spain and

the necessities of her colonial dominions led her to make herself a great naval power. The contests with England during the Commonwealth and early Restoration period had shown her fleet in its greatest development. But the long and expensive contests that the Netherlands had to wage on their land frontiers to protect themselves against Louis XIV had prevented them from keeping up their navy. Then in turn France, as part of her great national strength under that monarch, developed a great navy which was able to defeat or at least to cope on equal terms with that of England. But the enormous sums which had to be spent in her widely extended land wars left little means for keeping up a navy. England alone was in a position to continue the building up of her naval power; and for the sake of her colonies, her growing commerce, and the protection of her coasts from invasion she felt the necessity of doing so. At the time of the Treaty of Utrecht, therefore, England was far stronger on the sea than any of the other European powers, and she continued to hold this supremacy. It was not a period of great sea fights, and no victories on the water were gained to correspond to Blenheim and other such victories on land, but England's predominant sea power was recognized by her rivals and carefully kept up by her own statesmen.

483. Union with Scotland. — When James I had tried to induce the English and Scotch parliaments to unite more closely and to form one nation with the same laws, church organization, and government, as well as the same king, neither the Scotch nor the English were ready for any such union. It had taken them about a century to become so. Immediately after Anne came to the throne, in 1702, commissioners were appointed from both countries to arrange terms for a closer union. There was much difficulty in overcoming the obstacles in the way. The Scotch demanded the right to share in the commerce of England. Englishmen, on the other hand, were very jealous of the trade which they had built up with their colonies and with other countries,

and they were reluctant to admit any one else to share it. After long disputes, however, this and other questions were settled, and in 1707 the union was agreed to by both nations. There were no longer to be separate English and Scotch parliaments, but a joint parliament for what was now called the "Kingdom of Great Britain." Forty-five members were to be elected to the House of Commons from Scotch counties and boroughs, and sixteen peers were to be elected to the House of Lords by the whole number of Scotch nobles. The "Union Jack" was at the same time adopted as the flag of the United Kingdom. It was formed by uniting the square red cross of England with the Scots' diagonal white cross of St. Andrew.¹

The established church of Scotland remained presbyterian while that of England remained episcopalian. Besides the church, the common and statute law, the money and banking systems, the universities, and many other of the older



Union Jack

institutions of the countries remained separate, and there long remained, and indeed still remains, much difference of national feeling. It was but little more than the crown and the legislatures which were combined, but this was sufficient to make their policy in all foreign and in many internal questions the same.

484. Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. — Scotland was united to England on almost equal terms and received from the larger country the consideration due to a willing partner. Ireland, on the other hand, so far as the native Irish were concerned, remained,

¹ The word *Jack* is said to be derived from *Jacques*, the French form of the name *James*. James I having been the first to use a combined flag for the two nations.

as she had always been, a conquered country, held down unwillingly by the superior power of England. A great many of her leading men, as before described, had emigrated and were making successful careers for themselves in the military or civil service of France and other Roman Catholic countries. The mass of the people of Ireland was therefore a poor and despised peasantry with a mere scattering of men of higher position and abilities, especially in the towns.

Ireland was ruled partly in the interests of the English and Scotch settlers, partly in the interests of England herself. The Irish parliament consisted of Protestants only, which excluded probably four fifths of the population, since almost all those of native blood had clung to their Roman Catholic faith. This Protestant parliament from time to time passed harsh laws, usually described as the "penal laws," intended to keep down the Roman Catholics. Some of these laws had reference to property. The land belonging to a Roman Catholic must at his death be divided equally among his children, instead of all descending to the eldest son, as would usually occur if the father had been a Protestant; if any one of the sons, however, became a Protestant, he received all the land, while his brothers, if Roman Catholics, received none. If parents with any property died leaving minor children, these were placed by law under the control of a Protestant guardian. Other laws concerned education. No Roman Catholic could enter the university, or be a schoolmaster, or send his child to a Roman Catholic school at home or abroad. The Irish Roman Catholics must either remain absolutely ignorant or go to Protestant schools. A third group of penal laws referred to religion. The church of England had been made the established church of Ireland also, and although Presbyterianism was now allowed under the Toleration Act, Roman Catholic worship was not permitted. In 1703 a law was passed which enabled more than a thousand priests to perform service in their parish churches on being registered and supervised by the

government. But they were required to take such oaths as made it impossible for them to perform many of their religious duties; they were subject to heavy fines and penalties for trying to convert Protestants and for marrying Protestants to Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholics were excluded from the right to hold office or to serve in positions of honor or trust. Many other laws were passed from time to time during the eighteenth century, either by the Irish or the British parliament, laying the most burdensome restrictions upon the native Irish people.

485. Trade Laws against Ireland. — This oppression of the Roman Catholic Irish was imposed upon the great majority of the nation by a small minority, — the English and Scotch settlers. These Protestant settlers were enabled to keep down their countrymen by the assistance of England; but they in their turn had to recognize their inferior position when English trade interests were endangered. The English government had no intention of allowing any industries to grow up in Ireland in the hands of either Roman Catholics or Protestants, which would interfere with the interests of England. The English parliament therefore prohibited the importation into England of any kind of cattle, meat, butter, or cheese from Ireland. A law was passed forbidding the export of Irish woolen manufactures to any country but England, and burdening even these with heavy duties, thus ruining the Irish cloth manufacture for the greater prosperity of that of England. In many other ways Irish industry was restricted. This led to much discontent even among the English and Scotch Protestant settlers in Ireland, and to a steady emigration of many of them to America, where they made up a considerable part of the population of several of the colonies and became known as the "Scotch-Irish."

486. Political Parties under Queen Anne. — Anne was by nature and training a high Tory. She was narrow-minded, conservative in all her feelings, and devoted to the established church. When she came to the throne the Tories had a majority in parliament.

Marlborough, not being closely identified with either party and wanting only to obtain support for the war and to retain his influence over the queen, proclaimed himself also a Tory. At the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, therefore, the condition of things was a peculiar one. The sovereign, the ministers, and parliament were all Tories, and yet they were carrying on a great foreign war, favoring commerce, and allowing Dissenters to increase their numbers and influence, all of which were Whig and not Tory principles. This had arisen partly from the personal influence of William, partly from the peculiar condition of the times,



Arms of Queen Anne

which made the national interests stronger than party prejudices.

Such a condition could not last very long. The interest of the nation in the war and the personal influence of Marlborough gradually forced the Tories out of office and their majority was lost in parliament. By 1705 a clear Whig majority had come into existence, and as one Whig minister after another was appointed to take the place of the Tories who resigned, Marlborough declared himself a Whig. By 1708 the queen was forced to appoint a full Whig ministry, much as she disliked that party and its policy.

The early part of the reign of Anne marks the period at which three customs, long growing, as already shown for two of them, became a settled part of the English constitution. First, the sovereign must drop his or her own personal views on politics and appoint a ministry of the same party as the majority in parliament. Secondly, the ministry or cabinet must all be of the same party, and must act as a unit in all matters of general policy. Thirdly, the sovereign must sign a bill which has received the approval of the ministry and both houses of parliament. The third of these customs arises from the other two. If the sovereign refuses to sign a bill which the ministers recommend, they will resign their

office ; but the sovereign cannot appoint a ministry from the other party, because they would be in a minority in parliament. Therefore there would be no ministry and government could not go on. In 1707 occurred the last case in which the sovereign refused to sign a bill passed by parliament. Since that time the veto power has ceased to be exercised by the English kings. When a bill has been passed by parliament the sovereign signs it as a matter of course.

The power of the Whigs did not last long. The nation was becoming weary of the war, the queen was becoming weary of Lady Marlborough, the ministry and the majority in parliament acted unwisely in impeaching a noisy Tory preacher of London named Sacheverell. A wave of popular excitement spread over the country, high church and royalist views were expressed everywhere, the ministers were attacked, and in the next parliament they lost their majority. The Tories were again in power, at least so far as having the ministry, a majority in the House of Commons, and the sympathy of the queen extended. The House of Lords had still a small Whig majority. A bold stroke was now made. There was just one way in which a majority in the House of Lords could be changed. The sovereign has a right to create new noblemen when he or she thinks best. The ministers now asked Queen Anne to exercise this power by raising twelve men, all of whom were known to be Tories, to the peerage. They thus became members of the House of Lords and changed its majority to the same party as that to which the ministers and the majority of the House of Commons belonged. From this occurrence it became evident that just as the king has to give way in any contest with parliament, so if at any time the two houses are strongly opposed to one another, the House of Lords may be forced to give way to the House of Commons.

Several laws were now enacted to keep down the Whigs. The "Occasional Conformity Act" was intended to prevent the practice by which a Dissenter conformed to the church of England test

on the one occasion when he entered upon an office, but at all other times attended his own church. The "Property Qualification Act" prohibited any one from being a member of parliament who did not have an income drawn from land amounting to at least £200 a year. The "Schism Act" made it necessary for every one to obtain a license from the bishop of his diocese before he could open a school.

Some of the Tories went still farther in their opposition to the liberal policy in force since the revolution, and became out-and-out Jacobites. They opened up communications with the son of James II and offered to obtain the repeal of the Act of Settlement of 1701 and to endeavor to make him king on the death of Anne, if he would become a Protestant. He refused to barter his religion for a throne, and the Tory leaders knew very well that not even their own party, the country clergy and gentry, would accept a Roman Catholic king. While these plans were in progress Anne died suddenly, in 1714, and an entire change came over all political parties.

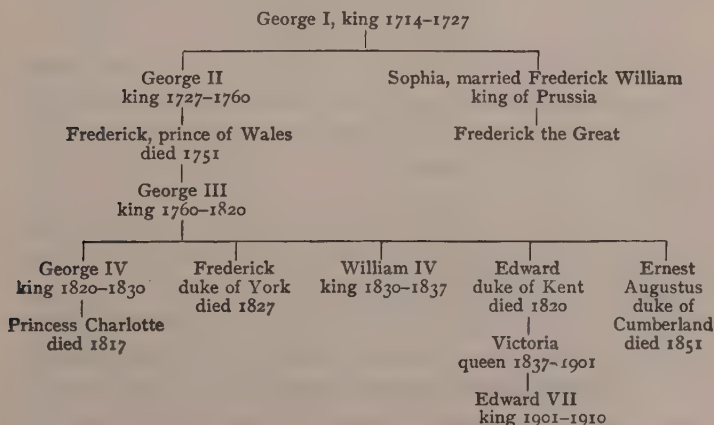
487. Accession of George I. — The electress Sophia of Hanover had died a few weeks before Anne. Her son was immediately proclaimed king of England as George I, retaining his Hanoverian dominions also. The "Four Georges" followed one another in succession, their reigns continuing through the whole remainder of the eighteenth century and far down into the nineteenth.

They were not gifted rulers or men of a very fine type, but the time had gone by when the personality of the king was of much consequence. The regular course of government would now be pursued and the desires of parliament carried out, no matter who sat upon the throne. With the exception of one short period, ministers looked to the majority in parliament, not to the king, for support. In other respects this was a period of great importance for England, — a period in which she grew from an insular state to a great empire, and in which internal changes and struggles of the greatest interest took place.

George I, believing with some reason that all Tories were Jacobites, gave his entire confidence to the Whigs and formed a ministry from among them. There had been much popular dread also lest the Tory leaders during Anne's last days would bring in the Pretender as a Roman Catholic king. The next parliament therefore proved to have a Whig majority. After the recent party changes the Whig leaders now used their position and influence so skillfully and the classes that supported them were so strong that that party became established in power for almost fifty years. Instead of the rapid alternation of parties which had occurred under William and Anne, there was a long control by the Whigs unbroken till 1760.

488. **Jacobite Rising of the Earl of Mar.** — An effort to drive out the new king of the House of Hanover¹ and to restore the old Stuart line followed immediately upon the accession of George I. The Pretender, when he refused the offer of the Tory leaders made just before Anne's death, had hoped that on her deathbed she would recommend him as her successor, and that Louis XIV of France would then support him in an attempt to get back his

¹ The Hanoverian line of kings was as follows:



throne without giving up his religion. Anne and Louis died within a year of one another, but neither of them gave him encouragement or help. Thereupon, in 1715, at his summons some of his adherents in Scotland rose in rebellion under the earl of Mar, and others in the north of England declared for him at the same time; but after some fighting both were defeated by government troops and surrendered or were scattered. Although the Pretender landed in Scotland he showed himself incompetent and spiritless and soon returned to France. Several of those who had taken part in the rising or in plots connected with it were executed for treason, but the greater number were allowed to escape or were pardoned. The rising of 1715 had been scarcely more than a ripple on the surface, and the real interests of England at the time were in other directions.



Coat of Arms under Kings of the House of Hanover, 1714-1807

489. The South Sea Bubble. — The broadening commercial interests of the nation, the foundation of the bank, and the increasing wealth of the country had led at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession to the formation of mercantile companies of all kinds and to a great deal of speculation in their stock. Lottery after lottery was established and numerous wild projects were entered upon principally for the purpose of dealing in the stock of the companies formed to develop them. One organization of this kind, the South Sea Company, was founded and obtained a charter from the government in 1711 for the purpose of trading with the Spanish American colonies and other parts of America and Asia. It was favored by the ministry, given especially great commercial privileges, and treated, like the bank, as being almost a part of the government. Its capital was increased from time to time and its privileges extended. Holders of the national debt were encouraged to give up their bonds and take for them stock of the South Sea Company. Finally, in 1720, the directors of the

company obtained an act of parliament authorizing them on payment of an immense sum to take the whole national debt into their management.

Speculation more reckless than any before or since in English history now began in this stock. Everybody believed that the plans must be all right, since the government approved of them. The directors officially promised large dividends, though there was really but a bare possibility that they could pay any at all. It was rumored that the government was arranging a treaty with Spain by which that country was to receive Gibraltar and Minorca and give England in return gold mines in Peru which were to be turned over to the South Sea Company. All classes of people were carried away by the passion for speculation. Country gentlemen sold the estates which had been in their families for generations to buy shares of the South Sea Company and other stocks. Clergymen, dissenting ministers, courtiers, noblemen, literary men, poor widows, — all put their savings, their earnings, or their borrowings into stock, especially that of the favored South Sea Company. The price of its shares rose and rose, and yet there were thousands anxious to buy them at any price. The stock finally sold at ten times its par value.

This went on for some weeks. Then the excitement began to die down. People began to doubt whether they would get such large returns for their money as they had anticipated, and here and there began to sell their stock at less than they had paid for it. Then the bubble burst; men came to their senses and realized that there was no basis for all this nominal value, and that no commercial company could carry the national debt. Immediately there was a panic. Everybody wanted to sell. Lenders of money could not get it back and failed in all directions. The stock fell in price to almost nothing. Thousands lost everything they had and were reduced to bankruptcy and ruin.

490. Political Effects of the Panic. — Such periods of reckless speculation and subsequent loss have occurred frequently since.

The bursting of the "South Sea Bubble," as it has always been called, was conspicuous because it was one of the earliest and most complete, and because it brought into power a minister who was destined to be the practical ruler of England for the next twenty years. This minister was Robert Walpole.

When the panic occurred losers naturally looked for some one to hold responsible. There was much bitterness expressed against the directors of the company, and one nobleman half seriously proposed that they should be sewed up in bags and thrown into the Thames. But it was upon the government that most blame was thrown, and to it men looked for relief. The ministers had certainly favored the company, encouraged and taken part in the speculation, and several of them were proved to have helped swindle the public. Those guilty of fraud were arrested and imprisoned, and even of those who were not accused one resigned, another died of heart disease during the excitement, and still another committed suicide.

491. Ministry of Walpole. — Walpole was in one of the lower positions of the ministry. He belonged to a family of the lower gentry and had no connection with the noble Whig families which were so influential. He had been in parliament for many years and had been in the service of the government for a considerable time. He had there gained some reputation for financial ability. He had, however, fallen out with the more influential ministers. He had opposed them in their policy concerning the South Sea Company and had taken but a small part in the speculation himself. In 1720 he introduced into parliament a scheme which he believed would go far toward putting the company's affairs in order, relieving the government of responsibility in the matter and punishing those guilty of fraud. After a long parliamentary contest this scheme was adopted and put into effect. In recognition of this service he was in 1721 appointed by the king first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the Exchequer.

By the plan which he brought forward the estates of the directors of the South Sea Company were confiscated and turned into its treasury, all other resources were realized, the government resigned its claims against it, and the stockholders as a result received about one third of the par value of their stock. This did not reimburse private losers, but various other measures were taken to give them some relief. Every one felt that Walpole had brought order out of chaos and done all that could be done to put matters again on a firm footing with the least possible loss.

By the credit of this achievement, by his great abilities, by his judicious policy, and by his long continuance in office Walpole became distinctly the most influential of the ministers. With him began the prime minister-ship. Although there was even yet no office with that title, yet since the time of Walpole there has always been one minister who holds the most conspicuous place, gathers the others around him, confers with the king in their name, and in other ways holds them together. There had been royal favorites before this



Walpole

time, and there had been ministers of predominant influence, but none who for any length of time was acknowledged by his associates, by the king, and by parliament to have this leading position. Walpole now attained the position and held it without serious danger of its loss for more than twenty years. This occurred the more naturally because George I could speak no English and his ministers no German. All their intercourse, therefore, had to be in Latin, which was spoken badly and with difficulty and dissatisfaction by all parties. The king therefore soon ceased to attend cabinet meetings and one of the ministers

presided in his place. This was naturally the most influential minister and it made his position still more that of a leader.

492. Policy of Walpole. — Walpole obtained the confidence of two successive kings, George I and George II, and parliament was usually easily persuaded to follow the plans he advised. The principal characteristics of the policy of the great Whig minister were the effort to keep peace abroad and to conciliate party differences at home. He strove to allay as far as possible the bitter political and religious conflicts which had divided men, so that the new line of kings might get quietly settled and the country become prosperous and contented. He was always moderate, reasonable, and cautious. With these views it naturally followed that he did not encourage any great changes, any brilliant policy, or any conspicuous actions at home or abroad. His greatness was displayed in avoiding unwise actions during the quiet routine of government rather than in taking the leadership in stirring events during a period of action. This, indeed, was the general character of the eighteenth century. It was not a period marked by such conflicts on great matters as the Reformation in the sixteenth century or the Great Rebellion in the seventeenth. But England during this time was growing more moderate, reasonable, peaceful, and wealthy, and Walpole was the ideal leader for such a time.

493. Parliamentary Corruption. — The higher motives of members of parliament and of the voters who elected them were seldom appealed to. Most matters that came up were questions of interest, not of conscience. In carrying through parliament the measures in which they were interested the ministers did not find it very difficult, therefore, to gain men over by bribery or other corrupt means. This bad custom had been growing ever since the reign of Charles II, but it reached its height under Walpole. "All these men have their price," he once said to a friend, pointing to a group of members of the House of Commons. The use of a large amount of secret-service money for purposes of bribery

was reduced to a system under him. Appointments to office under the government were used for political purposes as a regular custom. He made no effort to draw to his side orators or statesmen or the rising young men of ability and character. Instead he simply bought or bribed by office enough members to carry through the measures in which he was interested. Curiously enough, although Walpole carried on the government by a set system of bribery and corruption, he was himself quite free from mercenary motives and was never known to take a bribe.

494. The Rising of the Young Pretender. — The justification of the policy of conciliation and of devotion to material prosperity was given in 1745, when a second attempt was made to restore the Stuart line. Thirty years after the rising of the earl of Mar, Charles Edward Stuart, son of the "Old Pretender" and grandson of James II, tried his fortunes in an attempt to gain the throne for his father. He came to Scotland accompanied by only seven friends and appealed to the chiefs of the Highland clans to support his father's claims to the Scottish throne, as the descendant of the old Scotch kings. He was quite the opposite of his father, being young, handsome, brave, and hopeful. "Prince Charlie," or the "Chevalier," as he was called by his adherents, — the "Young Pretender," as he is called in more serious history, — found for the time his principal strength in his dignity and charm of manner, in the Highland costume that he adopted, and in his confidence in his own success. His persuasiveness soon brought over the Highlanders, who were always ready for a raid into the Lowlands. He then marched straight to Edinburgh, gathering adherents as he went until he had several thousand followers. Here he had his father proclaimed king with the title of James VIII of Scotland, and gave a grand ball in the palace of Holyrood. But fighting could not be long postponed. The regular army stationed in Scotland was under a specially incompetent commander, Sir John Cope. In a few weeks a battle was fought at Preston Pans, in which Charles

Edward was completely victorious, and for the next few months had Scotland practically under his control.

But Scotland could not be held without England. Troops were already marching north against him. He must attack or be attacked, and he was encouraged by the arrival of money and arms from France. Therefore, although many of the Highlanders had returned to the mountains with their booty, the young prince was able to organize an army of six thousand men, and with this he crossed the border into England, hoping the people would rise to his support. But there was no sign of such a reception. The Tories who had preached the divine right of kings did not put their principles into practice. Jacobitism proved to be a very weak sentiment in the face of the practical dangers of a rebellion. A few recruits were found in the towns of Lancashire and a few of the clergy expressed their good will.

On the other hand, there was no spontaneous action of the people against him. It was not a period of enthusiasm for anything, and most of the people took refuge in apathy, leaving resistance to the government. The government soon acted, however, and by the time the prince and his followers had reached Derby, forces were gathered around them which made any farther advance mere recklessness. The militia had been called out to bar the way to London, and two armies were preparing to cut the invaders off if they went west into Wales or east into Yorkshire. Charles Edward was anxious to make a dash on London, but his more prudent advisers would not allow it, and although London, the king, and the ministers were badly enough frightened, the Highland army soon began its retreat to Scotland.

They beat off various attacks from the government troops, but finally were brought to a decisive battle at Culloden Moor in Scotland, where the rebel army was crushed and scattered. The Young Pretender himself wandered for five months through the Highlands before there was an opportunity to escape. Though there was a heavy price set on his head, not a Highlander betrayed

him, and finally he made his way to France. His later life was unworthy of his promise. He became dissipated and worthless. He died in 1788, and his younger brother, the last descendant of the male line of Stuart, died in 1808. The expedition of 1745 had been hopeless and without excuse from the beginning, but the gallantry of its young leader at its opening and the courage and touching fidelity of his Scotch followers at the close have thrown over it a gleam of romance which is sorely lacking in other quarters in the eighteenth century.

495. The Rise of Methodism.—The condition of religion at this time was much the same as that of politics. Little interest was taken in those controversies on theological questions which had been so intense during the time of the Stuarts. The religious excitement and personal devoutness which had been so common among the Puritans and even among some of the stricter churchmen had almost disappeared. The general religious character of the time was cold, unspiritual, and formal. The clergy both of the established church and of the various dissenting sects taught good morals and preached sermons intended to prove the truth of Christianity, but they did not generally feel nor did they encourage in others any very active or devout personal religion. Nor was there any missionary interest or active effort to give religious instruction or comfort to the increasing population of England or to the lower classes, except where these were already inhabitants of the rural parishes.

Here and there, however, there were persons who felt attracted to a more earnest religious life. Of this character was a small group of students at Oxford in the years between 1729 and 1735, who were accustomed to meet for purposes of mutual improvement. They were of course members of the established church and were religious and ascetic to a degree then very unusual. They fasted during Lent and on every Wednesday and Friday of the year; they discussed the Bible together; they visited the sick and prisoners, and abstained from most of the common forms of

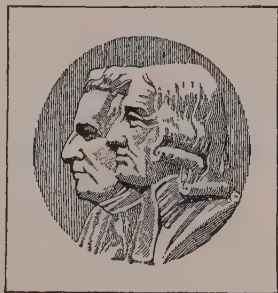
amusement. They were much ridiculed by other students at the university, and were nicknamed "Methodists," from their methodical, strictly regulated manner of life.

496. **John Wesley.** — Among these students were several men who were destined to carry their religious fervor into the broader world and to create a religious revolution in England. The most influential of them were two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield. John Wesley, the leading spirit of the little society, was born in 1703, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, and was the son of the rector of that parish. He was well educated, became a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and was ordained to the ministry in 1725. He was a man of strong religious nature, great determination, and clear intellect. He was deeply attached to the established church and at that time laid great stress on its forms and ceremonies. In 1735 he left Oxford, and after varied experiences in the American colonies, in Germany, and in his own country, with his brother Charles and his friend Whitefield from the year 1738 he undertook continuous missionary work throughout England. Although clergymen of the established church they had no special parishes. When John Wesley was rebuked for having no regular charge he said, "The world is my parish." These three and others who joined in their work preached from the pulpits of the parish clergy wherever they obtained permission to do so, but their preaching and teaching were of a very different kind from what was usual at the time. Instead of calm instruction they introduced enthusiasm, excitement, violent warning, and appeal into their sermons.

They also organized, among the men and women of the congregations to which they preached, societies similar to the old Oxford society, formed to keep up religious fervor and to help one another in their religious life. From the general similarity of these societies in plan and object all those who took part in them were called "Methodists," which soon became a well-known descriptive term, half of contempt, half of approval.

497. Separate Chapels and Field Preaching.—Many of the clergy refused to admit the Wesleys or Whitefield into their pulpits, objecting to this irregular, unusual, and disorderly preaching, which brought hundreds into the churches who had never been seen in them before and broke up the decorum and routine of ordinary church life. The Methodists thereupon built separate chapels as places where itinerant preachers might speak when they were refused the use of the parish church. These chapels soon became permanent places of worship. For service in them men who were not regularly educated and ordained, but who proved to be well suited to make the emotional appeals of Methodist preaching, were approved by Wesley and other leaders as lay preachers.

Still other customs resulted directly from the exclusion of the Methodist preachers from the established churches. When Whitefield went to Bristol on a missionary visit he could not find a single church in which he was allowed to preach. He heard that not far from that city there were many thousand coal miners and their fami-



John and Charles Wesley
(from the memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey)

lies who had practically no religious teaching whatever. He therefore went out into their country on a Sunday afternoon, and, taking his stand on the side of a hill, began preaching. His first congregation consisted of about two hundred men, but the fame of his eloquence spread and he soon preached to thousands. Great throngs of the poor miners and of the inhabitants of the neighboring city came out to hear him. Trees were crowded with listeners, the lanes were thronged with wagons and carriages of the more wealthy who shared in the general curiosity. He moved the great throng with wonderful power. Tears made white streaks down the coal-blackened faces of miners who had probably never

heard preaching before. Then Whitefield did the same thing in Moorfields and Kennington Common, on the outskirts of London.

The Wesleys took somewhat reluctantly to field preaching and the practice soon became common among the Methodists. Thousands of converts were made. Whitefield was the greatest popular preacher England ever had. John Wesley was of a somewhat more formal, calm, and self-possessed nature, but he also could hold the attention of crowds of ten and even twenty thousand people. The total amount of his preaching was almost incredible. He lived to be eighty-seven years old and retained his vigor to the last. He spent fifty years in itinerant preaching, and it is computed that he traveled a quarter of a million miles and preached more than forty thousand sermons. He always rose at four o'clock in the morning and frequently preached four or five times in one day.

498. Separation of the Methodists from the Established Church.

—Neither Wesley nor his companions wished to leave the established church of England. They considered themselves clergymen of that body and believed in and were strongly attached to its creed and form of worship. But there were many things which tended to bring about separation. The Methodists were organized among themselves, with their separate chapels and often their separate ministers. In 1744 the first Methodist conference was held at the Founder's Chapel in London. It was attended by John and Charles Wesley, four other ordained clergymen, and four lay preachers. They simply drew up an outline of their teachings and resolved that "societies are to be formed wherever the preachers go." But organization was not likely to stop there. John Wesley was a man of great organizing and administrative ability and he gradually introduced among the Methodist societies rules and arrangements which enabled them to carry on their church affairs quite separately from those of the parishes of which they were still nominally members. In 1760 many of the lay preachers declared themselves "dissenting ministers" and began

to give the sacrament, like Presbyterians and Baptists. Thus the Methodists became a separate body from the established church and practically another denomination of Dissenters. They had their own buildings, preachers, congregations, and conferences. They numbered before Wesley's death almost a hundred thousand members and have later grown to many millions in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and other countries.

499. The Evangelical Clergy. — The Methodist movement not only resulted in the formation of another religious body but it also had a great effect on the established church. Many ministers and laymen were led by the religious revival and by the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys to adopt a more active and intense religious life than had been customary. Much the same appeal to the feelings which was customary among the Methodists was now frequently made by clergymen of the established church. In his later life Wesley was asked to preach from many pulpits from which half a century before he had been turned away.

Some Anglican clergymen even became itinerant preachers, speaking in other churches, in Methodist chapels, and in the open air. This is known as the "evangelical movement" in the English church, and had a marked influence far into the nineteenth century. Even in the eighteenth century the Methodist and evangelical agitation had awakened the mass of the people, given them new interests, taught them the possibility of creating new organizations for themselves, and done much to break up the stolid and half-barbarous ignorance and brutality in which many of the lower classes lived. In the colonies, especially in America, the Methodists became the great pioneer religious body, carrying their teaching and organization close to the frontier as it advanced into the wilderness.

500. William Pitt and the Young Patriot Party. — There were signs of a change in the political feeling of the country somewhat similar to the religious changes that have just been described. The kind of government that was being carried on by

Walpole satisfied, it is true, a great part of the upper classes. It was moderate and reasonable; but it was extremely corrupt, low-minded, and unpatriotic. It kept a safe majority in parliament, but it made no appeal to the enthusiasm or support of the country at large.

There were some members of parliament, however, even adherents of the dominant Whig party, who were deeply dissatisfied with it. They hated the bribery which was so common and refused to vote always according to the wishes of the ministers. The most conspicuous of these members was William Pitt. He was a young man, a brilliant speaker, and an intense, enthusiastic lover of his country. He could see no other side to any question than the one which was to the interest of England. He had no sympathy with Walpole's moderation and coolness. He believed in appealing to the whole people and in stirring them to more patriotic national feelings. It was many years before he occupied any office, but he was admired and beloved by the people outside of parliament, and kept up a constant and growing opposition to Walpole and to his form of government.

501. War with Spain. — Notwithstanding the slight control which the people had over the government, from time to time some wave of popular feeling spread over the country, and, supported by the patriot party in parliament, swept the government along with it. In 1738 such an outburst carried England into war with Spain. There were many commercial disputes with that country. English merchants were active, enterprising, and unscrupulous, and pushed their ventures into all parts of the world. The inhabitants of the widespread colonies of Spain wanted to buy the goods which English merchants wanted to sell them. The Spanish government, however, like all other European countries at that time, forbade foreign ships to trade with their colonies. The only exception to this was the Asiento Treaty, by which England might send one vessel of six hundred tons once a year into the harbor of Porto Bello. This concession

was made an opportunity for much unfairness by English merchants. When the ship which was permitted to enter the harbor discharged her cargo, a number of other English vessels which had followed her and lay far enough off from the coast to be out of sight sailed in at night and loaded her again. This cargo was then discharged the next day, and the process repeated several times. The Spanish government knew of this but could not afford to patrol the coast and prevent it. There was also much smuggling by English merchants into the Spanish possessions. These conditions brought about frequent disputes between the two countries and repeated conflicts between English merchants and Spanish revenue officers.

The actual occasion for the war, however, was the story of an English sea captain named Jenkins, who came to London, told how he had been maltreated by the Spaniards, and showed one of his ears which he claimed had been cut off by them seven years before, and which he had kept in a box. He declared when examined in the House of Commons that the Spanish officer had told him to take his ear and show it to his king. When he was asked what he did then he replied, "I recommended my soul to my God and my cause to my country." This expression was seized upon, became a popular cry, and the ministry, urged by the warlike feeling in the country and the rising spirit in parliament, decided to go to war. When Walpole entered upon this war with Spain in 1739 he did so against his better judgment and in the anticipation of defeat. His fears were justified. There was no fighting on land, and at sea there were more failures than successes. It is true that an English fleet which was sent on a half-warlike, half-exploring voyage around the world plundered a Spanish port on the coast of Peru, captured a Spanish galleon on the way to Manila, seized some Spanish colonies and ships in the Indies, and returned to Portsmouth, like Drake, with holds full of gold and silver. But its return was only after four years, in which nothing had been heard of it, and in the

meantime the war elsewhere had gone badly. A fleet captured Porto Bello on the isthmus of Panama, but was driven off from Carthagena and Santiago with heavy losses and some discredit.

502. War of the Austrian Succession. — This would have been a quite unimportant war except for two things. In the first place, its ill success led to the resignation of Walpole in 1742, and secondly it dragged on until it became a part of the great War of the Austrian Succession which was carried on among the European countries from 1740 to 1748.¹ Even in this war the part which England took was comparatively small. George II was deeply interested in it on account of his possession of Han over in Germany, and the feeling in the country was warlike, especially as the position of England was opposed to that of both Spain and France, her two ancient enemies. England was more wealthy than her allies. In addition therefore to the troops she sent, grants of money were made by parliament to various countries on the continent to enable them to put armies into the field. In 1743 a combined army of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, Austrians, and Dutch was formed under the command of King George II, and put in motion for an invasion of France. A victory of some importance over the French was gained by it at Dettingen. This was the last occasion when an English king actually took part in a battle.

¹ This was a war in which the principal contestants were Maria Theresa of Austria and Frederick the Great of Prussia, but which drew into it as allies on one side or the other most of the nations of Europe. Charles VI of Austria, having no sons, had drawn up a document known as the "Pragmatic Sanction," guaranteeing to his daughter Maria Theresa the inheritance of all his dominions. Most of the sovereigns of Europe agreed to this, but when Charles died Frederick of Prussia seized part of the inheritance of the young queen and others other parts. For the protection of her dominions Maria Theresa organized an extensive alliance of different countries, of which England was one. On the other hand, Frederick called in the aid of the French, so that the various countries were soon pitted against one another.

Two years later occurred the battle of Fontenoy in the Netherlands, where the English and their allies were defeated. A column of English and Hanoverian troops had forced themselves through the French lines and were on the brink of obtaining a complete victory when the French general made a last and desperate effort to save the day. He ordered the household troops of the French king and an Irish brigade to attack the British column. The Irish brigade was composed of several regiments of Irishmen driven out of their own country by the persecutions of the penal code and now in the service of France. They were burning with desire to avenge themselves on their English persecutors and now attacked them in a charge that carried all before it, threw the British and their allies into confusion, and won a decisive victory for the French.

Some fighting took place at sea, although there were no great engagements. England defeated two French fleets, conquered Cape Breton in America, and captured an immense number of French merchant vessels. Fighting between the English and French also took place in India. A general peace was made in 1748 at Aix la Chapelle by which the countries involved agreed to restore everything, as far as possible, to the condition it was in at the beginning of the conflict. The War of the Austrian Succession was one of the most useless and at the same time one of the most destructive wars in history.

503. The Colonization of Nova Scotia. — When the war was over great difficulty was found in England in disposing in a satisfactory way of the large numbers of soldiers and sailors who were discharged from the service. The suggestion was made that they be encouraged to go as settlers to the English colony of Nova Scotia, which was flanked by the French colony of Canada and, because of its small population, liable to be absorbed. This plan was taken up with great interest by Lord Halifax, president of the Board of Trade. Free passage, a piece of land, and support for a year were offered to each private, and larger grants were

made to officers. Some four thousand men accepted the offer of the government, the expedition sailed in 1750 under military protection, and Nova Scotia soon became a populous and flourishing colony. Its principal town was named Halifax, after the patron of the enterprise. This was the first colonizing expedition sent out under the direct auspices of the English government.

504. Reform of the Calendar. — In 1752 the English calendar was corrected and made to conform to that in use in continental countries. The Julian calendar, established in the time of Julius Cæsar and in use throughout the middle ages, was imperfect, and in the course of time had brought an error of several days into the common reckoning. This error was corrected by certain Italian astronomers and the correction promulgated by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. Most countries accepted this reform, but England obstinately declined to do so because the recommendation came from the pope, and still used the dates which are now described as "Old Style." In the eighteenth century the error amounted to eleven days. Parliament now passed an act ordering that September 3 should be called September 14, and that the year should be calculated in the future according to the Gregorian calendar. The beginning of the year was also placed at January 1 instead of March 25, as was customary before. Many of the people did not understand the change and believed that in some way they were being defrauded of their time or pay. Mobs went about shouting "Give us back our eleven days."

505. English and French in America. — The last war had showed that England's interests were now so widely spread over the world that any war into which she entered was likely to involve fighting in India and America as well as in Europe. Her colonies were also likely of themselves to lead her into conflicts. It was in this way that she was drawn into her next great war. In America French colonists occupied the valley of the St. Lawrence River and the district of Louisiana around the mouth of the Mississippi.



They claimed all the country lying between these distant settlements, which would have given them the whole western slope of the Allegheny Mountains, and had even established a few forts and trading posts there.

The thirteen English colonies along the seacoast, on the other hand, had been developing their country, spreading inland and across the mountains, and were not at all inclined to accept the French claims. In 1749 the English government granted a charter to the "Ohio Company" which had as its objects trade with the Indians in this disputed region and the founding of settlements on the Ohio River. On the other hand, in 1753, Duquesne, the governor of Canada, issued a proclamation declaring all territory west of the mountains to be in the possession of France. At the same time he sent messages to the governors of Pennsylvania and New York announcing that France would permit no settlements on the Ohio River. A French fort was built where the Monongahela flows into the Ohio and named after the governor, Fort Duquesne.

The English protested against this and fighting soon occurred. The home government gave orders to the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia to resist the French if they entered the limits of their provinces. The colonies raised troops and an expedition was sent from Virginia to the Ohio country in 1754 under a young planter named George Washington. He was successful in one skirmish with the French but was soon attacked by a much superior force and compelled to surrender. Then General Braddock was sent from England with about two thousand regular troops to help the colonial militia. He was too proud to take the advice of colonial officers and was defeated by a body of French and Indians near Fort Duquesne. He was killed with many of his officers, while his whole force was scattered. When the French brought new troops from home an English fleet intercepted and attacked some of the vessels carrying them. In India a conflict had broken out between the French and English East India Companies.

506. The Seven Years' War. — With actual fighting in progress between Frenchmen and Englishmen in India and America, war between the two nations could not long be avoided. It was the more likely to occur and would more probably be a serious contest because another European war was threatening to break out, in which England and France would as usual be drawn to opposite sides. In 1756 the Seven Years' War began. England immediately declared war on France.

For a while everything went badly. Minorca, one of the two English possessions in the Mediterranean, was captured by the French fleet, the king's electorate of Hanover was overrun by a French army, an attempt by the English commander in America to capture the French fortress of Louisburg was a failure. Worse than these military disasters was the weakness and incompetency of the ministry. A succession of prime ministers had held office since the resignation of Walpole. Lord Carteret had been succeeded by Henry Pelham, and he by his brother, the duke of Newcastle. Newcastle was fussy, easily frightened, and incapable of planning or carrying out a vigorous policy. Under his administration, without a good organization of either army, navy, or diplomatic service, it seemed certain that England would suffer calamity after calamity in a war with France.

507. The Ministry of Pitt. — Pitt was added to the ministry but at first given almost no power. After two years of alarm, mismanagement, and failure he was at last brought into his true position as the most influential minister in the cabinet, and to him fell the principal direction of the war. Pitt had been in parliament for more than twenty years, and his splendid powers of oratory, his fiery nature, and his great popularity in the country at large had made him dreaded by opponents and valued by the most thoughtful of his colleagues. But the dislike of the king, the secure position of the great leaders of the Whig party, and his own stiffness and irritability had prevented him from holding any important office or exercising any great influence in the

government. Now, however, events had at last brought him to the front, and for some years Pitt was almost the despotic ruler of England in all things connected with the war.

He immediately infused some of his own energy, patriotism, devotion, and confidence into all branches of the government, army, and navy. He sent home again the Dutch and German troops which had been brought over by the king and Newcastle to defend England, leaving the English people to defend themselves, as they had always been able to do before. He ordered regiments to be recruited in the Highlands, much to the alarm of those who remembered 1745 and believed all Highlanders to be confirmed Jacobites. But Pitt argued that if the Scotchmen were given an opportunity for warlike glory and regular pay, they would faithfully support the government; and they did. He sent new troops to the continent to join the allies of England there, obtained from parliament liberal subsidies to help Prussia keep her armies in the field, and dispatched one naval expedition after another to the coast of France. The old capacity of the English for naval warfare asserted itself. Between 1758 and 1762 about nine tenths of all the ships of war belonging to the French government were captured or destroyed, and the English naval vessels and privateers also seized most of the French West Indies and almost swept French commerce from the seas. But the greatest battles of this war were fought, where it had originated, in North America and in India. In both these countries English and French, pitted against one another in a long struggle, fought desperately, and in both the English emerged completely and permanently victorious over their ancient rivals.



William Pitt

508. **The French and Indian War in America.**—In America the settlers in the English colonies were much more numerous than those in the French settlements; but they were unwarlike, divided into separate provinces, and their military affairs much mismanaged by the home government. The French, with a small population in America, had been provided by their government with a relatively large and effective military equipment and had been placed under a succession of capable governors whose powers were almost absolute. The French were also more successful in obtaining the good will and the alliance of the Indians. In the early part of the war, therefore, under Montcalm, fighting had gone mostly in favor of the French, and it seemed not unlikely that they would make good their hold upon the vast western territories which they claimed.

But all this was now changed. Pitt urged the English colonists to raise twenty thousand troops, promising to provide them with arms, ammunition, and provisions, and to obtain a grant from parliament to repay the expense of their uniforms and wages. He sent more than twenty thousand regular troops from England and placed them under new commanders like Wolfe, Howe, and Amherst, chosen not for their position or influence but for their ability, enterprise, and ambition.

The troops and supplies that were sent from France were cut off by the English fleets, and the French had thereafter to keep up the contest with no resources except such troops and equipment as they already had in Canada. The English suffered several defeats but gained many more victories. In 1758 Louisburg and all Cape Breton were taken. Fort Duquesne was captured and destroyed and the settlement renamed Pittsburg, after the great minister. In 1759 Ticonderoga, after a failure during the previous year, was taken, as were also several other forts. The crowning achievement was the capture of the city of Quebec in a bloody struggle in which Wolfe and Montcalm were both killed. In 1760 Montreal was captured and Canada was thus lost to

France. It was never regained and passed permanently into the possession of England. Shortly afterwards France ceded the country around the mouth of the Mississippi to Spain and thus lost her foothold in America.

509. **India.** — In India the contest was fought out with less help from the mother country. In fact the fighting between English and French in India had long been a rivalry between traders and adventurers from those two countries rather than between the governments. The wars at home merely gave an excuse for the rivalries of the two companies in India to be settled with the sword. Unlike America, where the natives were few, poor, and barbarous, in India there were many millions of inhabitants who had been thickly settled in the land for ages and had an old civilization and much wealth. They had therefore many political and religious complications among themselves quite apart from those of the European traders and settlers who came to live among them.

At about the time that Elizabeth was reigning in England a Mogul or Tartar emperor named Akbar was making a long series of conquests of various native kingdoms and principalities, which resulted in uniting the greater part of India under his control. He and his armies were Mohammedans but they allowed freedom of worship to the vast Hindoo and Parsee population which they conquered. The capital of Akbar was finally established at Delhi in the north of India. He divided his empire into provinces, over each of which was a viceroy, and instituted great improvements, in government, the action of the law courts, the keeping of order, the survey of land, and the regulation of taxation.

The power of the viceroys in such a large country was very great, and frequently they and even their subordinate governors acted almost independently. The conquests of the ruler of Delhi and those of his successors were never complete in the Deccan,¹

¹ The Deccan is the southern portion of the peninsula of India. The name is applied to a district about nine hundred miles long and three or four hundred miles wide.

where several older Mohammedan and one native Hindoo kingdom remained either entirely or practically independent. Somewhat later also a number of the native Hindoo races in the western mountainous provinces became independent and formed what was called the "Mahratta Confederacy" under independent rajahs.¹

510. European Settlements in India. — In this tangle of native races and governments Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English traders had come and made settlements for trading purposes, relying on permission received and protection given by the Great Mogul or by one or other of the local rulers. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Portuguese and Dutch settlements on the mainland of India had become comparatively unimportant. The French, however, were installed in two or three important centers, and the English had three well-established posts, Bombay on the west coast, Madras on the southeast coast, and Calcutta on the northeast, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, near the mouth of the Ganges River. About twelve hundred miles of coast intervened between Bombay and Madras, and about eight hundred between Madras and Calcutta. Thus they were separated from one another by long distances. By sea it required many days' sailing to pass from one to another, and by land the difficult country, mountain chains, and hostile native population made communication almost impossible.

The English settlements, which altogether included only a few hundred or at most a few thousand men, were not under the English government nor did they govern themselves. They were

¹ The confusion of governments led to much confusion in the titles of the greater and lesser rulers of India. The native Hindoo name for a ruler is *rajah*, which has the same root as the Latin word *rex*. *Maha rajah* means a great prince. *Nawabs*, or *nabobs*, were the viceroys of the Mogul Empire. The *Peishwa* was the military head under the Mahratta rajah. *Nizam* was the special name given to the Mogul viceroy of the Deccan. The emperor at Delhi was commonly called the "Great Mogul." There were many other names of special honor or family tradition used by the various native princes.



established and ruled and their officials paid by the British East India Company, an organization of English merchants with headquarters in London and possessing by grant from the English government a monopoly of the trade between England and India. Each of the three settlements was governed by a president and council appointed by the company.

For many years these trading settlements,¹ detached from one another and from those of other European nations, were occupied merely with matters of trade or with efforts to preserve their own security in the midst of the native inhabitants. But some time before the middle of the eighteenth century one of them at least, Madras, came into conflict with the nearest French settlement, Pondicherry, situated on the coast some eighty miles to the southward.

511. Dupleix.—The governor of this trading post of the French East India Company was a man of genius and activity named Dupleix. He was not satisfied merely to protect the small colony of French agents and traders under his charge, but was ambitious to extend his power and that of the French government among the natives. Dupleix perceived that in the general disorganization of government among the native races of India the Europeans would sooner or later obtain political as well as trading powers. When this should happen the French and the English would confront one another as rivals for control in India, and he determined to be the first in the field. With great skill and labor Dupleix carried out two lines of policy. One of these was to weave a network of treaties and alliances with the native princes and persons of influence in the Carnatic ; ² the other was

¹ They were often called "factories," because a factor or agent of the company was in charge of each of them. This word must not of course be confused with factory in the sense of a manufacturing establishment.

² This was the name given to the district along the east coast of the Deccan, where the English and French settlements of Madras and Pondicherry were established.

to take native troops into the service of the French company and drill and organize them on the European model.¹ Dupleix thus made himself well known and influential among the natives and had a military force to be used when occasion should arise. This opportunity came for the first time with the outbreak in 1740 of the War of the Austrian Succession, in which England and France were on opposite sides. Madras was immediately attacked and captured by a French fleet, and Dupleix with the aid of one of the native princes, the nabob of Arcot, attacked the neighboring English fort of St. George on the coast. Fighting went almost invariably in favor of the French and their allies until the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. One of its clauses required each country to give back its conquests, so Madras was restored to the English.

But nominal peace between France and England was no barrier to the schemes of Dupleix; there were still the contests among the native rulers. His policy and success during the recent contests had given him the greatest possible prestige and prominence. From Pondicherry he exercised an enormous influence, throwing the weight of his personal alliances and the fighting power of his sepoy now on the side of one native ruler, now on that of another. He was in fact for a while one of the most powerful of Indian rulers, exercising control, directly or through the native princes whom he had placed on their thrones, over several millions of men. Thus the English were hemmed in by French influence and power on the coast of India much as they were in America, and it seemed only a matter of time till they should be expelled altogether.

512. Clive. — The British East India Company had never attempted to form any strong body of soldiery in India. In imitation of the French they engaged a small number of sepoy, but for such military duties as were required they usually relied upon

¹ Such native soldiers with European drill and equipment were known as "sepoys."

their employees, who were for the most part without any special military training. Among these was a young clerk named Robert Clive, who proved, when necessity and opportunity arose, to have a natural gift for military service. In the rivalry with the French he gradually developed a military skill, boldness, and genius which made him one of the world's greatest commanders.

Like the French, the English now obtained alliances with some of the native princes, took sides with those who were opposed to the French, and aided them in their contests.

A number of battles were fought in which victory usually fell to the English, and within two or three years the French and their native allies had been repeatedly conquered and English influence in turn became supreme. In 1753 Clive had to return to England on account of ill health, Dupleix was recalled to France in disgrace on account of his failures, and a treaty was made between the French and English East India companies by which they agreed to leave conditions in the south of India in their existing state. The natives of the Carnatic had become habituated to the influence of Europeans, but the question as to whose this predominant influence should be, that of England or that of France, remained undetermined.

513. Calcutta. — In 1756 a terrible tragedy in the far north brought the English into conflict with the natives of that region and soon pitted them against the French there. Some disputes having broken out between the English at their little trading post of Calcutta and Surajah Dowlah, the cruel and dissipated nabob of Bengal, within whose dominions Calcutta lay, the latter suddenly advanced upon that settlement and seized it. He gave orders that the merchants who had been captured there should be thrown into the cell in the English fort, which became sadly famous as the "Black Hole of Calcutta." It was a room less than twenty feet square, with but a few windows near the low ceiling.

The prisoners were a hundred and forty-six in number, the weather was extremely hot, and they had nothing to quench their

thirst. During a night of horrors, in which many became raving mad, they struggled and trampled upon one another in frenzied efforts to get near the windows, till one hundred and twenty-three of them had died from suffocation or from being trodden down by their companions. In the morning the twenty-three survivors were sent by the nabob as prisoners to his capital at Moorsheda-bad. All the English were expelled from Bengal and their factory seized.

The news of this catastrophe soon reached Madras, where Clive had just arrived with restored health and a military appointment as commander of one of the English forts. The authorities at Madras determined to take revenge on the nabob of Bengal for his cruelty and to restore the English settlement at Calcutta. Clive was appointed to command the expedition, and within a few months Calcutta had been recaptured and the nabob forced to enter into a new alliance with the English. But here also was a French settlement not far away, that of Chandernagore, and the nabob, in his anger with the English, turned to the French, offering them his special favor and protection. When the Seven Years' War broke out in 1756 the peace between England and France in India, but poorly kept at best, was broken. Clive secured as reinforcements a regiment of royal troops and attacked and destroyed Chandernagore.

514. Plassey and Wandewash. — This brought Clive and the English again into a contest with Surajah Dowlah. In the wonderful battle of Plassey in 1757 Clive, with a little army consisting of nine hundred English soldiers and about twenty-one hundred sepoy, defeated the nabob's army of more than thirty thousand men. The superiority of European discipline, equipment, and leadership over vastly greater numbers of native troops was conclusively shown.

Clive had plotted with one of the nabob's generals before the battle, promising to reward his treachery with the throne of Bengal. This was carried out; the old nabob was deposed and soon



Part of the City of Benares, India

afterwards put to death, and the newly enthroned prince in gratitude gave to the English a great sum of money and extensive power over all that part of Bengal surrounding Calcutta. Although peace was established with this prince, Clive pressed on far inland and near Patna defeated Shah Allum, the Great Mogul himself. Clive was appointed by the company governor general of the British possessions in Bengal, where he exercised almost sovereign powers.

While these things were taking place in Bengal the old struggle between the French and English in the south of India was renewed and fought to a conclusion. When the war in Europe broke out a new French commander in chief named Lally was sent to India to follow in the footsteps of Dupleix. The natives had small part in the hard struggles which followed between French and English. After many contests a decisive battle was fought in 1760 at Wandewash, in which Colonel Coote, an officer brought up, like Clive, in the Indian service, completely defeated Lally and the French. Fortress after fortress belonging to the French was reduced, and finally Pondicherry itself was captured and destroyed. The two great battles, Plassey in the north in 1757 and Wandewash in the south in 1760, with the events which preceded and followed them, placed the future of India in the hands of the English. Although the French settlements were restored to them at the peace and rebuilt they were no longer military establishments, and although in later wars the French in India showed hostility to England they never again became serious rivals. In India, as in America, France was either deprived of all her power or reduced to relative unimportance. Her greatness lay at home, while England's had become world-wide.

515. The Peace of Paris. — These changes were all embodied in the Peace of Paris, which in 1763 finally brought the Seven Years' War to a close. Shortly before the peace Spain had been drawn into the war as an ally of France, and the English fleets had captured many of her island possessions, including Havana

in Cuba and Manila in the Philippine Islands. By the peace England gained from France Canada and all her American possessions westward to the Mississippi, four of the islands of the West Indies, some former French possessions in Africa, and a promise not to fortify the French settlements in India. From Spain England obtained Florida, giving back to her in return all recent conquests. By this treaty England reached the greatest extent of military glory, power, and territory which she was destined to attain within the eighteenth century.

An expedition sent out some years afterwards indicated some of the other directions in which her colonies and settlements were later to extend. This expedition was sent in 1768 by the Royal Society to the island of Tahiti to make observations of the transit of Venus. In command of the vessels as navigator was Captain Cook. He made many surveys of the smaller islands of the Pacific, then circumnavigated the great island of New Zealand, and sailed along the eastern coast of Australia, naming Botany Bay and claiming possession for Eng-



Medal given to Captain Cook

land of the region which afterwards became the rich and populous colony of New South Wales.

516. Summary of the Period. — During the seventy-five years lying between the Revolution of 1688 and the Peace of Paris of 1763 the new line of kings, the Orange-Stuarts, and their successors, the House of Hanover, kept the throne, notwithstanding the struggle of 1690 and the two Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. All desire on the part of the English people to return to the old line gradually passed away. This was partly at least a result of the unimportance into which the office of king was gradually falling. The power of parliament was really supreme.

England was practically an aristocracy, governed by the leaders of the classes which were represented in parliament. The growth of the power of parliament, of the cabinet which drew its power from parliament, and of the prime minister who could speak in the name of the majority in parliament, had reduced the royal power to little more than a right to accept the advice which the ministry gave. "Ministers are the king in this country," George II once said, and his complaint was scarcely an exaggeration of the fact.

Commerce and the wealth drawn from commerce were becoming constantly more important and more influential. Although England was still fundamentally an agricultural country and the landed aristocracy were the most influential class in the nation, yet the interests of commerce and the prominence of money questions were far greater than they had been in any previous period. The Bank of England was founded in 1694, the money to carry on the wars was mostly borrowed, and the national debt was made larger and larger.

Above all, the interests of England had spread from one half of the little island of Britain to a world-wide empire. The parliaments of England and Scotland were united in 1707 and Ireland was more than ever subordinated to the prejudices and interests of England. By interests and ambitions outside of her own island limits England was led to take part in the three great wars of the eighteenth century which were closed by the treaties of Utrecht in 1713, of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and of Paris in 1763. In the last of these she secured control of the vast dominions of North America and India, and she laid down through her explorers the general courses in which her later civilization was to flow. In politics, in literature, in science, and in religion the first half of the eighteenth century was, at its best, a period of reasonableness, moderation, and polish; at its worst, a period of corruption, formality, and unbelief in any except material objects. Before this period was over, however, Methodism

and the evangelical movement aroused the nation not only to religious interests but also to a more active intellectual life. In politics William Pitt had awakened a new fire of patriotism, and parliament, if not less corrupt, became at least responsive to higher and nobler impulses.

General Reading. — MACAULAY, *History of England*, Vols. III–V, covers the earlier part of this period. GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sects. 8–10, chap. x, sect. i. MORRIS, *The Age of Queen Anne* and *The Early Hanoverians* (Epochs of Modern History), cover most of the period. MACAULAY, *Clive* and *Chatham*. LECKY, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, is a large work in eight volumes but much of it is devoted to Ireland and America. Only Vols. I–III are devoted entirely to English affairs. The spread of colonies is finely described in SEELEY, *The Expansion of England*. The personal history of the kings of the period is well described in THACKERAY, *The Four Georges*. The foundation of the English dominion in India is described in INNES, *Short History of the British in India*. TRAILL, *William III*, MORLEY, *Walpole and Chatham* (Twelve English Statesmen), and MALLESON, *Lord Clive and Dupleix* (Rulers of India), are valuable biographies. HOLDERNESS, *Peoples and Problems of India*, is a good small book.

Contemporary Sources. — The Act of Settlement is printed in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, No. 243. A number of short selections from contemporary writers, admirably chosen and including a number from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are published in a small volume, called *English Prose*, in the Camelot series. Several varied and interesting illustrative extracts are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 110–118; in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 83–96; and in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 335–364.

Poetry and Fiction. — THACKERAY, *Henry Esmond*, belongs to the period of Queen Anne, and *The Virginians* to a time somewhat later. SCOTT, *Black Dwarf*, *Rob Roy*, *The Heart of Midlothian*, and *Waverley*, all fall within this part of the eighteenth century. MRS. CHARLES, *Diary of Mrs. Kitty Trevelyan*, is a story of the Methodists. CAMPBELL, *Lochiel*, is a poem referring to the battle of Culloden. The well-known little poem of Southey refers to the battle of Blenheim.

Special Topics. — (1) The Massacre of Glencoe, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 102; (2) the Battle of Plassey, *ibid.*, No. 117; (3) the Battle of Quebec, *ibid.*, No. 118; (4) the Jacobite Rebellions, LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 195–200;

(5) Jacobite Songs, *Scottish National Songs* ; (6) the Duke of Marlborough, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. ix, sect. 9; (7) Walpole, *ibid.*, sect. 10; (8) Wesley and Whitefield, *ibid.*, chap. x, sect. 1; (9) Voyages of Exploration and Piracy in the Eighteenth Century, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. V, pp. 24-34; (10) Literature in the Age of Walpole, *ibid.*, pp. 72-88; (11) Agriculture in the Early Eighteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 99-109; (12) The Cabinet System, MONTAGUE, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 163-173; (13) the Ascendency of France under Louis XIV, ROBINSON, *Western Europe*, pp. 495-508.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. 1763-1815

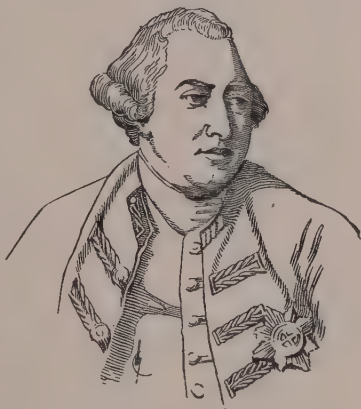
517. **George III.** — In 1760 George II had died and his grandson George III, a young man of twenty-two, had come to the throne. He had been born in England and was the first king of his family who was not more of a German than an Englishman. He was the only one of the four Georges who had qualities which were likely to endear him to his people. He was a man of good moral character, plain in his habits, faithful to his duties, sincerely religious, dignified, and kind. Along with these attractive traits of character he had some others which were not so well suited to a king of England. He was naturally narrow-minded, prejudiced, and unspeakably obstinate. His early life had been unwisely arranged. After the death of his father, Frederick, prince of Wales, his mother had brought him up in almost entire seclusion. His education had been neglected, and he had had no opportunity to substitute for it the broadening influence which comes from contact with many men.

Along with his mother's teachings of piety, courage, courtesy, and respect for women, which he never afterwards lost, some of her other precepts had also taken only too deep root in his mind. "George, be a king," she enjoined frequently upon him. Her ideas of the proper authority of a king were drawn from the example of certain rulers on the continent of Europe at this time, and these ideas she had impressed strongly upon her son. Some of his tutors imparted to him the same teachings. He gained therefore at an early period a view of the powers and duties of his

position which, backed by his ignorance and his obstinacy, could not fail to be harmful. If he had been willing to drop into the background, as the last three sovereigns had done, and allow the ministers and parliament to govern the country, it would have made little difference what his views on current matters were ; but George was determined to choose his ministers himself and to exercise personal influence over their policy. He did not plan to rule without parliament, as Charles I had thought possible, but he did expect to control the ministers and through them to exercise an influence upon parliament.

518. The New Ministry. —

Very soon, therefore, the king seized an opportunity to get his old tutor and guardian, Lord Bute, into the cabinet. One by one the old ministers found their position unsatisfactory and resigned. In 1761 Pitt himself had failed to convince the cabinet of the desirability of continuing the war and resigned.



George III

In each case of resignation a new minister was selected who was more satisfactory to the king and to Lord Bute. These ministers were generally Tories in their political principles, and when in a short time Lord Bute became prime minister, the Whigs were out of power for the first time for almost forty years. After a number of changes, including a temporary return of Pitt, who was at the same time made earl of Chatham, in 1770 Lord North became prime minister, representing not so much any party as he did the personal wishes and policy of the king himself. Although Lord North was an able man, he was of a good-natured, somewhat yielding disposition and made an ideal prime minister

for the king's wishes. He was always willing to carry out his plans if it were in any way possible.

For the next twelve years he remained in office, and during that time the king's influence over the ministry was greater than it had been since the seventeenth century. In parliament a majority, known commonly as the "king's friends," was obtained and kept pretty steadily in existence. It was held together for the most part by the same old methods of bribery and favoritism that had been so influential for a long period preceding.

The power of the king in the government and his increasing influence over the destinies of the nation were all the more anomalous because many changes were now in progress which seemed likely to break up the old organization of society and to bring new classes of men into power.

519. The Industrial Revolution. — Agriculture had always been the principal industry of England, and the landholding class had always exercised the strongest influence over the government. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commerce was, however, becoming a serious rival, and even manufacturing was spread widely through certain parts of the country. All these occupations alike — farming, trading, and manufacturing — were carried on by the same methods as had been in use for centuries. During the last half of the eighteenth century, however, a rapid and extensive series of changes began. These were by far the most important in the field of manufacturing. There were so many new inventions and these exercised such a deep influence on later times that the whole series of changes is often described as the "Industrial Revolution." By this is meant that the changes were as complete in the field of manufactures, in the manner of life, and in men's ideas as were those caused in political life by the Revolution of 1688 or by the French Revolution.

520. The Spinning Jenny and the Water Frame. — One of the first inventions of this kind was the spinning jenny, a machine invented in 1764 by James Hargreaves, a weaver, which would

spin a number of threads at the same time, instead of only one, as had been done by the old spinning wheels which had been used until this time. Very soon a man named Arkwright invented an improved machine which could spin much more rapidly and evenly than the jenny but which had to be driven by some artificial power. Water wheels were customarily used for this machine and it therefore became known as the "water frame." The first patent for the water frame was taken out in 1769. "Mule spinning" was invented by Samuel Crompton in 1779. The course of invention, once begun, went on rapidly, until spinning by machinery came to be done in enormous quantities and at extremely cheap rates. Some time afterwards a power loom was invented to take the place of the old hand looms; and in the other processes connected with the manufacture of cotton, woolen, linen, and other woven goods there was the same wonderful improvement. Later this was extended to other kinds of manufactured goods, and the process of introducing new machinery has gone on almost ever since.

521. Water Power and Steam Power. — The application of power to machinery was almost as important as the newly invented machinery itself. At first water power alone was used, and the machines were put up in buildings along rapidly flowing streams where dams could be built and water wheels used.

It had long been known, however, that steam could produce power, and steam power had even been used in a rough way to work pumps in mines. But James Watt now set to work to make steam engines really useful, and in 1769 applied for his first patent for improvements. Little by little he brought his work nearer to perfection until in 1781, with a partner named Boulton, he began building engines which produced power for general manufacturing purposes. These soon came to be used even more than water power for these purposes.

522. The Factory System. — The newly invented machinery was large and heavy, and the advantage of using a great deal

of it together was so great that large buildings or factories were put up especially for the purpose, either along the streams that furnished the power or, after the invention of the steam engine, wherever it was convenient. Great numbers of men, women, and children were engaged in these large factories, and the old manufacturing in private houses or small shops which had been customary for centuries came almost entirely to an end. Many of those who were engaged in spinning, weaving, and other industries carried on by the old methods, and who could not readily change to the new, suffered intensely from loss of work and decreased prices for their goods. To these the factory system was the cause of great misery. The large factories were very different from anything before known in England. They gave employment to vast numbers of persons and produced great quantities of goods which were sold at home and abroad and brought vast wealth to England. The factory laborers formed a large body of the population with interests and characteristics very different from those of the farm laborers and the lower classes of the old towns. The men who carried on the factories, invested capital in them, and became wealthy from their produce made another group of the upper classes in England equally different from the landowners of the country and the merchants of the cities.

The custom of manufacturing goods in large establishments with improved machinery, artificial power, and large bodies of laborers under the direction of employers or managers has come therefore to be spoken of as an entirely new social organization, and is often called the "factory system of industry."

A change in the government's policy and in general opinion on economic and social subjects came along with the changes in industry and commerce. Free trade replaced government control. The commercial policy approved by most writers and statesmen in the last two centuries had been to secure for the country a favorable balance of trade, that is, to export more

goods than were imported, so that the balance would be paid in money. This would enrich the merchants or, through taxation, the government. Protective tariffs were laid on goods imported, so as to favor native manufacturers. The Navigation Acts and the Dutch wars in the seventeenth century had been used to secure for English merchants a monopoly of English trade.¹ This policy is known as "mercantilism."

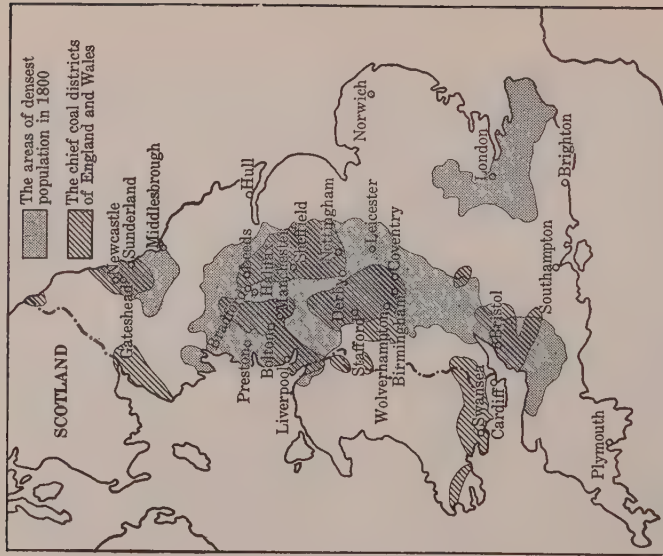
Now a different policy gradually came into existence, known by the French term "*laissez faire*."² It considered more the prosperity of individuals and believed this could best be attained by leaving every man free to buy and sell as he could most advantageously. Every man should *also* occupy himself and employ others as he thought best. The less government interfered, the better. These ideas were expressed in a book published in 1776, "The Wealth of Nations," by a Scotch professor, Adam Smith. Its teachings, though many disagreed with them, became widely accepted and controlled general English policy for more than a century.

In 1785 the new mill owners formed a "General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain," which influenced legislation in favor of free trade. One of its earliest successes was a new commercial treaty establishing freer trade with France. It became the model for many treaties with other countries.

523. The Manufacturing Districts. — The part of England where most industrial changes were taking place was in the northwestern and northern counties. There were three reasons for this. In the first place this was one of the regions in which the old-fashioned spinning and weaving of goods in the households of the weavers had been most widespread, and there was

¹ See pages 456-457.

² This expression is not easily translatable, which accounts for its continued use in its French form. It means "let alone," and indicates that the government should leave individuals to follow their own interests as they see them.



Changes in Population due to the Industrial Revolution

therefore a foundation for the later manufacturing. Then the configuration of the country in that part of England gives to the streams a comparatively short and rapid course from their source to the sea. This made them capable of furnishing excellent water power for the early factories. Finally, most of the coal fields lie in that part of the country, so that even when steam power had been introduced and there was need of coal to produce it there was no necessity for a change of location of the manufacturing establishments. Many of the small towns of that region grew large and populous, and others which had been mere villages grew to be busy manufacturing towns. In many places hundreds of tall smoking chimneys can be seen from one spot, and a close and active population has spread over a region which during the middle ages and earlier modern times was the most thinly settled and the most backward part of England. London also became a great manufacturing city, and thus one more cause was given for its vast and ever-increasing population.

524. Roads and Canals. — The improvements in methods of production made during the latter part of the eighteenth century were more conspicuous and important in manufacturing than they were in any other direction, but much the same kind of changes took place in a lesser degree in other lines. One of these was in communication and transportation. The roads of the country were extremely bad, many of them having scarcely been properly repaired since Roman times. They were generally under the charge of the authorities of each locality, who had not the means or perhaps the inclination to improve them or even to keep them in repair. Wagons therefore were continually sinking into sloughs, and goods and persons were much more commonly carried on horseback than by wheeled vehicles. From 1800 onward two engineers, Telford and Macadam, turned their attention to the construction of good roads, invented new methods of building them, and induced the authorities in a number of places to go to the expense necessary to carry out their plans. A number

of turnpike companies were also formed which secured the right of way, built good roads, and then reimbursed themselves by charging toll for their use.

In 1761 the first extensive canal was opened ; and before the end of the century a number of canals were completed, extending across England in several places and making a series of easy and cheap ways for the transportation of goods.

525. Coal and Iron. — Coal and iron were mined in much larger quantities and by improved methods. Coal was used instead of charcoal to smelt iron. Enough of these substances for fuel for the new manufacturing and material for the new machinery was readily produced in the northern and western districts of England, and vast quantities were mined for purposes of export. Many of these processes only reached their greatest advancement during the next century, but they were all well established during the period under discussion. Thus a number of the most valuable of those physical properties and characteristics of England which were mentioned in the first chapter of this book, — her streams and inland water ways, her iron, and above all her coal, — after lying almost unused for most of her history, only became of real value to her at this late date.

526. Inclosures. — Improvements in farming also were made during the middle and later years of the century. English agriculture became the best in the world.

Along with these improvements the process of inclosing the open fields, which had been so conspicuous in the sixteenth century, was begun again.¹ There was not the same violence nor disregard of customary rights as at that time. An act of parliament was obtained to authorize each process of combining and redividing the old open agricultural lands, and the legal claims of tenants and small holders were carefully protected. Nevertheless there

¹ See pages 315-317.

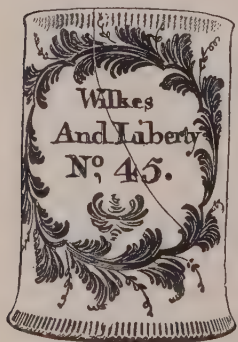
was much suffering during the change. Many who had been small farmers could not keep up with the new methods, and either became laborers on the farms of larger farmers or left the country and went into the factory towns. In this way a large class of small farmers disappeared and another break was made with the conditions of earlier England. Many a laborer also who had formerly made use of the common as pasture land for his cow, goat, donkey, or geese now found it inclosed and his old privilege lost.

527. **John Wilkes.** — These changes among the people, however, had no corresponding effect on the government of England. Parliament was still made up of the same classes that had long had control of it, and often acted with the king in entire opposition to the feelings and wishes of the majority of the people of the country. An instance of this was the affair of John Wilkes. Wilkes was a man of low moral and political principles, who went into public life to gratify his ambitions and further his fortunes. He had good gifts as a writer, speaker, and social companion, was elected to parliament, and for notoriety's sake threw himself into opposition to the king, the ministry, and the majority with reckless boldness. He thus won the reputation of being an intrepid friend of the people. In a paper which he edited, called the *North Briton*, he made severe attacks upon the ministry, upon many special friends of the king, and upon others high in office or in influence. No. 45 of his journal was particularly outspoken and abusive. When it appeared, at the king's urgent request he was prosecuted for libel and sedition, though it would evidently require much stretching of the laws to prove him guilty of such a crime.

His arrest was declared illegal by one of the judges on account of his membership in parliament and for other reasons. The House of Commons then expelled him and ordered the obnoxious newspaper to be burned by the hangman. No longer protected by the privileges of parliament, he was then convicted of libel. In the meantime he had fought two duels, in one of

which he had been almost killed, and had gone to France to recuperate in health and reputation. Not appearing before parliament to resist his expulsion or before the court to receive sentence, he was outlawed. His opponents, the king, the ministers, and the majority of parliament, had triumphed and apparently crushed him.

His reckless, profligate life, profane speech, and scandalous writings were such as would seem likely to deprive him of general sympathy. Nevertheless, strange to say, Wilkes was one of the



Cup commemorating
John Wilkes and No. 45
of the *North Briton*

most popular men in England. Many towns passed resolutions in his honor and the government of the city of London ordered his portrait painted and hung in the guildhall with an inscription, "In Honor of the Jealous Asserter of English Liberty by Law." When he returned to England his outlawry was removed, but he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for the libel. Notwithstanding this the county of Middlesex elected him for a second time its representative in parliament. Again on the urgency of the king the House of Commons expelled him; but still again he was elected by a

practically unanimous vote. Parliament refused to admit him and declared him incapable of ever sitting in that body. Nevertheless his constituency again elected him, and this undignified contest between parliament and the voters was repeated yet again. He was now at the height of his popularity, and "Wilkes and Liberty" and "Wilkes and Forty-five" were common cries over all England. The mystic number "45" was inscribed on the houses and shops of men who wished popularity, and was worn by many as a badge. When he was released from imprisonment he was elected lord mayor of London, and gifts, legacies, popular

applause, and testimonials of approval and gratitude poured in upon him from all sides.

528. The Junius Letters. — Among the pamphleteers and writers of letters in the newspapers during this excitement there was one who attracted special attention. He signed himself "Junius," but it was then and has always since remained quite uncertain who he really was. The letters appeared in a newspaper called the *Public Advertiser*, and were published from time to time between 1768 and 1772. They were written in a good style, vigorous and clear; they attacked the king and the king's friends with bitter invective; and above all they were written by some one behind the scenes, who knew all the private scandals of the time and did not hesitate to use them for political effect. They were republished in all the newspapers and magazines, were read and quoted everywhere, and goaded the king and ministers to fury. As the letters were anonymous this anger could only be satisfied by prosecuting for libel the editors of the newspaper publishing them. The jury, however, declared that, although the editor was guilty of publishing the letters, he was not guilty of libel.

The willingness to make a popular hero of such a man as Wilkes and to support him against king, ministers, and the majority in parliament, and the unwillingness of a jury to punish the publishers of the Junius letters, show that the system of government of the time, a corrupt parliament elected by a small part of the nation and influenced by an intriguing and obstinate king, was in as complete opposition to the will of the people of England as any despotism could be.

529. Grievances in America. — This system of government awakened the same kind of opposition in a portion of the British dominions where conditions were more favorable to the success of the opposition than in England itself. This was in the American colonies. There had frequently been conflicts of interest between the colonies and the home government, but these disputes had never yet become embittered. The policy of England.

like that of other European countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was to use her colonies for her own interests. When the colonists began to manufacture woollen goods, hats, wrought iron, and steel, laws were passed forbidding them to export these products or to send them from one place to another within the colonies. Manufacturing consequently died out, as it was intended that it should, the colonists remained agriculturists, and bought their manufactured goods from the mother country.

The Navigation Acts¹ were intended to increase the prosperity of English merchants and shipbuilders and provide the government with plenty of ships and sailors in case of war. But these acts were adverse to the interests of the colonists. They prohibited them from exporting sugar, tobacco, and several other articles produced in the colonies to any country except England and her possessions; forbade the importation of any European goods except such as should be brought directly from England or should have paid specially heavy duties and been specially authorized; and allowed no trading with colonial ports to any except British vessels. The Navigation Acts were not as burdensome to the colonists as might be supposed because they had not been strictly enforced. Smuggling was a regular occupation even of respectable business houses at Salem, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other colonial ports; and as a matter of fact the colonists kept up a profitable though an illegal trade with the French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies. This violation of the laws may fairly have been looked upon as more of a grievance to the home government than the laws themselves were to the colonists.

530. The Stamp Act. — After the close of the French war in 1763 many of these conditions were altered. The old days of letting the colonies drift had passed and a stricter policy was begun. The English government, having obtained Cape Breton, Canada, and Florida by the Peace of Paris, organized them as

¹ See pp. 456, 457.

three new colonies and began to make arrangements for their defense, as well as for that of the older colonies, from the Indians and from France and Spain, who would probably try to regain them. It was proposed to establish in America an army of ten thousand men for this purpose. The number of crown officials in America was also to be made larger and the expense correspondingly greater. To meet these expenses and at the same time to check the colonial disregard of the Navigation Acts, which was a constant complaint at home, the ministry proposed to adopt a new policy. The first point of this plan was to enforce the Navigation Acts by sending revenue vessels to patrol the American coast, and by prosecuting American offenders against the acts in the vice-admiralty courts. The second part of the plan was to provide one half the necessary funds for the payment of soldiers and office holders in America by increasing the taxes on colonial importations and by laying a stamp tax. The stamp tax required the use in the colonies of stamped paper for deeds, wills, contracts, and all other legal documents. This stamped paper, which could be bought only from government agents, constituted a tax on all the colonists who had occasion to carry on any legal business.

Opposition to the "Stamp Act," as this statute was called, immediately showed itself. Resolutions were carried in some of the colonial legislatures declaring that the colonists had all the rights and privileges of English citizens, including control of their own taxes, and that the English parliament had no right to levy taxes upon the American colonists, because they had no representation there. There was a serious riot in Boston and the officers who undertook to sell the stamped paper were mobbed. Delegates from nine of the colonies met at New York in 1765, in what was called the "Stamp Act Congress," and issued a declaration of what they considered their rights.

531. American and English Ideas of Representation. — In the American colonies an idea of representation had grown up which

was quite unfamiliar in England. In the colonial legislatures the great body of the people were represented, and the colonists had grown to feel that only those for whom they actually voted could properly make laws for them or tax them. While they acknowledged their dependence on the English crown, they believed that parliament represented the people of England only, and that their colonial legislatures were coördinate with that body.

In England representation instead of being a personal was a class matter. Parliament included the nobles, the great churchmen, and the commons. The last class, according to the understanding of the law, included all Englishmen belonging to the untitled classes. It made no difference whether a man had an opportunity to vote for a member of the House of Commons or not. If he was an Englishman and was not a peer, he was represented by the House of Commons and bound by its actions.

The colonists were therefore quite sincere in their claim that the taxation which was now imposed upon them for the first time by the English parliament was tyranny. The English parliament and ministry, on the other hand, were quite as sincere as the colonists when they claimed the right of taxing and making laws for Englishmen wherever they might be. The English at home and the colonists in America held different views as to the meaning of this point of the English constitution.

Whatever may have been the state of the law, as a matter of fact the colonists were angered by the new taxation, the harsh restrictions on their commerce, and the increased duties on sugar, molasses, and other necessary articles. To show their opposition to these they not only mobbed the stamp distributors but also adopted non-importation agreements, pledging themselves not to buy or use any goods imported from England till the obnoxious laws were repealed.

532. The Declaration of Independence. — In 1766, after a year of disorder, the English ministry, realizing that the Americans were being roused to anger and that almost no revenue was

coming in, asked parliament to repeal the Stamp Act, which was done. Parliament at the same time, to satisfy its pride, passed a resolution declaring that it had a right, if it saw fit, to pass laws for the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Nevertheless the repeal of the Stamp Act showed that parliament and the ministers did not intend in the future to pass such laws unless they were satisfactory to the Americans. The colonists met their action half-way. There was universal rejoicing and they again seemed loyal.

But this satisfaction lasted for a short time only. King George had been bitterly hostile to the repeal of the Stamp Act. He was deeply offended with the ministers who had carried the repeal, even though it had won back the Americans to their allegiance. He thought the colonists ought to be punished for their disorders and ruled with a heavy hand. He used all his royal influence to induce the ministers and parliament to take a more high-handed policy towards them. The next year his wish was carried out. What were called the "Townshend Acts" were passed, one of which placed a tax on various articles imported into the American colonies, including twopence a pound on tea. The revenue from the tax on tea was to be used to pay government officials in America. When the news of this tax came there was a still more serious outbreak of resistance in America. From this time forward hostility between the people of the thirteen colonies and the mother country increased steadily.

In 1767 the legislatures of the colonies were forbidden by the government to pass resolutions in opposition to the laws passed by parliament, and several of them were dissolved by the royal governors; in 1768 English troops were sent to Boston; in 1769 colonists charged with treason were ordered to be brought home for trial; in 1770 there was a riot in the streets of Boston, in which the soldiers fired upon the mob and five or six persons were killed. In 1774 the five "Intolerable Acts" were passed by parliament closing up the harbor of Boston, putting it under military control,

taking self-government away from the state of Massachusetts, and in other ways laying a heavy disciplinary hand on the Americans.

The colonists, on the other hand, renewed their resolutions of non-importation of English goods, seized the tea on the vessels that brought it over and threw it into the water, passed resolutions of protest, rang muffled bells, and drilled their militia troops. Finally, in 1774, a Congress of delegates from twelve of the colonies met in Philadelphia, and determined to make armed resistance to what they felt to be the tyranny of England.

The people rose in arms in many colonies. The first blood of a long contest was shed at Lexington in April, 1775. Fighting followed at several points, and on July 4, 1776, the contest was made an irreconcilable one by the Declaration of Independence.

At several points during the growing bitterness of the last ten years a few concessions on the part of the mother country would have allayed the excitement of the Americans, perhaps obviated the war, and certainly postponed or prevented the Declaration of Independence. The feelings of the great body of the people were still strongly attached to the home land of their race; the determination to resist by arms, the idea of total separation from England, and the interest in the principles of republican government were in the minds of most of the colonists the growth of a very short period. This is shown by the series of petitions sent by them to the king, and by the long hesitation in Congress before the Declaration of Independence was finally made.

It was the writings and the speeches of a comparatively small group of men, like Adams, Franklin, and Paine, falling on the favorable soil of a race of people who had been long used to self-government in their colonial assemblies, and who were now angered by the oppressive interference of the British government, which transformed the colonists from good subjects of a distant monarchy into rebels and republicans. On the other hand, the greatest influence opposed to concessions to the colonists was that of the king. The ministers who favored a more compliant

policy either resigned or, as Lord North did, yielded against their better judgment to the wishes of the king. The party of the king's friends in parliament was always a solid body of supporters of measures intended to humble the colonists. Although the majority in parliament enthusiastically favored the policy of interference in America, that majority took its cue from a few of the leaders and but poorly represented the feelings of the great body of the people of England. If there had been any way of finding the real views of the people, they would quite probably have proved far more conciliatory to the colonists than those of the king and his party.

533. Pitt, Burke, and Fox. — America was, however, not without powerful friends in parliament. Pitt, who was now an old man and a member of the House of Lords, having been made earl of Chatham, used his remaining influence to obtain the repeal of the stamp tax, and favored conciliation at every opportunity afterwards. Two younger men now entering upon great careers also took the side of the colonists, though they were not influential enough to change the main course of events. These were Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox. Burke was the son of an Irish lawyer and early became known for his great learning, his philosophic mind, his vigorous writing, and his thoughtful and eloquent speeches. He was introduced into the House of Commons by the influence of one of the great Whig leaders and soon became one of the most prominent opponents of Lord North and his policy and a steady though moderate friend of the Americans.

Fox was a man of very different origin, character, and gifts, though he formed a friendship with Burke which lasted for many years, and they were close allies in parliament. Fox was the second son of Lord Holland, a prominent member of the ministry at various times and a very wealthy man. The younger Fox was a spendthrift, and lived the wild, reckless life so common among young men of the English aristocracy at that time. He gambled every night, wasted his father's fortune, and borrowed from his

friends to the verge of ruin. At the same time his affections were so strong, his nature so lovable, his gifts of eloquence and clearness of thought so great, that his friends and even his opponents bore with all his excesses and valued him as one of England's greatest statesmen.

534. The American War. — But neither the eloquence of Chatham, the philosophy of Burke, nor the generous sympathy of Fox had much influence on the course of the American Revolution. The fighting spirit of the English people rose with the outbreak of war, parliament favored its prosecution, and the king was always ready to press his policy of complete coercion of the Americans on Lord North when he wavered. On the other hand, the distance of America from England, the immense extent of its territory, and the inadequacy of English military equipment fought for the colonists.

Congress placed at the head of the army George Washington, whose personal dignity, fine character, unquestioning devotion to his country, and military abilities proved to be the main factor in the ultimate success of the Americans. Most of the pitched battles went in favor of the English, and Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the three largest cities, were held by them for a longer or shorter time. On the other hand, the Americans gained some notable successes. In 1777 the British general, Burgoyne, who was marching southward from Canada, was surrounded and forced to surrender with his army. This victory caused France, where there was some enthusiastic sympathy for the colonists and much more desire for revenge upon England, to make an alliance with the Americans.

In 1779 Spain also declared war upon England, and in 1780 Holland likewise was drawn into the contest. The British government, notwithstanding its military successes, had not shown itself capable of putting down the rebellion in America. Much less was it able to defeat a combination between the colonists and the powers of Europe. Therefore when the news of the surrender

of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown arrived in November, 1781, the Whigs in parliament were able to carry a motion for the discontinuance of the war in America. Soon afterwards Lord North was at last allowed by the king to resign office. His successor made peace in 1783, acknowledging the independence of the United States of America with boundaries extending westward to the Mississippi, bounded on the north by Canada, and on the south by the province of Florida, which was now returned to Spain. War with France, Spain, and Holland was also brought to a close and general treaties were signed at Paris in 1783.

535. Home Rule in Ireland. — The acknowledgment of the independence of the United States was accompanied by similar if less thoroughgoing concessions to Ireland. Ireland, like the American colonies, had been governed as best suited the interests of England, not her own, and as in America this had given rise to a spirit of hostility. This hostility was shared even by those whose ancestors had come from England, who were Protestants, and who were themselves oppressors of the native Catholic population. It is true that the Protestant part of the population of Ireland was represented, though very irregularly, in an Irish parliament which sat at Dublin. But the powers of this parliament were narrowly limited. An old act, known as "Poynings's Law," passed by the Irish parliament in the reign of Henry VII, required that all laws before being proposed in that body should be submitted to the king and his council in England and approved by them. Another statute passed by the British parliament in the time of George I declared that that body could pass laws for Ireland as well as for England and Scotland. Under these conditions it had been found impossible for Ireland to legislate for her own interests, and she had been subjected to much that was inconvenient and injurious. In addition to the unhappy penal code under which the great mass of her lower Catholic population lived, she was also forbidden to export many of her products to England, Scotland, the colonies, or foreign countries.

An old proverb says that "England's necessity is Ireland's opportunity." It proved to be so in this case. When France and Spain allied themselves with the American colonies Ireland was much exposed to invasion. It was impossible for the English fleet and armies to protect the whole coast of Ireland, Scotland, and England at a time when the troops were all needed in America and the vessels on the coast of America, in the West Indies, and in the Mediterranean. Therefore volunteer troops were raised in Ireland to the number of fifty thousand men, and although they were all nominally Protestants and all professedly loyal, yet their existence gave the Irish people and the Irish parliament an unwonted boldness. They had now the power to enforce their demands.

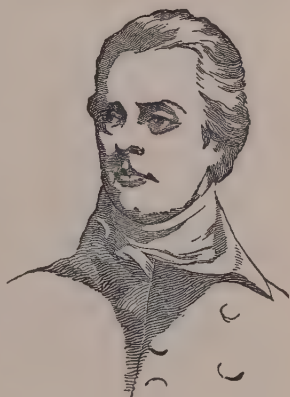
The spokesman of these demands was Henry Grattan, the greatest lawyer and orator in the Irish parliament. In 1779 such strong resolutions were carried through that body in favor of freedom of trade with England that the next year laws were passed in the English parliament putting the two countries on an equality in commercial matters and allowing Ireland free export of its principal commodities. Then began an agitation for the complete legislative freedom of the Irish parliament. It was taken up with great enthusiasm by the "Volunteers," and deputies from their various regiments carried resolutions in its favor. In 1782 Grattan brought forward a declaration in favor of a free parliament, which was carried unanimously through both houses. Under these circumstances the English ministry, not caring to face an Irish in addition to an American revolution, gave way, allowed Poyning's Law to be repealed in Ireland, and induced the English parliament to repeal the act of George I.

For the next eighteen years Ireland had "home rule," that is to say, her legislature could pass any laws which seemed best for the country. The executive power was, however, not under the control of parliament, as it was exercised by a lord lieutenant appointed by the king on the advice of the British ministry.

536. Close of Personal Rule of George III. — The resignation of Lord North in 1782, the complete independence granted to America, and the partial independence given to Ireland not only indicated the failure of a coercive policy, but also marked the close of the active interference of George III in the affairs of government. In 1780 a resolution was carried in the House of Commons to the effect that "the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The king was obliged in 1782 and 1783 to accept ministers who were most distasteful to him. When, however, these ministers failed to retain their majority and found it necessary to resign, he exercised his old claim to make his own choice of a minister. But the man whom he selected proved to be more masterful than the king had expected, and George III never again became "his own prime minister," as he had been called.

The resistance of America and the self-assertion of Ireland had therefore not only gained the ends for which those countries were striving but had also saved England herself from a threatened increase of royal power.

537. William Pitt the Younger. — The new prime minister who came into office in 1783 was William Pitt, the second son of the great earl of Chatham. The elder son, who had inherited his father's title, was not a man of much ability or political importance. The second son and namesake of his father, however, had been trained from childhood for a public career, and he developed qualities which made him almost if not quite the equal of the earl of Chatham. "He is not a chip off the old block, he is the old block itself," was Burke's judgment of him soon after



William Pitt

he entered parliament as a young man of twenty. He had not the fiery and impetuous eloquence of his father, but his speeches were always clear, vigorous, and graceful. He knew what he wanted to do, and yet saw clearly what could or could not be done in each set of circumstances. He knew how to manage men and was willing to be patient. He was moderate, even cold. In intellectual abilities he was therefore quite the equal, perhaps the superior, of any statesman of his time, although in strength of feeling he was inferior both to many of them and to his father.

Nevertheless he had unbounded confidence in himself, and although he had been in the ministry but a few months, was only twenty-four years old, and represented a small minority in parliament, when the king asked him to take charge of the government in 1783 he did so without hesitation. He had a hard struggle to keep his position. The Whigs were still in a majority in parliament and protested against the appointment of a minister who did not represent their party. For Pitt, though he called himself a Whig, like his father, and in American affairs and some other matters had taken the same ground with Burke, Fox, and other influential Whigs, had yet put himself on Tory ground by accepting a personal appointment as minister from the king. He was really throwing down the gauntlet to the old leaders and trying to form a new Tory party.

538. The New Tory Party. — In this he finally succeeded. During his first year of office he declined time after time to resign when called upon to do so or when his measures were defeated. He believed that the people of the country were tired of the old leaders and of their selfish and unpatriotic combinations. Insufficient as were the means then in existence for voicing the wishes of the people, he believed that they would uphold a new cabinet freed from the trammels of the old leaders as soon as an opportunity was given to express their views.

He simply waited, therefore, for a good occasion to ask the king to dissolve parliament, in the meanwhile taking a moderate

tone on all questions that came up, boldly refusing to resign, and encouraging Fox and his other opponents to an ever-increasing violence of expression. His judgment of the popular feeling was correct. The people admired his courage, he inherited some of the popularity of his father, and in a few months the tide began to turn in his favor. Parliament was therefore dissolved in 1784 and the new elections brought in a good majority of supporters of the new ministry. Pitt remained prime minister for almost twenty years, and the Tory party as he reorganized it and as it was strengthened by succeeding events, remained in almost unbroken control for more than forty years. This was a period nearly as long as the Whig control during the eighteenth century, which had lasted from Walpole's advent in 1721, except for a short interval in 1762 and 1763, to Lord North's ministry of 1770.

539. Defects of the Representation. — Pitt desired, like his father, that the policy of his government should be based on the support of the people at large, not on that of parliament only. Many recent occurrences had served to show how wide was the chasm between parliament and the great body of the people. This was due to the bad system of representation. It will be remembered that the original plan had been to summon to parliament two members from each county and two from each considerable town. The list of represented towns had been somewhat changed since the thirteenth century, but not at all since the sixteenth. In the meantime many of these towns had from one cause or another lost much or all of their population. A town which in 1295 had had two or three thousand inhabitants had



Gatton "Town Hall": the Site
of a Decayed Borough

from one cause or another ceased to flourish, and its people had drifted off to more active towns, till it had sunk to a mere county village, or in some cases had become simply farming ground or some country gentleman's park. As the population of a town decayed, however, it still retained its right to send members to parliament, and the choice of these gradually came into the control of the landowner who possessed the soil on which the town was built or who had the greatest influence in that part of the country.

Thus came into existence what were known as "pocket boroughs,"¹ because their owners could put their hands in their pockets and take out the appointment of members of parliament to represent them. Several noblemen had each the appointment of half a dozen or more members of the House of Commons. Many landowners had practical control of at least one decayed borough with its representation. The crown also had the appointment of a considerable number, since in some of the small represented towns so many of the people were in the employ of the government, or of contractors for the government, or otherwise under government influence, that the king or his ministers could always say who should be elected. In these ways more than three hundred members of the House of Commons were practically appointed by a handful of influential nobles and gentry or by the ministers who were in office at the time of an election. A combination among these "borough owners," and above all an agreement between a number of them and the ministers, could almost always control a majority in parliament, quite apart from the wishes or opinions of the members elected by more independent constituencies.

540. Unrepresented Towns and Classes. — On the other hand, many large towns and cities had grown up which had no especial

¹ They were also called "nomination boroughs," because their representatives in parliament were named or nominated by a landlord; "close boroughs," because the group of voters was a restricted body; and "rotten boroughs," because the population was decayed.

representatives in parliament, their inhabitants voting, when qualified, simply for the two representatives of the whole shire in which the town lay. This had been especially true since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, when large manufacturing towns were growing up in a part of the country which had previously but a sparse population. In these a numerous, active, and wealthy population was almost without representation in parliament. The property qualification for voting and other restrictions resulted in the exclusion from the franchise of the middle and lower classes of the population, even of those towns and counties which did have representatives in parliament. In 1768, when the population of England, Scotland, and Wales was about 8,000,000, or probably 1,600,000 grown men, there were only some 160,000 voters. In other words, out of every ten grown men in the country one had a vote, the other nine had none.

As a result of these inequalities parliament but poorly represented the nation, and it was possible for the ministers and the majority in parliament to have one set of wishes, and the great body of the people to have quite another. The recognition that they had no real control over the policy of the government made the people far more disorderly and reckless than they would have been otherwise, as violence was almost the only way in which they could exercise any influence.

541. The Lord George Gordon Riots.—This had been shown in the Wilkes affair, in a great many mob insults to Bute, North, and other ministers, and even to the king himself. It was now still further shown by the "Lord George Gordon Riots" in 1780.

Views of religious toleration had been growing during the more enlightened century which had just passed and among the more enlightened classes which were represented in parliament. The old dread of the Roman Catholics had passed away very largely since the country had settled down under its new Protestant dynasty and since other interests had so largely taken the place of the old religious contests. As a result of this feeling parliament

in 1778 made a beginning of the abolition of the old drastic laws against the Roman Catholics.

In the country at large, however, feeling was not nearly so liberal, and many took alarm at the changes. Parliament was not trusted, as it was not under the control of the community, and an unreasoning fear that more far-reaching changes were to be introduced spread abroad. Protestant associations were formed and began an agitation for the repeal of the late laws. The head of this agitation was a certain Lord George Gordon, a young man of enthusiasm but not of an entirely sound mind. In 1780 he



An Election in the Eighteenth Century (drawn by Hogarth)

sent out an appeal for a body of twenty thousand Protestants to meet him in St. George's Fields, London, and go with him to the parliament house to present a special petition. A much larger number gathered, rioting broke out, the entrances to the house of parliament were invaded and the members mobbed, the disorder spread through London, and for five days the city was in the hands of an uncontrollable mob. Roman Catholic chapels were sacked and burned, and houses and stores of Roman Catholic tradesmen were destroyed, while those of members of parliament

who had advocated any legislation in their favor were plundered and burned, and many persons killed. Finally the king, who was never lacking in courage, called together his council and urged upon them the use of military force to put down the riots. The troops were therefore ordered to take vigorous measures, and at the cost of some five hundred persons killed and wounded order was restored. A number of rioters were executed and officials punished, and parliament adhered to its former action.

542. The Reform of Parliament. — Old abuses of many kinds survived because there was so little connection between parliament and the people. Every effort made by reformers to put an end to bribery, to lessen the number of sinecure offices, to exclude men from parliament who were under the control of government, or in other ways to introduce purity and justice was met by resistance due to the existence of the close-borough system. The united devotion and interest of the country could scarcely ever be obtained for any measure because the country was not really represented in its legislature. Many leaders therefore had long looked to a change in this system as a necessary step to be taken before any further reforms could be accomplished. Any plan of this kind intended to improve the condition of the representation came to be known as "reform of parliament."

The earl of Chatham had announced in his last ministry that he intended to introduce a measure for parliamentary reform, but his failure in health and his resignation led to the plan being dropped at that time. After the close of the American war popular meetings were held and organizations formed to demand various reforms, among which that of parliament was prominent; but nothing was done. Soon after the younger Pitt entered the House of Commons he brought in a bill to take away representation from a number of the close boroughs and to give their representatives to the most populous counties, where the right of voting was more general. This bill was defeated, though it was strenuously supported by Fox.

Now that Pitt was prime minister it might be expected that a reform bill would be carried, and in 1784 he introduced a measure by which he proposed to abolish many of the nomination boroughs, paying the owners for their loss. It was defeated and Pitt gave up the attempt to force through parliament a measure which was so much opposed to the interests of a great majority of its members. It still remained, however, a subject of agitation in the country and was proposed again from time to time even in parliament itself. In 1792 a long petition was presented showing that a decided majority of the members of the House of Commons owed their election to not more than one hundred and fifty-four influential men. Pitt himself opposed these later attempts to bring about reform, notwithstanding his early efforts. As a matter of fact a great occurrence had by this time taken place in Europe which led Pitt and the great body of the nobility and upper classes in England to oppose everything which threatened to give greater power to the lower classes.

543. The French Revolution. — This occurrence was the outbreak of the French Revolution. For a long time the necessity for extensive reforms had been even more evident in France than in England. In 1789 a National Assembly of the representatives of the French people was called by the king of France to devise means of overcoming the financial difficulties of the government. The Assembly gave but slight attention to financial matters but proceeded within the years from 1789 to 1791 to introduce the most radical reforms into every department of French society and government. The king was deprived of most of his former powers and a representative system of government was established. A "Declaration of the Rights of Man" was issued which laid down the principles on which, in the opinion of the Assembly, government and society should be constructed. These principles were similar to those expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, and if generally accepted would have transformed the existing system of every country of Europe.

An effort was made to introduce social along with political equality. France was divided into "departments" with new boundaries, the church reorganized, aristocracy abolished, and many institutions which had existed for long centuries were superseded by new arrangements based on universal equality. This transformation was not accomplished without much violence. There were many riots in the streets of Paris and throughout the country. The Bastille, a royal fortress in the heart of Paris, was captured by the mob on July 14, 1789. There was much confiscation of property belonging to the nobles and the church. Many of the upper classes fled from the country and representatives of the middle and the lower classes came into control.

544. English Opinion on the Revolution. — These changes in a neighboring and rival nation were looked upon with various feelings in England. A great number of the people, including some such prominent men as Fox, welcomed the change and believed that it would result in the greater happiness and welfare of the French people and of the human race.

Following the example of France they turned their attention to affairs at home and began an agitation for a reform of parliament, for a milder libel law, for the abolition of the slave trade, and for the removal of many old abuses in the government and laws. They revived old Whig associations, the "Constitutional Society" and the "Revolutionary Society," and these adopted as their principles the advocacy of universal suffrage, more frequent elections for parliament, and other measures which would have put the control of government more completely in the hands of the masses of the people. From 1789 to 1792 they sent repeated letters of congratulation to the French Assembly. Still other societies were soon formed, such as the "Friends of the People," many of whose members believed in a republic and wished to see one established in England.

While many men in England were thus encouraging and imitating the French Revolution, many others believed that the personal

outrages and injustice to individuals and to the upper classes in France would lead to mere anarchy without the possibility of orderly reform. They thought that the Revolution was a reckless and injurious overthrow of established order that was sure to go from bad to worse in France and to give an evil example to the people of other countries.

Of the latter views Burke made himself the special representative. In 1790 he issued a pamphlet called *Reflections on the French Revolution*, in which with great philosophic insight he called attention to the weak points in the revolutionary movement and prophesied the more extreme lengths to which it would go. This book not only had a great influence but it also served as a statement of principles in which many of the old Whig party believed. With Burke they soon separated themselves from the rest of their party, who were led by Fox, and eventually joined the Tories, who supported Pitt. This addition of strength made that minister and his party all powerful.

545. War between England and France. — For a while Pitt occupied a middle point between those who admired and those who opposed the French Revolution, and as prime minister followed a policy of carefully keeping England from taking any part in the internal troubles of France. He was anxious for unbroken peace, for reform measures in England, and for an increase of commercial exchanges with other countries. He hoped, moreover, that the excitement in France would diminish and that that country would gradually settle down into a constitutional monarchy like England herself. He had therefore every reason to avoid any interference with French affairs.

This policy, however, gradually became impossible. In 1791 and 1792 there were more massacres in France, the king was dethroned, and finally a republic set up. A new Assembly was called, which was under the influence of radical Parisian clubs. A Committee of Public Safety came into power, which carried out ruthless executions of all those who were suspected of disloyalty

to the new republic. War broke out between France on one side and Austria and Prussia on the other. France was successful and began not only a conquest of territories on her border but also an extension of the principles of the revolution wherever her arms or her influence extended. These principles and their application would in time surely bring France and England into conflict, just as they had already brought about war between France, Austria, and Prussia. Other causes hastened the outbreak. In 1793, when France invaded the Austrian Netherlands and sent her own king to execution, Pitt ordered the French minister to leave England, and France immediately declared war. After this time war between England and France continued without cessation for nine years, until a treaty was signed at Amiens in 1802.

546. Close of Revolutionary Agitation in England. — One of the earliest results of the war was the silencing of the revolutionary societies in England. They had become more and more outspoken and disorderly in their agitation. Processions passed through the streets of London carrying banners inscribed "Liberty," "Equality," and "No King." When the war with France broke out Pitt and his party came to the conclusion that this was dangerously close to a revolution, and determined to put a stop to the agitation if it were in any way possible. Proclamations were therefore issued, the militia was called out, two new treason acts were passed, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and a number of leaders of the agitation in England and Scotland were prosecuted for sedition and sentenced to various periods of transportation to the convict colonies. The next year, when the Constitutional and the Corresponding Societies called a convention in London whose influence over parliament they dreamed might be similar to that of the Jacobin Club over the Convention in Paris, the officers of those societies were prosecuted by the government for treason. The juries could not be induced to convict them of such a high crime and they were acquitted.¹ Nevertheless the government

¹ These agitators are often called the "English Jacobins."

utilized the powers given to it by the new seditious laws to dissolve some of the societies and to prevent others from holding meetings.

Little by little the agitation was suppressed. Popular sympathy turned to the side of the government. The passion of hostility to France grew with the continuation of the war. It was generally felt that active approval and praise for France should not be openly expressed when the two countries were at war. By the year 1795 it may be said that all active reform agitation had come to an end. Scarcely anything which savored of reform of any kind was carried for the next twenty years.

547. The Irish Revolution and the Union. — In Ireland, with its vast unrepresented and unhappy population and its various classes with their different interests, the French Revolution exerted even more influence than in England. One of its effects



Royal Arms from
1801 to 1816

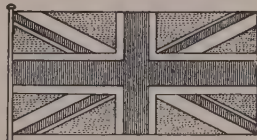
was to bring into existence a revolutionary society, the "United Irishmen," whose plan was to obtain the help of France, throw off the yoke of the English government, and establish a republic in Ireland. After much plotting, negotiation with France, organization, and drilling, a serious insurrection broke out in 1798. There was some fighting and terrible atrocities were committed both by the rebels and by the English troops, which soon

put down the rebellion. Several of its leaders committed suicide or were killed in resisting arrest; the others were hung.

When the revolt was over the English ministers decided that the only hope for peace and order in Ireland was to unite her parliament with that of England and rule the two countries as one. The great majority of the Irish parliament was at first strongly opposed to this plan, but by wholesale bribery and promises of peerages a majority was obtained sufficient to carry the necessary bills. There was no opposition in the British parliament and the requisite measures were, in the same year, 1800, carried in that

body also. The name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was adopted for the two nations.¹ Thus the parliament at Dublin disappeared, and that which met at Westminster in 1801 became known as the first "united" or "imperial" parliament. It included not only the members from England, Scotland, and Wales, but also one hundred members from Ireland in the House of Commons and twenty-eight Irish peers in the House of Lords.

548. Bad feeling between England and Ireland. — The legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain came nearly a hundred years later than that of Scotland with England and was practically identical with it in principle and intention. Many circumstances connected with the Irish union, however, were different, and these served to make it a heavy burden to both countries and the source of embittered contests which continued for more than a century. In the first place, the union was forced upon the Irish legislature and the Irish people against their will. The bare majority vote in its favor obtained in the Dublin parliament by bribery and management by no means constituted a willing acceptance of the union. The great body of the Irish have therefore always felt that the British government was a usurping power, governing them as a tyrant, not as a voluntarily chosen ruler. Secondly, the English have always looked upon the Irish with a certain amount of contempt. In discussing in the united parliament matters relating to Ireland the ministry early formed the habit of neglecting or disregarding the judgment and the knowledge of the representatives of Ireland, and simply overwhelmed them by enormous majorities made up of English and Scotch members. As a result legislation for Ireland for almost three quarters of a century was unwise and unpopular to an almost incredible degree.



Union Jack after the Union
with Ireland

¹ At the same time the title "King of France" was dropped by the king and the fleur-de-lys removed from the coat of arms.

Finally, the religious incompatibility of the two nations was intensified rather than moderated by the union. Probably seven eighths of the Irish people were Roman Catholics and only one eighth Protestants. Roman Catholics could vote but could not hold office or be members of parliament. They were not, therefore, properly represented, being restricted in their choice of members of parliament to persons not of their own religious faith. There was nothing in the government to arouse the interest or secure the loyalty of the masses. The best that could be hoped and the most that was ever obtained was the sullen and uninterested submission of the Irish people to what they felt to be an alien and despotic government. Other causes combined to make the history of Ireland during the nineteenth century an unhappy one, but the most fundamental cause has been that she has not been able to work out her own salvation in her own way.

549. Resignation of Pitt. — The last of the difficulties mentioned above — the lack of religious equality between the two nations — was no part of the plan of the union as formed by Pitt. He had intended, and indeed promised the Irish leaders, to repeal the law excluding Roman Catholics from parliament; and this was clearly understood to be one of the terms of the agreement by which the union was carried. Pitt knew that he could count on a majority in parliament to support him in this plan, and proceeded to the preparation of a bill for their emancipation. But there was one influence of which he had not taken proper account. This was the resistance of the king. Opponents of the Roman Catholics, even some members of the ministry, went to the king privately and urged him to interpose his power, even to the extent of vetoing such a bill. George III had always been extremely conscientious in religious matters and he was bigoted in opposition to Roman Catholics. He asked Pitt, therefore, not to introduce such a bill, but the prime minister declared that he would fulfill his promises or resign.

The king still persisted in his opposition, and as he was now becoming an old man and more than once had had attacks of insanity, and as opinion in the ministry and parliament was much divided, Pitt preferred to resign rather than carry the contest farther. The project of giving relief to the Roman Catholics was given up, and Pitt after being prime minister seventeen years resigned his office in 1801.

550. Abolition of the Slave Trade.—Various ministries followed, including a return of Pitt to power in 1804; but he died in little more than a year, when a ministry of all parties was formed, the most influential member of which was Fox. He also died in 1806, the same year as Pitt. During his short ministry, however, he was instrumental in securing the adoption of one great reform. This was the passage of the law by which English vessels were prohibited from taking part in the trade in slaves between Africa and America. This was an old if somewhat disreputable branch of commerce in which English merchants, especially those of the west of England, had won much wealth. It was said that at one time sixty thousand negroes were yearly taken from the coast of Africa to the West Indies and to American states and colonies.

About 1783, a young graduate of Cambridge, named Clarkson, became impressed with the evils of this trade when engaged in preparing material for an essay on the subject. He afterwards devoted many years to collecting evidence of its horrors. He learned and published the fact that vessels bound from Africa to America habitually took aboard so many negroes that only a few cubic feet of space between decks was allowed for each. He described the plan by which they were placed so close as almost to touch one another, chained together in long tiers in the hold, with so little space above them that they were not able to stand or even sit upright. Large numbers died in the stifling air of the hold as the vessel sailed through the tropical seas, many others became insane, and still others committed suicide by springing overboard when they were taken on deck for exercise. The

terrible inhumanity connected with this traffic had troubled many men of benevolent character in England; the Quakers had petitioned parliament against it, and Wilberforce, an influential man and a friend of Pitt, had made himself the special advocate of its abolition in the House of Commons.

Both Pitt and Fox had become interested in the subject and desirous of legislating against it, and from 1788 onwards, at various times, measures for the abolition of the slave trade had been introduced into parliament and carried through some of their stages. The pressure of other business, the influence of the merchants who were engaged in the trade, and the tide of opposition to all kinds of reform had, however, prevented any bill from being actually carried until 1806. In that year, while Fox was prime minister, a bill was brought in and passed providing that the slave trade should cease after January 1, 1808. This was the same date as the United States had just fixed for its abolition, so far as vessels bringing slaves to that country were concerned. In neither country did these measures abolish slavery itself, which still continued in the West Indian and some other colonies of Great Britain, as it did in the southern states of the American Union. In 1814 most of the

other countries of Europe abolished the slave trade, and its general condemnation was made one of the terms of the Treaty of Vienna the following year.



Medal prepared by Napoleon to be issued at London when he should have conquered England

551. Renewal of the War with France. — The peace signed at Amiens in 1802 did not long continue. Napoleon Bonaparte,

although only possessing at that time the title of First Consul, had become practically the ruler of France, and in fact in 1804 took the title of emperor. The war of England against the French republic, therefore, was gradually merged into a war against Napoleon. England became the soul of the opposition of the

other countries of Europe to the great French emperor. At one time or another she formed alliances with Spain, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Russia, and some of the minor powers of Europe. When the continental countries were defeated and one alliance after another was dissolved, England regularly set to work to form a new coalition. Her wealth enabled her not only to equip and pay her own troops but also to subscribe money to keep the troops of Prussia, Russia, Austria, and other countries in the field.

No account of the frequent and long campaigns and of the many alliances can of course be given here. England's part in the war on land until 1813 was not either very prominent or very successful, but she won great glory upon the sea. Over and over again she showed herself superior to French fleets, even when these were joined, as they were later, by those of Holland or Spain.

552. Nelson.—The great hero of her naval history proved to be Horatio Nelson, who had been brought up in the navy and reached the command of a vessel before he was twenty years old. He served in the American war and by the time he was forty had taken part in one hundred and twenty engagements. In 1797,



Lord Nelson

when he was simply a commodore, he helped win a victory off Cape St. Vincent over the Spanish fleet which was on its way to join the French fleet at Brest. Soon afterwards he was made admiral. In 1798, in the Battle of the Nile, fought in Aboukir Bay, he destroyed the French fleet and made useless the army which Bonaparte had taken to Egypt. In 1805 the greatest and the crowning naval battle of the war, fought off Cape Trafalgar,

resulted in the total destruction of the last considerable fleet which the French placed upon the sea during this war. Nelson, who had now been made a viscount and had become the idol of the sailors and indeed of the whole nation, at the opening of the engagement put up the signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty." The victory of the English was decisive but Nelson fell mortally wounded and died just as he heard the news of the destruction of the French fleet. His body was buried in St. Paul's cathedral.

553. Advantages of the War to England.—The command of the sea which England thus obtained gave her three great advantages. In the first place, she was enabled to ward off invasion and to prevent warfare upon her own territory. Secondly, she was able to capture almost all the French colonies and even those of Holland, after that country had allied itself with France. The French possessions in the West Indies, Africa, and the Indian Ocean and the Dutch colonies of Java, the Cape of Good Hope, and Guiana were one after another seized while their home governments were not in a position to defend them. Most of the colonies thus captured were returned at the conclusion of peace, but England retained Tobago and St. Lucia in the West Indies, one half of Guiana on the coast of South America, Malta in the Mediterranean, and two great stations on the road to India, that is to say, the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France. Thirdly, England was able to get possession of most of the commerce of the world except that part of it which was carried on by the United States and that of the far East. The European colonies in America and the native races of Africa and Asia made a great market for the manufactured goods which England was now able under the factory system to produce in such vast quantities. The war, therefore, though it required heavy taxes and enormous loans, probably paid for itself to England in the increased extent of her dominions and population and in the wealth obtained by her manufacturers and merchants.

554. War of 1812 with the United States. — After the battle of Trafalgar and Napoleon's recognition of the impossibility of taking an army into England he tried to destroy her prosperity by closing to her vessels all the ports of France and her allies, which included almost the whole continent of Europe. He announced that England herself was blockaded, and that all neutral vessels which entered an English harbor and then entered one of the continental ports would be seized. These laws were promulgated in the "Berlin Decree" of 1806 and the "Milan Decree" of 1807, and are known as Napoleon's "Continental System." England retaliated in the "Orders in Council" of 1807 by declaring all the ports of France and her allies blockaded and requiring neutral vessels to stop at a British harbor and obtain permission before entering any French or allied port. These rules of action were hard on the vessels of the United States, the only important neutral power. If they sailed directly for a French port they were apt to be seized by English war vessels for violation of the Orders in Council; if they stopped at an English port before going to the continent they were seized when they reached it for violation of the Berlin and Milan decrees.

Disputes connected with this matter were accompanied by others arising from the English claim of a right to search American vessels for war material, and her practice of seizing from American ships men whom she claimed to be deserters from her own navy. These claims, weakly submitted to by the United States for a while, led in 1812 to an outbreak of war between the two countries. The land fighting was not considerable, although English troops were landed in America, burned the capitol at Washington, and were later defeated in an engagement at New Orleans. On the sea the English were surprised to find that the new nation which had sprung from themselves showed a naval activity which led to the capture of many English vessels. The war was closed in 1814 by a compromise which left most of the questions at issue unsettled. At the same time it was quite

unlikely that England would in the future try to enforce the high claims she had made before the war. The differences between the two nations had also lost much of their intensity as a result of the close of the great war with France which had brought the disputes between them into existence.

555. Close of the Wars.—During the years from 1808 to 1815 England's part in the wars against Napoleon had become more prominent. In the first of those years British troops were



The Duke of Wellington

sent to Portugal and Spain to assist the people of those countries to resist the French armies. This "Peninsular Campaign," as it is called, proved to be an extensive series of battles and manœuvres extending over five years. Its direction was taken by Sir Arthur Wellesley, an officer trained in military service in India. He proved to be England's greatest general and in reward for his efforts was made duke of Wellington. These efforts were ultimately crowned with success and the

French were finally driven out of Portugal and Spain.

By this time the tide of success was turning against Napoleon in other directions also. The great army which he led into Russia in an attack on the Czar in 1812 was annihilated by the terrible weather, the long marches, and the slow starvation; and another army which he gathered in 1813 was crushed by the allies in Germany. He was deposed in 1814 and banished to the island of Elba, and Louis XVIII was made king of France. A few months afterwards Napoleon escaped, returned to France, was accepted again as emperor, and organized another army. But his efforts were in vain. He succumbed to the united forces of Europe, and in the great battle of Waterloo, fought in June, 1815, under the command of Wellington, was finally and decisively defeated by an allied

army of English and Prussians. The long wars had at last come to an end. A series of treaties was entered into at Vienna in 1814 and 1815 by England, France, and the other European countries.

556. Summary of the Period 1763-1815.—The period of fifty-two years which intervened between 1763 and 1815 saw a profound transformation in England. The improvements in manufacturing, agriculture, and transportation began a series of changes which deeply affected all classes of society. The old settled ways could no longer be retained. New classes of employers and new classes of employees grew up, with different ways of thinking and acting. All parts of the country were brought within easy reach of one another, and when the railroad and the telegraph were introduced a generation or two later they only made more complete the changes which were already begun.

The struggle with the American colonies not only led to the loss of those possessions but also to the breakdown of the narrow personal management of parliament by the king and the ministry. The English as well as the American people were more free as a result of the revolution carried through by the latter. During the wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, England obtained an extension of her colonial dominions which in some degree made up for the loss of the thirteen colonies in America. The long struggle with France, it is true, gave a setback to all reforms in England, and Ireland was, after a time of greater liberty, more completely subjugated than ever before. Nevertheless this condition in England and Ireland could hardly be a permanent one.

The part which England played in the wars necessarily gave her a high place in Europe at their conclusion and in the years that followed. But the real effects of the Napoleonic wars upon her are to be measured not so much by the successes in the Peninsula and at Waterloo as by the colonial acquisitions and increased trade on the one hand, and the heavy taxes, burdensome debt, and dissatisfied population on the other.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, chap. x, sects. 2-4. The Industrial Revolution is more fully described in CHEYNEY, *Industrial and Social History of England*, chap. viii, and in WARNER, *Landmarks of English Industrial History* chaps. xv and xvi. The American war is well described from the English side in TREVELYAN, *The American Revolution*. MORLEY, *Edmund Burke*; TREVELYAN, *Early Life of Charles James Fox*; and ROSEBERY, *Pitt*, are valuable biographies. MAHAN, *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution* and *The Life of Nelson*, are important and suggestive books. MACAULAY, *Warren Hastings* and *William Pitt*.

Contemporary Sources. — The *Junius Letters* are published in several forms. Documents concerned with the American Revolution are published in *Old South Leaflets*, Nos. 3, 9, 47, and 68, and in HART, *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. II, parts vi-viii. BURKE, *Speeches and Letters*, published in cheap form in Morley's Universal Library, show how the French Revolution was looked upon in England. Conditions in parliament are well exemplified in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 104-107. Some of the *Junius Letters*, No. 45 of the *North Briton*, the *Berlin Decree*, and several other interesting documents are given in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 97-III. CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 365-404.

Poetry and Fiction. — DICKENS, *Barnaby Rudge*, describes the Lord George Gordon riots, and *A Tale of Two Cities* a part of the French Revolution. SCOTT, *Guy Mannering*, *Redgauntlet*, *The Antiquary*, and *St. Ronan's Well*, belong to this period. VICTOR HUGO, *Les Misérables*, contains a vivid description of the battle of Waterloo. CAMPBELL, *Battle of the Baltic* and *Ye Mariners of England*, are vigorous war poems. WOLFE, *The Burial of Sir John Moore*, refers to an incident in the Peninsular War. BYRON, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, has a famous passage describing the battle of Waterloo. The Irish song, *The Wearing of the Green*, refers to the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. THOMAS DAVIS, *The Geraldines*, belongs to the same period.

Special Topics. — (1) Purchasing of Seats in Parliament, KENDALL, *Source-Book*, No. 105; (2) The French Revolution, ROBINSON, *Western Europe*, chaps. xxxv and xxxvi; (3) Napoleon, *ibid.*, chaps. xxxvii and xxxviii; (4) Taxation of the American Colonies, LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 202-204; (5) The Union with Ireland, *ibid.*, Nos. 206-208; (6) Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. V, pp. 281-301; (7) Manufacturing Inventions, *ibid.*, pp. 305-317; (8) Improvements in Pottery, *ibid.*, pp. 317-322; (9) Howard and Prison Reform, *ibid.*, pp. 482-488; (10) The Army during the Wars with Napoleon, *ibid.*, pp. 526-541; (11) Ireland and the Union, GREEN, *Short History*, chap. x, sect. 4; (12) The Battle of Waterloo, HUGO, *Les Misérables*.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERIOD OF REFORM. 1815-1852

557. **The Early Years of the Peace.** — The year 1815 was the close of a long era of war, and peace might well be expected to bring better times. Yet the period that immediately followed the Treaty of Vienna was not one of prosperity or of national happiness for England. The expenses of the war had increased the national debt enormously and taxes were therefore very high. Many soldiers and sailors were thrown out of employment by the coming of peace. The corn laws, an import duty on wheat, prevented its importation and therefore kept the price of food high. Two or three bad seasons in succession made the price still higher. Not so many goods could be exported, now that the ships of other countries could again sail on the seas, and commerce and manufacturing suffered correspondingly.

These hard times turned attention to the old abuses in the government, which had been to a great extent forgotten or neglected under the pressure of war. As a result agitation began again and a party of radicals was organized which revived the old cry for reform of parliament. A well-known newspaper, Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, which had always been sold for a shilling, was in 1816 reduced in price to twopence, and with great clearness of argument and vigor of style advocated reform of parliament as a cure for all the evils of the time. It was the first cheap newspaper and immense numbers were sold and read. But many of the radicals took more active means to express their discontent, and much disorderly agitation marked the next few years. The lower classes broke out into riots, held

mass meetings, formed societies, and even secretly gathered arms and drilled.

The Tory party was in an overwhelming majority in parliament and its leaders were settled in their opposition to reform of any kind. They feared lest changes once begun would go farther and farther and lead to some such overthrow as the French Revolution, which had just passed. They felt that the only safety was in resistance to the beginning of change. Everything was to be



Royal Arms from 1816 to 1837: a Crown surmounting the Shield, Hanover now being a Kingdom

kept just as it was. Therefore when agitation became more widespread the ministry obtained from parliament the adoption of what were known as the "Six Laws," which allowed the government to forbid seditious meetings, suspended the writ of habeas corpus for six months, and provided for the speedy trial and conviction of breakers of the peace. Popular writers were prosecuted for expressions used in their writings, and in every way repression was practiced similar to the action of Pitt against the agitators of the period from 1790 to 1795.

558. The Manchester Massacre. — These conditions came to a head in 1819 in what was then called the "Manchester Massacre." A great meeting was summoned by the leaders of the reformers in that city to listen to addresses from popular speakers. The mayor and justices of the peace declared this meeting illegal and prohibited the holding of it. The leaders determined to proceed notwithstanding the prohibition, and on the appointed day an immense gathering crowded St. Peter's Field, a park in the city. The magistrates had called out a considerable military force and determined to enforce their prohibition by the arrest of the speakers, although no special act of disorder had been committed or seemed likely to be committed. Some constables were therefore ordered to make their way through the dense crowd to

the speakers' stand. In doing so they were jostled and jeered, when the magistrates seem to have lost their heads and ordered the cavalry to ride down the crowd. The result of their charge was the death of several men and the wounding of a large number.

The use of military forces for police duty has always been extremely unpopular in England and this unnecessary and violent action of the Manchester authorities aroused much anger throughout the country. On the other hand, the prince regent and the ministers sent messages of exaggerated praise to the magistrates and military officers concerned in the affair, while parliament immediately passed still more repressive laws. For a time it seemed that the country was dividing into two camps, — the mass of the people who were demanding reform, and the governing classes who were determined to silence their clamor.

559. George Canning and Moderate Toryism. — The violence of the agitation became somewhat less as time passed. From 1816 onward a stream of emigration of the working classes began to flow towards the United States, Canada, and Australia, and many found in these new lands a prosperity which they could never have attained at home. Even in England times became somewhat better after 1820. Lord Sidmouth, who had been responsible for the harshest of the measures against the Radicals, resigned, and Lord Castlereagh, another reactionary minister, died in 1822. In 1822 George Canning became minister for foreign affairs and in 1827 was made prime minister. Tory as he was, he carried on a far more liberal foreign policy than that which had been pursued during the early part of the century, approving the efforts of other countries in Europe to obtain greater freedom and giving ready acknowledgment to the independence of the Spanish colonies in America. This made the government more popular at home, and even in internal affairs Canning's influence and that of some of his colleagues was exercised in favor of certain reforms.

560. Reform of the Penal Code. — Efforts had long been made by certain enlightened men to obtain a reduction of punishments

for small offenses, and to these the ministry now gave its support. In 1800 the death penalty was prescribed for as many as two hundred kinds of offenses. Misdemeanors of the most petty character were punishable by death. Picking pockets if the value of what was taken was as much as one shilling, shoplifting if the article stolen was of the value of five shillings, sheep stealing, forgery, counterfeiting, and a great many other offenses of all descriptions were by law all punishable by death.

This severe code left no distinction between such a slight offense as petty thieving and such a terrible crime as murder. The smaller offense was punished by hanging and the greater one could be punished by nothing more. So unreasonable and so harsh was the system that juries often declared culprits innocent directly in the face of the evidence of their guilt, or declared very valuable articles worth less than five shillings, rather than inflict such a heavy punishment for so slight a crime. Many who were sentenced to death were pardoned or the death penalty commuted to imprisonment or transportation. Punishment was therefore very uncertain; nevertheless crime and its punishment were only too common. Hangings at Tyburn in London and at corresponding places of execution in other towns were a frequent occurrence, and attendance at them was a common and demoralizing form of amusement for the populace.

The efforts of Romilly and others who pleaded in parliament for a reduction in the severity of punishments were at last successful. Some of the worst evils were removed soon after the abolition of the slave trade, and in 1824 Peel as home secretary, supported by Canning and some of the other ministers, induced parliament to abolish the death penalty for a great many more offenses. Some years afterwards the death penalty for forgery, counterfeiting, horse stealing, sheep stealing, and in fact for all other offenses except treason, murder, and certain other crimes of violence, was removed. Imprisonment for debt was abolished in 1813, the public whipping of women in 1820,

and in 1836 prisoners were for the first time allowed to have a lawyer to speak for them.

561. Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1828. — But the greatest of these early reforms lay in the field of religious toleration. It will be remembered that the Toleration Act of 1689 gave to Dissenters freedom of worship but did not give them a right to hold office, while Roman Catholics were given neither religious nor political rights. But as time went on the tide gradually turned in their favor, the laws were not carried out in all points, and Dissenters at least were allowed to hold some offices. In 1812 the Five-Mile and Conventicle acts were repealed and in 1828 after a hard contest the Test and Corporation acts were also repealed.¹ This gave Dissenters practically the same political rights as members of the church of England. Roman Catholics had been given freedom of worship in 1778 by the act which brought on the Lord George Gordon riots,² and the repeal of the Test Act in 1828 allowed them to hold most offices. Even yet, however, they were excluded from membership in parliament.

562. Roman Catholic Emancipation, 1829. — Yet this privilege was just what the Roman Catholics of England and Ireland desired most of all. They felt that so long as they had no representatives in parliament they had no real equality with Protestants. "Catholic emancipation," as it was called, had long been advocated by the more liberal members of the ministry and of parliament; but it was still strongly opposed by the stricter Tories and by the king. The final change was brought about by events in Ireland. In 1823 the "Catholic Association" was formed in that country under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic lawyer and orator of great power. Without actually violating the law this association, which had branches all through Ireland, kept up an active agitation, drawing up repeated petitions to parliament and holding meetings at which addresses were made by O'Connell and other leaders.

¹ For the adoption of these acts see pp. 471-473.

² See p. 602.

In 1828, when a special election for a member of parliament from the Irish county of Clare was to be held, the Association decided to put up their president, O'Connell, as a candidate against the man favored by the ministry. Although Roman Catholics could not sit in parliament they could vote, and thousands of the small farmers of county Clare marched to the polls and voted unanimously for O'Connell. At the urgent appeal of the officers of the Catholic Association the members abstained entirely from drinking, and there was only one intoxicated man at the polls, and he was a Protestant and an Englishman, the coachman of O'Connell. Although it was said that thirty thousand of the peasants attended the election, there was no disorder nor threatening, but only well-disciplined, unanimous determination to have their way.

The only reason the voting farmers were so orderly was because they believed that their leaders were about to obtain their political emancipation. They would have been just as willing to obey orders, if these orders had been to fight for their rights. The English ministry realized this and perceived that they must either give them the representation they were demanding or make up their minds to put down another Irish rebellion. They chose the former alternative. The duke of Wellington and Peel with great difficulty obtained the king's consent to the introduction of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and with almost as great difficulty induced their Tory supporters in parliament to vote for it. It was, however, finally carried in 1829, and the last legal restriction on the liberty of Roman Catholics removed. Instead of the old formula, all that was now required was a simple oath "on the true faith of a Christian" to support the government and not to injure the established church. On making such a promise a Roman Catholic could hold any office to which he had been appointed or elected except that of regent, lord chancellor of the United Kingdom, viceroy of Ireland, or royal commissioner of Scotland.

The Tory ministry had granted these concessions not because they approved of them but because to have refused them would have brought about still worse results. But the reform of parliament was too far-reaching a change for them even to consider seriously. That subject came up again in 1820 and was during the next few years vigorously advocated by the survivors of the old Whig party and by the new Radical party. However, every bill affecting parliament which was brought in was defeated by large majorities. When the reformers tried to deprive of their representatives certain of the old close boroughs where bribery was worst, the ministry was strong enough to defeat them.

563. George IV. — George III died in 1820 and George IV became king. The new monarch was a man of low principles and dissolute habits. He married a Roman Catholic lady in secret but disowned her in order to obtain the crown. Later he married a German princess in order to induce parliament to pay his debts, but he soon neglected and



William IV

ill-treated her and finally sought a divorce. He was always deeply in debt and took little part in the government except occasionally to interpose his influence in opposition to reforms. He was of fine appearance and always dressed in the height of fashion and was therefore sometimes very unworthily called "the first gentleman in Europe." He was amiable and disinclined to severity in punishments; but taken all in all he was one of the sovereigns of whom England can be least proud in all the long line. In 1830 he died and having no children was succeeded by his brother William IV.

564. A Whig Majority. — The death of the king dissolved parliament and necessitated the election of a new one. The

elections for this new parliament took place in the summer of 1830. It was a critical time. The old Tory party had been much divided by the concessions of the ministry on Roman Catholic emancipation. Many of the strictest Tories who were borough owners, in order to punish their leaders, returned members who would in future be opposed to Wellington, who had become prime minister in 1828, soon after the death of Canning. Causes outside of England deprived the ministry of some more of their supporters. In June there had occurred a new revolution in France by which the old line of kings who had been restored after the downfall of Napoleon were now driven out and Louis Philippe, a more liberal king representing the middle classes, was put on the throne. The sympathy with this occurrence was widespread in England, and thousands of voters where they had a chance really to control the elections voted in favor of candidates who would oppose the duke of Wellington and his party. The old question of the reform of parliament was in the air, and every nerve was strained by those who felt that the time had at last come when it might be gained.

The result was a defeat for the Tory party, which had been in control now with one short break for forty-six years. When parliament gathered in the fall of 1830, and the question of reform was brought up, Wellington declared that no reform was needed or wanted and stated his intention of opposing it in every way. He also expressed his disapproval of the recent liberal revolutions on the continent and showed a general determination to use all the powers of the government to repress rather than to accede to the popular wishes. He was soon outvoted and with the whole Tory ministry resigned office.

565. Introduction of a Reform Bill.—Lord Grey became prime minister and a cabinet was formed which included most of the more liberal Whigs. A bill for the reform of parliament was immediately introduced. It was far-reaching in its character. It proposed to deprive the whole group of "rotten boroughs,"

including sixty small towns, of their separate representation in parliament, and to reduce from two to one the representatives of each of forty-six other boroughs which were somewhat larger but yet of less than four thousand inhabitants each. As Lord Russell, who introduced the bill, read the long list of these boroughs and explained that the ministry proposed to sweep away all their representation and transfer their members to the most populous counties and to the large manufacturing towns, the Tory members could hardly believe that the statement was meant seriously. Perhaps the ministry was not serious, but the bill as it had been submitted soon became a matter of intense interest to the whole country as well as to parliament. The popular cry, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," rang out everywhere. Popular associations were formed, delegates were elected to a national body representing these associations, riots broke out here and there, and attacks were made upon men who were prominent in their opposition to reform.

After long debate the majority of the House of Commons declared its opposition to the measure. The ministers advised the king to dissolve parliament and hold a new election on the one great subject of the time. This was done and the election took place in the midst of the most intense excitement. The result was that all those who had supported the bill were reëlected and that many of those who had opposed it were defeated and their places taken by reformers. When parliament met again the bill was introduced a second time and was now carried through the House of Commons by a majority of more than a hundred. But the House of Lords immediately defeated it by an adverse majority almost as large. The months following this defeat of the Reform Bill were marked by even greater popular excitement than before. When parliament met again in the winter of 1831 and the ministers introduced the bill for a third time, it passed the House of Commons by a still larger majority, and again the House of Lords showed their intention of voting against it.

566. Dispute between the Houses. — There was now a deadlock. The House of Commons passed resolutions of confidence in the ministers, requesting them not to resign, yet the House of Lords would not pass the bill which the ministry were pledged to carry. The excitement in the country rose steadily. Riots occurred and political associations numbering many thousand men sent offers to the ministry to march to their assistance if they were needed. At the meetings of these associations resolutions were passed in favor of the abolition of hereditary nobility and the House of Lords. For a time the country stood on the brink of civil war.

There was just one possible way by which the bill could be passed. This was for the king, on the advice of the ministers, to create enough new peers who were in favor of the bill to overcome the existing majority in the House of Lords against it. William, however, did not like the Reform Bill; the queen and other ladies connected with the court, many Tory noblemen, bishops, military officers, and others who were opposed to it pleaded with him against the plan, and he refused the request of the ministry to coerce the House of Lords in this way. The ministers immediately resigned and the king asked the duke of Wellington to form a Tory ministry. This action created still greater opposition in the country. The newspapers came out with broad black lines of mourning. Bells were tolled as if some national calamity had occurred. Petitions were sent to the House of Commons asking that no more appropriations should be made until the bill was passed, and the great northern political unions prepared to march in a body to the vicinity of London.

567. Passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. — Wellington was brave enough to undertake the task of forming an anti-reform ministry, but he could not find others to fill the remaining offices in the cabinet. He had reason also to believe that the troops would not obey orders if attempts should be made to dissolve the mass meetings by force. He reported, therefore, to the king

that he could not form a ministry and advised him to give way. William then recalled Earl Grey and the Whig ministers and promised to appoint fifty new members of the House of Lords, if they were needed to pass the bill. At the same time, however, he sent a letter to the peers who were opposing the bill, telling them of this agreement and suggesting that they remain away from parliament when the next vote was taken, so that such action should not be necessary. The duke of Wellington also exercised his influence in persuading the opposition lords to



Belvoir Castle : Country-seat of the Duke of Rutland

refrain from further resistance. About one hundred of them, therefore, absented themselves, the bishops ceased to oppose the bill, and early in 1832 it was passed, signed, and became a law.

The bill had been changed somewhat in its progress through parliament but in the main its provisions were the same. It took away the special right of representation from all boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants and reduced the representation of others. It then gave more representatives to the large cities and the most populous counties, especially those in the north of England. It reduced the property qualification of voters for

knights of the shire so that all independent farmers and other well-to-do inhabitants in the country districts should have a right to vote, though laborers would not. In the towns all persons owning houses or paying a rent of £10 a year were given a right to vote. This right of franchise may be said roughly to have included all persons of the upper and middle classes, but not workingmen. The Reform Bill therefore took the control of parliament out of the hands of the narrow aristocracy, which had dominated it so long, and put it into the hands of the middle classes of England.

But the way in which the Reform Bill was carried was quite as important as the actual changes which it made in the law. It was forced by the people, led by a group of liberal ministers, upon a reluctant House of Commons, an opposing House of Lords, and a king who would have refused to sign it if he had had the power to do so. It was the political unions, the mass meetings, the petitions, the popular excitement, and even the riots, that strengthened the ministers and really obtained the success of the bill. It was a great popular victory over old established powers and privileges. Just as the Great Charter had been wrested by the barons from King John, just as the Petition of Right had been obtained by parliament from Charles I, just as the Bill of Rights had secured to parliament the supremacy over the king, so now the Reform Bill of 1832 gained for a much larger part of the people the supremacy over the small number that up to this time had alone been represented. It was the occurrence which came nearest to a real political revolution in the history of England, and it was the first step towards the attainment of self-government by the whole mass of the English people.

568. Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies. — The adoption of the Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by a wave of reform legislation. Although a decision given by the courts in 1772 had declared that slavery could not lawfully exist in England itself, and the moment a slave was brought into England he became

free, slavery still existed in the British West Indian colonies and in South Africa. The law of 1806 forbade the slave trade, so no additional slaves could be brought into those regions, but the race of negro slaves which was already there continued to exist. Many of the arguments which had been used against the slave trade could be used just as well against slavery itself, and as a matter of fact an agitation for its abolition had been carried on ever since 1806. In 1823 and 1831 a few rules for the more merciful treatment of slaves and for their instruction had been issued by the government; but not much was accomplished until after the passage of the Reform Bill. The parliament elected under the new law, however, passed, in 1833, an emancipation bill freeing under certain conditions all slaves owned by British subjects or in British dominions, prohibiting slavery for the future, and at the same time appropriating £20,000,000 to remunerate the former slave owners for their losses. The bill was received with great anger and opposition by the planters of the West Indies and the Boers of South Africa, but they had to submit.

569. The Factory Act of 1833. — Something of the same feeling of sympathy with those who were overworked and miserable led to the passage of another somewhat similar measure. This was a law prohibiting the employment in spinning and weaving factories of children below nine years of age, restricting the labor of those between nine and thirteen to eight hours a day, and of those between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day. Night work was also forbidden for all young persons, and certain requirements were made for holidays, education, and the cleanliness of the factories. Factory inspectors were appointed whose sworn duty it was to see to the enforcement of this law. There proved to be working in the factories more than one hundred and fifty thousand children who came under the general supervision of the factory inspectors. This is commonly called the First Factory Act; for though others had been passed in 1802 and 1813, they had not been enforced. Many more were adopted

in later years carrying the care of the government over children, young persons, and women much farther.

570. Reform of the Poor Law. — The next year, 1834, the old poor law of Elizabeth, with the many abuses which had grown up about it, was repealed and a new law was passed in its place. This law was harsh, as it put a stop to many forms of relief which had long been given to the very poor. But it was in reality an attempt to arouse a greater feeling of independence and a more earnest effort on the part of the laboring classes to support themselves and to make it more possible for them to do so.

Before this time people of the lower classes who moved from one place to another were liable according to the Law of Settlement to be returned by the authorities to the place from which they had come, for fear their support would fall on the parish in which they wished to settle. The Law of Settlement was modified the same year and even the poorest people might now go freely wherever they wished or wherever they could find work. Before 1834 a great number of persons received entire or partial support in their own households. The new law required that paupers could only get relief by living in a poorhouse. In order to bring their wages up to a living standard, weekly payments from the poor funds had previously been made regularly to laborers in proportion to the number of their children. Wages were in this way kept low and men were made paupers who should have been independent workingmen. Such payments were now forbidden. Under the old system pauperism had become so general that one out of every six of the population of England was receiving entire or partial support from the community. The poor tax was not only growing to be an almost intolerable burden, but, worse still, it was destroying the manliness and self-respect of the lower classes, making them feel that they were dependent on the classes who paid the taxes, and destroying all inducements to thrift and self-control. The new bill in addition to the requirements already mentioned provided for a

more centralized administration of the poor laws under a national board. Its result was to lessen very materially the payments for the support of paupers and in some degree at least to reach the higher object of increasing the self-dependence of the lower classes.

571. Municipal Corporations Reform Act. — In 1835 a municipal corporations act was passed. This was intended to introduce much the same changes into the government of towns and cities as the Reform Bill itself had introduced into the government of the whole nation. It took away from the cities and boroughs the old charters by which such different governments had been established in them, and organized them all in the same general form. The control of the affairs of each city and borough was put in the hands of the whole body of the property holders instead of being exercised only by a small group of the citizens, as had been generally the case before, or by all the inhabitants, as had been previously the case in a few instances.

572. Cheap Postage. — At about the same time, through the influence of a member of parliament named Rowland Hill, the government introduced the system of cheap postage. Before this time postage on letters was charged in proportion to the distance they were carried, to their shape, and to the number of sheets they contained. The charge was always high, the average for all Great Britain being about 6*d.* From London to Scotland it was apt to cost a shilling or more, and even from London to the coast it cost 8*d.* Mr. Hill was struck with the unwisdom of this system and devoted much time to an examination of postal matters with a view to their improvement. In 1837 he proposed a scheme by which cheap postage should be introduced, the speed and frequency of mails increased, a uniform rate established, and prepayment secured by the use of stamps. He trusted to the increase in the number of letters to cover the expense. Against much opposition his plans were finally carried through parliament, 1*d.* per half ounce being charged to all parts of the kingdom. It was an immediate success, the profit from the post office becoming

much larger and the convenience to the public infinitely greater. After a short time no one doubted the superiority of the system of cheap postage, the number of letters sent each year increasing by many millions.

573. Accession of Queen Victoria. — In 1837 William IV died and a new reign began. As he had no children the crown went to Victoria, the only daughter of his next younger brother, the duke of Kent.¹ She was only eighteen at the time of her accession, and as her gray-haired uncles, the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, the great duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne, the

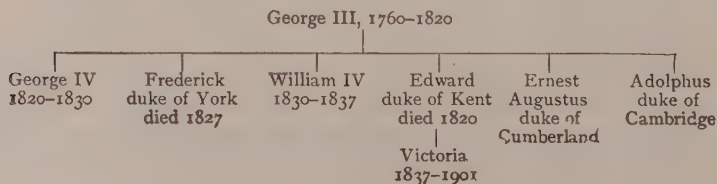


Royal Coat of
Arms since 1837

prime minister, and other members of the privy council knelt before the young girl to take the oath of allegiance both they and she may well have been impressed with the responsibility of her position. Her reign was destined to be the longest in English history, grave questions were impending, parties were much embittered against one another, and difficult decisions would have to be made from the beginning to the end of the reign. At this time she was entirely unknown to her people, as she had been brought up in much seclusion; but her education and training had been good and her subjects soon learned to recognize her clear judgment, her moderation, her perception of the true position of the sovereign in the English system of government, and the thorough goodness of her character.

In 1840 she married her cousin, Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who came to live in England but was given no recognized position

¹ The descent of Queen Victoria was as follows:



in the government. In private he was, on the whole, a wise and impartial adviser of his wife, and his influence with her and with others was thoroughly good for England. By his refined tastes and intellectual interests he gave encouragement to the arts and to literature at a time when they received but scant recognition, and many public measures of usefulness received his steady and intelligent support.

574. Liberals and Conservatives. — The Whigs and those who acted with them during the contests on the Reform Bill and the other measures which were adopted soon afterwards gradually gave up the old party name and began to call themselves "Liberals." This name soon came to be the only one used and was regularly applied to the party of which Earl Grey, Lord Russell, Lord Brougham, and Lord Melbourne were the leaders. The name "Whig" went out of existence. The more moderate Tories, on the other hand, accepted loyally the results of the Reform Bill but insisted that further changes should be made only in a conservative and cautious manner. They came therefore to be known as "Conservatives." The party name "Tory" went out of use except as it was used to describe a man who was extremely and narrow-mindedly conservative. The most influential representatives of the Conservative party were the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The latter especially was the real reorganizer and leader of the Conservatives after the adoption of the Reform Bill. He was prime minister for five important years, from 1841 to 1846. Yet in the main the Liberals kept control of the government till after the middle of the century, when they gradually became tired of a reforming policy. Their sense of responsibility in that direction had been satisfied and they believed that no further political changes should be made. They defeated measures for admitting Jews to parliament, for lowering the franchise, for introducing the ballot in voting, and for more frequent elections, and no further great reforms were to be put to their credit for many years.

575. Steamboats, Railroads, and Telegraphs. — Outside of parliament, however, there was much progress. The steam engines that had been invented and introduced into factories to furnish power for machinery were gradually applied to purposes of locomotion. Steamboats were brought into use on the rivers and coasts about 1812. In 1838 steam vessels began regularly to cross the ocean. In the meantime there had been much experimenting in the construction of engines for traveling on land. Finally a successful locomotive was invented by George Stephenson, a self-educated engineer in the mining regions. In 1825 the Stockton and Darlington Railway was opened, on which his engines were used, and a much better and more famous road between Liverpool and Manchester was opened in 1830. On this road Stephenson's engines drew light trains at the respectable speed of thirty-five miles an hour. Nine years afterwards a road from London to Birmingham was opened and soon all parts of England were connected by rail. The old stage-coaches soon gave way to railroad trains for passenger travel, and just as fifty years before hauling of goods on horseback and by wagon had given place to transportation by canals, so now the railroads secured from these most of the freight traffic.

During the years between 1837 and 1842 the electric telegraph was being perfected and brought into general use. The English inventors whose names were most prominently connected with the telegraph were Cooke and Wheatstone, but the alphabet invented by the American, Morse, and his instruments were early introduced into England. Cheap postage, the railroad, and the telegraph made traveling rapid and the sending of messages and news quick and cheap.

576. Trade Unions. — England was becoming a vastly richer country, manufactures and commerce were becoming more extensive. But the increase of wealth and prosperity was badly distributed. There were more wealthy men in England than ever before and the middle classes had larger incomes. But the lower



Early Railroad Trains

classes were less fortunate. They suffered from irregularity of employment, low wages, in many cases long and exhausting hours of labor, and the arbitrary power of employers. To overcome these disadvantages, roused by the revolutionary spirit of the time, mechanics and millworkers had from the latter part of the eighteenth century formed trade unions. These, however, were early declared by the courts to be illegal, as interfering with the free course of trade. They were also extremely unpopular with the upper classes, and the law was often stretched by the magistrates to punish any actions by workingmen that could be taken as indicating a combination among them.

In 1824, among the other liberal statutes of the time, a law was passed legalizing trade unions. In 1825, however, Parliament felt that it had gone too far, withdrew the emancipating law of the previous year, and passed a more limited statute which legalized trade unions in only a few of their aspects and under special circumstances. Nevertheless they continued to grow, though slowly and intermittently. The building trades, cotton spinners, printers, and some other trades even formed nation-wide or federated unions. In 1834 an attempt was made to form a consolidated union of workingmen of all occupations and to enforce a demand for a general eight-hour working day; but the strikes that were declared for this purpose were unsuccessful, and the monster meetings of workingmen held to draw up petitions to Parliament were met by government threats to use military force against them. The trade-union movement had a setback; but it continued to spread till the majority of workingmen in most of the highly-skilled trades were organized.

577. Chartism. — Many leaders of the workingmen were not satisfied merely to form unions in their trades. They wished to obtain better representation in parliament for the masses. There had been deep disappointment with the Reform Bill. It had given votes only to the upper and middle classes, and the measures which had been passed by parliament since had been for the most

part in the interest of those classes. The lower classes seemed to have received nothing but the more rigorous poor law.

There were still much hardship and misery. When bad times came, suffering increased, and many felt that this was due to the failure of parliament to pass laws in the interest of the whole people. The agitation that had died down after the Reform Bill was soon renewed and steadily increased. In 1837 at a conference among some of the more radical members of parliament and leaders of the workingmen the "People's Charter" was drawn up. This was a declaration in favor of six points of further reform: (1) universal suffrage; (2) a newly elected parliament every year; (3) vote by secret ballot; (4) abolition of the property qualification required of members of parliament; (5) payment of members of the House of Commons; and (6) the division of the country into electoral districts each of which should contain the same number of inhabitants.

For many years "The Charter" was the watchword of the discontented classes. A party known as the "Chartists" was formed, which contained but few voters but was strong in numbers and activity. Newspapers were established, pamphlets published, and mass meetings held. More than once Chartism became a serious threat to the government and prosecutions were brought against its leaders. In 1839 and 1842 national conventions of Chartist delegates met and drew up petitions to parliament for the adoption of the Charter, signed by several thousand names. Parliament, however, refused to consider these petitions on account of the disorderly manner in which they were presented. In 1848 there was a revival of the agitation, and a great meeting of twenty-five thousand Chartists was held on Kennington Common in London. A group who called themselves "Physical-force Chartists" even proposed a violent attack upon the government. But troops were brought to London by the ministry and hundreds of special officers were sworn in to prevent the petitioners from approaching the par-

liament house in any threatening numbers. A great petition for the passage of the Charter, which had been long prepared and which was said to have five million signatures, was presented to parliament by delegates from this meeting. When the petition was examined, however, it was found to contain only something over a million names and many of these were fictitious. The whole affair was thrown into ridicule and the petition rejected amidst laughter and without debate. Soon afterwards the Chartist party broke up. Some of its more violent members were prosecuted and punished by the government.

578. Proposed Repeal of the Union with Ireland. — In Ireland the excitement which O'Connell and other leaders had aroused in the agitation for Roman Catholic emancipation did not subside after their success in 1829. Very soon the demand arose that the union between England and Ireland carried by such objectionable means in 1800 should be repealed. All the familiar forms of agitation were made use of by those who desired this action. Immense meetings in Ireland at which the people were deeply stirred by O'Connell's wonderful eloquence were particularly prominent; but no English party gave any encouragement to the plan of repeal. Whatever may have been the circumstances under which the union had been originally obtained, it was now looked upon in England and Scotland as an absolutely permanent settlement. O'Connell and the other leaders continued to organize their immense gatherings, doubtless wishing to impress the government with the belief that they could throw Ireland into civil war at any time if they wished, and so gain their objects, as in 1829.

There is little doubt that a rebellion might readily have been precipitated, but O'Connell did not really intend to put the matter to the test. The agitation came to its conclusion in 1843. A great meeting which had been called together at Clontarf, an historic spot made famous by an old Irish victory over the Danes, was prohibited by the government on the ground of probable disorder. The people waited for the word of O'Connell,

holding themselves ready to resist if he so ordered. His decision came in the form of an appeal to them to obey the government. They did so and separated to their homes before the meeting was organized. But the magic of their leader's influence was gone. The people had believed that ultimately they were to fight against the English government, and felt that if they were simply to obey that government blindly, their agitation was meaningless.

579. The Rebellion of the Young Ireland Party. — Nothing was done towards repeal, and the agitation in this form soon afterwards died away. But a number of the younger, more highly educated, and enthusiastic men who had been followers of O'Connell in this movement now broke away from his peaceful influence and formed a society known as "Young Ireland." Their object was to awaken the national pride and sense of independence of the Irish people, then to gain their separation from England, and finally to form an Irish republic. This object they were willing to strive for, if need be, by rebellion. Before much of the preparatory work had been done, however, the series of revolts on the continent of Europe in the year 1848 set them an irresistible example and they were drawn into a foolish and hopeless outbreak. Nothing was accomplished except the capture and punishment by transportation of the most active of the leaders and the break-up of the Young Ireland party.

580. The Irish Famine. — The most serious occurrence in the history of Ireland during this period was, however, not a voluntary matter, but a terrible catastrophe due to natural causes. The custom of raising potatoes as their principal crop and relying on them almost entirely for food had grown up among the small farmers who formed the great bulk of the population. More food can be raised to the acre in the form of potatoes than in the form of any other crop which will grow in a temperate climate. More than a majority of the population of Ireland lived practically entirely on potatoes, and half the remainder relied on them for the greater part of their diet. This was a condition of great

risk. If anything should destroy the potato crop, the people would be left without food.

In the fall of 1845 this was what happened. In the midst of a long damp spell a fungus attacked the potato plants and within a few weeks the greater part of the crop over most of Ireland rotted in the ground. The suffering was terrible and became worse the next year when it proved that the disease was so strongly intrenched as to destroy the crop a second time. Great efforts were made by the government and by charitable associations to relieve the sufferings of the famine-stricken people. Wheat and Indian corn were sent from America, from England, and from other countries, and relief work on roads was provided by the government so that wages could be earned. Finally soup kitchens were established where the famine was worst and the people too sick, poor, and weak to prepare food for themselves. But with all these efforts many thousands died of starvation and disease.

A great movement of emigration from Ireland to America and the British colonies began in 1846 and continued with little abatement for a half century. It gradually reduced the population from about eight millions to less than five millions. Ireland is probably the only country in the world which lost population during that half century.

581. The Corn-Law League. — The Irish famine brought to a head a discussion which had long been in progress in England. This was the proposed abolition of import duties on grain, or what was known in England as the repeal of the corn laws.¹ For centuries a duty had been placed on grain imported into England in order to encourage its production by enabling the English farmer to sell his products at a good price and to avoid being undersold by grain brought from other parts of the world.

¹ The word *corn* in England when used without any further description usually means wheat. What is called corn in America is not very largely used in England, and is known there as Indian corn or maize.

During the wars against Napoleon the duty had been increased. But as England became more of a manufacturing country, not enough grain was raised to feed the people and some had always to be imported. The corn laws now seemed less reasonable, as they simply gave larger profits to one set of people, the farmers, while they made all other classes pay more for their food.

By this time, however, the rents which the farmers had to pay had become so high that they needed large profits on their crops to be able to pay them. The landlords, who received the rent, in their turn bore the burden of the enormous taxes for the poor, and they declared that they needed these high rents in order to be able to pay the taxes. The landlord class was by far the most influential in parliament, and men of that class were not likely except under great pressure to change the laws which favored their own interests.

In 1838 the "Anti-Corn-Law League" was formed at Manchester in the center of the manufacturing district, and an active movement was instituted to induce parliament to remove the taxes from grain. Richard Cobden and John Bright rose to fame in connection with the work of the league. They were both merchants, both gifted with great ability as speakers; both were strongly convinced of the injustice of the corn laws, and believed that benefit would come to English workingmen if their food could be made cheap. With these men and others as leaders, pamphlets and newspapers devoted to the subject were showered over the country, lecturers were trained and sent into every town to explain the principles of what had long been called "free trade." "To buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" was laid down as a general right and a general principle of action, and a condition of the law under which this could be done was treated as the ideal to which legislation should approach.

A great part of the people were gradually converted to these principles and to the belief that the old system of duties ought

to be abolished. But not so much impression was made on parliament. Every year some advocate would introduce a measure for the repeal of the duties, but it was always voted down by a majority that it seemed impossible to overcome. Eventually Cobden and Bright became members of parliament and pleaded for their views there, others took up the cause, one by one prominent members of the Liberal party and even some of the Conservatives accepted their principles, and it began to seem that at some time or other the corn laws would be abolished. The Irish famine suddenly brought the matter to an issue. It seemed absurd to be charging heavy import duties to keep out grain when it was so sadly needed to relieve starvation within the country. In 1846, therefore, Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative prime minister, introduced and against much opposition carried through a measure for the abolition of the duties on wheat and other grain. This action allowed the principal food of the people to be brought into England, Ireland, and Scotland far more cheaply than before, reduced the price of the grain that was grown at home, and made bread cheap for the working classes.

582. Introduction of Free Trade. — With the corn laws went other forms of protection. Even before this abolition Peel, who had become converted to the entire system of free trade, had been instrumental in removing all duties on exports and diminishing or abolishing the duties on certain imports. The high duties on sugar imposed for the benefit of the sugar-growing British West Indies were reduced the same year that the corn laws were swept away. The Navigation Acts which had come down from the seventeenth century as a means of preserving English commerce to English ships were abolished in 1849, the vessels of all other nations being now allowed to come into and go out of English ports on the same conditions as vessels owned in England. Within a few years, between 1846 and 1849, protective duties were removed from some two hundred articles which had before been taxed. England thus gave up entirely

her old policy of protection and established free trade in all articles of import and export. Only a few small import duties were afterwards collected for purposes of revenue. In 1852 a formal vote was taken in the House of Commons by which four hundred and sixty-eight members, including Conservatives as well as Liberals, expressed their approval of the principles of free trade, against fifty-three who still opposed those principles. After that time England was for more than a half century a free-trade country. No measure which was based in any degree on the principle of protection to any branch of industry had until after the close of the nineteenth century any chance of being adopted.



Crystal Palace

583. The Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. — England was able to take this position because she was in advance of all other European countries in commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. To display to her own people and to those of other nations the proofs of this progress, and to induce foreigners to bring their productions to England for purposes of comparison and observation, the International Exhibition of 1851 was organized. It was first suggested by Prince Albert, who well explained its object as "to give the world a true test, a living picture, of the point of industrial development at which the whole of mankind has arrived, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their further exertions." It was the first of the series of world expositions in various countries in the last century. It was held in a large building of iron and glass known as the "Crystal Palace," erected in Hyde Park, in the center

of the city of London, and it brought together the productions of nature, manufacture, and art from all parts of the world. It was a great success in every way. It not only paid all its expenses but also left a surplus which was used for the foundation of the South Kensington Museum and Art Schools. It was visited by more than six million people and awakened general interest and admiration both from Englishmen and foreigners. From it much was at the time hoped for in the perpetuation of peace and the 'substitution of rivalry in trade for rivalry in war, a hope that unfortunately has not been fulfilled.

584. Summary of the Period 1815–1852.—The peace which had now lasted for almost forty years was a longer period of exemption from war than England had experienced for centuries. It made possible the devotion of attention to internal questions and a general settling up of many old matters of complaint. No period, therefore, has seen changes of more fundamental and more permanent importance than this. The most significant of these changes consisted in the transfer of control of the government from the aristocracy to the middle classes by means of the Reform Bill of 1832. The adoption of that measure made a great break with the past and made all later changes easier. Reforms that could never have been brought about under the old form of parliament were now carried out in rapid sequence. Not only those which have been described, such as the abolition of slavery, the factory laws, and the repeal of the corn laws, but also a vast number of minor reforms, were achieved. In 1835 the custom of forcing men into service in the navy was abolished; in 1840 the practice of sending boys up chimneys for the purpose of sweeping them out was forbidden; in 1848 the first "public health" act was adopted and a beginning made in the improvement of sanitary conditions and the establishment of parks in the crowded cities of modern times. Men began to look at public questions in a different way, and the duty of parliament to make laws for the benefit of the whole people was practically recognized.

General Reading. — GREEN, *Short History*, ceases to be of value in this period. MCCARTHY, *The Epoch of Reform* (Epochs of Modern History), is a good short account of the reforms. WALPOLE, *History of England since 1815*, 6 vols., is the fullest account of the period. MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Times*, 3 vols. This work begins in 1837, at the accession of Queen Victoria, its first volume covering the period of the latter part of this chapter. It is the most interesting and vivacious account of the period. MOLESWORTH, *History of England since 1830*, gives the fullest account of the Reform Bill struggle of any of the general histories. PAUL, *History of Modern England*, is a new work in course of publication beginning with the year 1846. Among the best of the many biographies of prime ministers and other influential men are THURSFIELD, *Peel* (English Statesmen series); MORLEY, *Cobden*; STAPLETON, *Canning*; SANDERS, *Palmerston*, DUNCKLEY, *Melbourne*. GREVILLE, *Journal of the Reigns of George IV and William IV*, is an important and interesting record.

Contemporary Sources. — The debates in parliament and the laws that were passed during this period are accessible but they are mostly very voluminous. The larger histories of the time give long quotations from the speeches, and much of the real history of the period is to be found in the contemporary literature, such as essays, speeches, novels, and poetry. The collected speeches of Lord Ashley, earl of Shaftesbury, are particularly valuable. Interesting extracts concerning the Manchester Massacre, the Reform Bill, and the duke of Wellington are given in COLBY, *Selections from the Sources*, Nos. 113, 116, and 117. The acts of 1828 and 1829 granting religious equality, the Reform Bill of 1832, and the act for the abolition of slavery are given in ADAMS and STEPHENS, *Select Documents*, Nos. 260-264. Some speeches and notes concerning the reform movement and a valuable Chartist petition are given in KENDALL, *Source-Book*, Nos. 129-131. A number of documents of the emancipation and reform periods are given in LEE, *Source-Book*, Nos. 210-224. A somewhat larger number and variety of documents is in CHEYNEY, *Readings*, Nos. 405-434.

Poetry and Fiction. — KINGSLEY, *Yeast* and *Alton Locke*; the first deals with rural conditions, the second with the Chartist movement. GEORGE ELIOT, *Silas Marner* and *Felix Holt, the Radical*; DISRAELI, *Sybil, or The Two Nations*. Several of the novels of DICKENS illustrate the general reforming interests and efforts of the period, especially *Oliver Twist* and *Bleak House*. MRS. GASKELL, *North and South*. Among the many poems which illustrate events or characters of the time, some of the best are TENNYSON, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, *Dedication of the Idylls of the King*, *Rizpah*, and many others, like *Locksley Hall*, which refer to social conditions; MRS. BROWNING, *The Young Queen*, *Victoria's*

Tears, Crowned and Wedded, The Cry of the Children; THOMAS COOPER, W. J. FOX, WILLIAM MORRIS, and CHARLES MACKAY, various Chartist songs and poems.

Special Topics. — (1) The Great Writers of the Early Part of the Period, GARDINER, *A Student's History of England*, pp. 887-890; (2) Great Writers of the Latter Part of the Period, MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. I, chap. xxix; (3) Daniel O'Connell, *ibid.*, chap. xii; (4) The Young Ireland Party, *ibid.*, chap. xviii; (5) Factory Laws, CHEYNEY, *Industrial History*, pp. 244-260; (6) Trade Unions, *ibid.*, pp. 277-293; (7) Disappearance of the English Yeomen, TRAILL, *Social England*, Vol. VI, pp. 75-83; (8) Religious Conditions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 133-150; (9) The Introduction of Railways, *ibid.*, pp. 199-210; (10) The Army and Navy in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 120-133 and 262-273.

CHAPTER XX

GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE. 1852-1906

585. The Crimean War. — Soon after the middle of the century England's long period of peace came to an end and questions of internal policy gave place in public attention for a while to the problems of a serious foreign war. The War of the Crimea, into which England was now drawn as an ally of Turkey and France against Russia, arose from the general condition of affairs in eastern Europe. Russia and Turkey were ancient enemies, between whom conflicts had broken out time and again. Russia had now become so strong and Turkey so weak that there was danger that Russia would at some time seize all the remaining possessions of her rival in the eastern Mediterranean. If Russia should possess Constantinople, the entrance to the Black Sea, Asia Minor, and Syria, along with her other dominions, her power would be so great that England might find her road to India closed and the other countries of Europe made powerless to resist the overgrown might of the Slavonic Empire. It had therefore become the interest and the policy of the western nations of Europe, and especially of England, to support Turkey and prevent any aggression upon her by Russia.

In 1853 new disputes broke out between the two eastern powers which led to the invasion of Turkish territory by Russia and the destruction of the Turkish fleet in one of the Black Sea ports. England and France thereupon in 1854 allied themselves with Turkey and declared war on Russia. The war soon centered at the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol, in the Crimea, a long promontory jutting out from the north coast of the Black Sea.

Here English and French troops were gathered, a naval force concentrated, and a strong effort made to capture the fortifications and destroy the base of Russia's power.

Sebastopol proved to be almost impregnable, and the allied armies finally settled down to a siege that lasted through the whole of one bitter winter and most of the next summer. Before the siege was begun and during its continuance there were several hard-fought battles with the Russian armies which opposed the landing of the allied troops and tried repeatedly to raise the siege. One of the battles, that of Balaclava, fought in October, 1854, was the occasion of the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade."¹ The general in command, seeing from his elevated position the Russians carrying off a small battery of cannon, sent orders to have them recaptured. This order was misunderstood by those who could not see so well, a dispute occurred, an officer lost his temper, and finally an order was given for the light brigade of cavalry, consisting of six hundred and seventy-three men, to charge a Russian battery at the end of a long valley and in a position where its cannon could not be held even if captured. With wonderful coolness and bravery the cavalry rode off on their hopeless mission. Through a valley two miles long, subjected to a steady fire from Russian artillery on both sides, they rode up to the fortifications and then returned, losing two hundred and forty-seven men, or almost one half their number. "It is magnificent, but it is not war," said a French officer as he watched them from a hill.

During the winter of 1854-1855 the sufferings of the English in their camp before the fortified city were terrible. The long period of peace which England had enjoyed since the battle of Waterloo had left the army badly disorganized. The food sent to it during the siege was insufficient and slow in arriving; there were few army nurses and the hospitals were poorly managed; useless red tape prevented different departments working together and delayed the distribution of supplies even after they reached

¹ The subject of Tennyson's well-known poem.

the Crimea. The officers, although brave in battle, showed poor judgment in managing the campaign and the siege. The unavoidable evils of climate and distance were added to those of mismanagement. The winter was a cold one, cholera broke out in the camp, and almost half the army was carried off by this and other diseases.

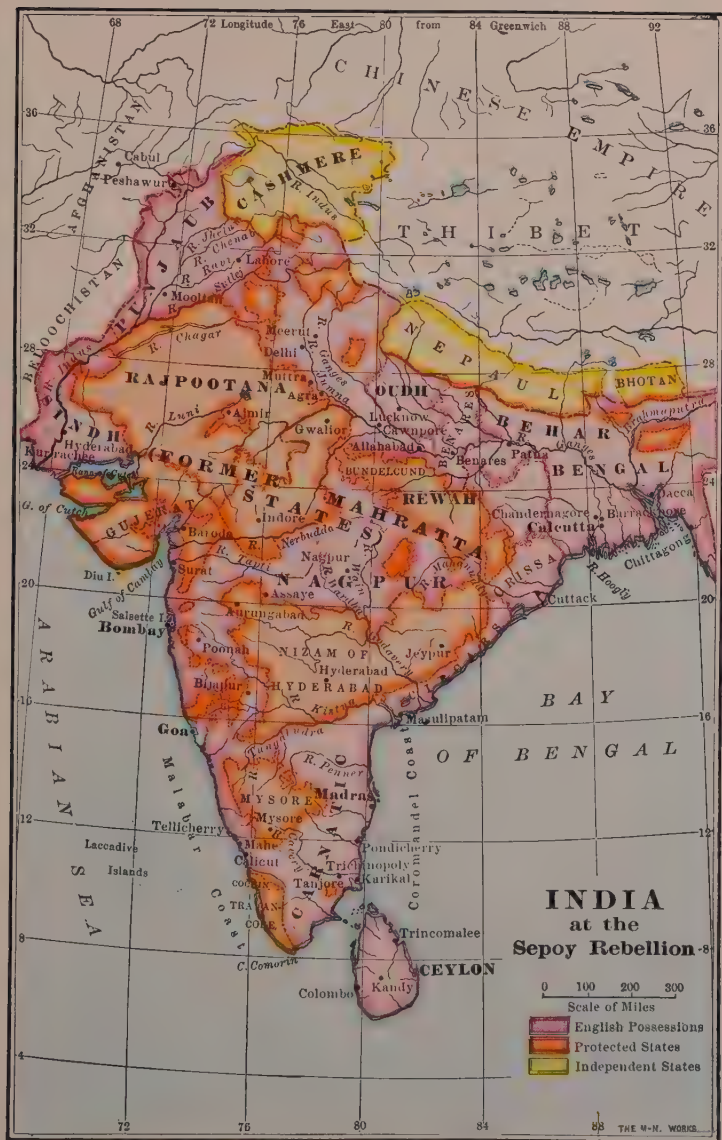
All these sufferings of the soldiers and blunders of the army authorities were reported in the home newspapers, this being the first war in which regular war correspondents were sent to the field. The tide of popular condemnation of the government rose higher and higher, until finally the coalition ministry of Lord Aberdeen, under which the war had been entered upon, was forced to resign and Lord Palmerston became prime minister.



The Victoria Cross,
instituted in 1857
for Personal Acts
of Bravery in
Battle

Under the new ministry energy was infused into the war operations and improvements were introduced into the military administration. Miss Florence Nightingale was sent out to Constantinople as superintendent of a group of volunteer women nurses. She proved to have great ability and good judgment and succeeded in introducing system and good management into the hospitals, as well as giving untold personal comfort and consolation to the

miserable soldiers suffering from sickness and wounds. By the spring months of 1855 conditions had improved and in the fall of that year Sebastopol finally fell. In 1856 a peace was signed at Paris by which all captures made during the war were restored, ships of war of all nations were excluded from the Black Sea, Russia agreed not to fortify Sebastopol, the Danube River was opened to free navigation, and a guarantee of good treatment of her Christian subjects was given by Turkey. The one great point gained by England was the check placed at that time upon the advance of Russia; but even this has not been finally effective



In the long run the war does not seem to have accomplished much. In 1870 Russia declared that she did not any longer intend to be bound by the Black Sea clause, and later she established a powerful fleet there and rebuilt and fortified Sebastopol.

586. Affairs in India.—The Crimean War was hardly over when England had to face another conflict which in many ways came even nearer home to her, and which threatened the possession of her greatest dependency. The progress of English dominion in India had been one of steady acquisition of control over the native states. Soon after the time of Clive another great governor, Warren Hastings, whose administration extended from 1773 to 1785, by a series of extensions of the influence of the East India Company, brought a great part of northern and central India under its direct government. His despotic and oppressive actions against the native princes led to his impeachment by parliament in 1788, but he was finally acquitted and his acquisitions of territory were retained by the company. In 1784 parliament passed a law placing the control of the political affairs of India in the hands of a branch of the English ministry, leaving commercial affairs still in the unrestricted charge of the company.

During the war against Napoleon, French influence led to much greater opposition on the part of the native princes. The English, however, carried on several successful wars and enforced a system of alliances by which several of the native rulers who were still reigning were allowed to carry on their internal affairs to suit themselves, but were each forced to receive an English resident who should direct foreign affairs. These were called "protected" states, or states "in dependent alliance." After 1815 there were a number of small wars in India by which either direct control or dependent alliances were forced upon the natives, and British influence was carried all the way to the northern and western borders. Between 1815 and 1857 there were nine separate wars of this description.

587. The Sepoy Rebellion. — Many of the inhabitants of India were dissatisfied with English rule, but it was not supposed that any widespread rebellious feeling existed until suddenly in 1857 the sepoy mutiny broke out. The native troops in the English service rose first at Meerut, refused to obey their officers, marched to Delhi, where they were joined by three other regiments of sepoys, and put a descendant of the old Moguls on the throne, thus trying to make the rising a national movement. Soon at almost every military station in the north of India a similar mutiny had taken place and the whole country was in the hands of the mutineers. The native troops and populace attacked the English officers, soldiers, officials, and merchants together with their families, and massacred



Small Coin struck in a Native Mint under
English Protection

men, women, and children. Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore were the most important centers of the revolt. It did not spread into the districts of Madras

and Bombay, nor into the newly annexed district of the Punjab, but for a few weeks in June, July, and August, 1857, all northern India seemed to have fallen again into the possession of the native races. The English were either suffering siege and massacre or, scattered in small bodies, were confronting masses of revolted native soldiers vastly superior in numbers.

Yet the courage and the discipline of these bodies of English troops and the vigor and skill of their officers rapidly won back the territories that had been lost. A body of a few hundred in one place and a small army of a few thousand in another defeated the mutinous sepoys in engagement after engagement. English troops were brought from the loyal districts, and others who were on their way to China were turned aside to India when

they reached the Cape of Good Hope. Although in many cases these were too late to save the English women and children from being massacred under the most terrible circumstances, yet in other cases they came in time to succor the survivors and prevent further attacks from the rebels. In putting down the revolt the English inflicted severe punishment upon the mutineers. All who were suspected of participating in the massacres were put to death ruthlessly and often with scarcely less cruelty than they had themselves used. Many were shot from the mouth of cannon.¹ Others after surrender were shot down in cold blood by English officers. Before the end of the next year, 1858, the revolt was completely stamped out.

588. The Empire of India. — In England the occurrence of the mutiny turned attention to the form of government of India. It was felt to be unreasonable that a great part of the British Empire, with many millions of people, should be governed so largely by the East India Company, a commercial organization. A bill was therefore passed in 1858 transferring the sovereignty and territory of the East India Company to Queen Victoria. A secretary of state for India was created, who is a member of the cabinet, and the governor general's title changed to that of viceroy. The company remained in existence, but only as a voluntary trading association carrying on commerce with India and having no share in its government and no monopoly of its trade.

After the mutiny some of the protected states came directly under British control, and two or three frontier districts, including the whole of Burma, were either annexed or placed in the position of dependent states. Comparatively little fighting was necessary for this purpose, although a large army of sepoys with English officers and a number of English regiments were

¹ This was a form of punishment in which the victim was bound against the muzzle of a cannon, which was then discharged. It was especially terrible to the Hindoos, who for religious reasons dread the destruction of the body.

kept up. The British dominion in India has been, notwithstanding the Sepoy Mutiny, a peaceful administration of a group of populous Oriental provinces, accustomed through all ages to being ruled by one race of foreign conquerors after another. There were at this time about three hundred million natives, and fewer than one hundred thousand British officials, soldiers, merchants, and missionaries; there was therefore about one person of English race to every three thousand native Indians. Somewhat later the ministry desired to express in the title of the British sovereign this relation of England to India. The title formerly held by the sovereigns of Delhi was revived, and in 1876 parliament passed an act adding to Queen Victoria's other titles that of "Empress of India." On January 1, 1877, she was proclaimed ruler of India under that title at Delhi and in every province of India.

589. Petty Wars. — England was not engaged only in the Crimean War and the great struggle in India. Her widespread colonial dominions brought her into contact with so many nations and barbarous races that she has been drawn constantly into wars of small extent in which her overwhelming strength left no possible doubt of the result, but which nevertheless were expensive in money and lives and were opposed to the moral feelings of a great people. In 1840 and 1842 there were such wars with Egypt, Afghanistan, and China. The last of these is known as the "Opium War," because the original dispute arose in connection with an effort on the part of China to prevent the importation of opium into her dominions. The opium trade was carried on by British merchants and by others under British protection; and the poppy from which the opium is derived was one of the most profitable products of British India. Therefore, although the dispute arose in an effort to prevent insult to the British flag, it resulted in forcing the opium traffic upon China in favor of English commerce. Although there was no clear settlement of the opium question, the importation of

opium into China continued. As a further result of this war and of another lasting from 1856 to 1858 more Chinese ports were opened to commerce with Europeans. Still a third war occurred in 1860. In 1862 there was a short war with Japan. Between that year and 1878 there were similar petty wars with Ashanti, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the Kaffirs and Zulus of South Africa. A still greater conflict was by that time threatening in South Africa, but its discussion can be better left till later.

590. The Civil War in America. — The civil war in America exercised a strong influence on England. The sympathies of the upper classes were naturally with the South. The southern type of society and manner of life in America were much like those of the landed aristocracy of England. Commerce also drew England and the southern states closely together, many goods of English manufacture being taken to that part of the United States, and large amounts of cotton being brought thence to England. Relations had never been very cordial between the English and American governments and there had been frequent disputes on boundary and other questions. The civil war, for which the government at Washington was held responsible, brought heavy loss to England. The southern ports were blockaded by the national government and English goods could not be taken into them as usual to be sold, nor could the cotton which was so necessary as raw material for the English factories be obtained from thence.

The danger was therefore very grave that the sympathy of the English government with the South and its anger at the North would bring about a war with the United States. At the very beginning of the war an incident occurred which almost precipitated this calamity. Two southerners, Mason and Slidell, who were being sent out to represent the Confederate government in England and France, made their way to Havana and there embarked on an English vessel for Europe. On their voyage they

were overtaken by an American war ship which insisted on exercising the right of search and finally seized the two southern representatives and carried them off to Boston. The English government immediately demanded their release and apologies for the indignity shown to the British flag. When the President hesitated to yield to this claim, troops were sent from England to Canada and all preparations made for war. The United States, however, gave way, acknowledged that the commander of their vessel had done wrong, and placed the southern commissioners again on an English vessel.

This crisis was passed, but others arose from time to time. The English government issued a proclamation of neutrality warning its subjects to take no part in the contest on either side. Although this seemed fair the North felt that it was an approach towards the recognition of the South as a separate power and resented it deeply. The cotton famine in Lancashire, where most of the factories were located, became the cause of great suffering. The cotton mills were almost all closed, thousands of laborers were thrown out of work, and many manufacturers failed. There was constant pressure on the government to acknowledge the southern states as an independent nation. This would have enabled England to open trade and intercourse with the South, though it would of course have led to war with the United States. Yet the government preserved its neutrality, though its friendliness to the South was apparent. One form which this took was the very slight effort made to prevent the building of southern cruisers in English ports. Several such vessels were built and launched in England. They were met afterwards at sea by southern commanders, equipped in other ports or countries, and proceeded to destroy many northern merchant ships. The most striking case of this kind was that of the "Alabama," built at Liverpool in 1862 and allowed to sail, notwithstanding the protests of the representatives of the American government. The responsibility of the English government in some of these cases was so evident that when the claims made

for losses by the United States were after long negotiations referred in 1872 to an international tribunal sitting at Geneva, Switzerland, the "Geneva Award" was in favor of America, and England was ordered to pay to that country a sum of \$15,500,000.

On the whole, however, the government kept faithfully to its principle of neutrality, and this against much pressure at home and provocation abroad. The great mass of the laborers in the cotton-manufacturing districts, who because of the closing of the factories were in reality the greatest sufferers from the war, bore their privations with patience and self-control. In contrast with the upper classes they were almost unanimously in sympathy with the North, because they looked upon the war as a contest for the destruction of slavery. This made their endurance easier to them, and liberal donations of money, food, and clothing from all classes helped to tide over the difficult period till the war came to an end in 1865.

591. Lord Palmerston.—The prime minister during this period, and the most prominent minister of England for many years, was Lord Palmerston. He was one of those men who had been originally moderate Tories under the influence of Canning, but who had afterwards drifted into the Liberal party during the agitation for the first Reform Bill. His service as minister in Tory cabinets had extended from 1809 to 1830; afterwards as foreign secretary and then as prime minister he was an influential member of almost every Liberal cabinet for thirty-five years, till his death in 1865. He always adopted a high tone in foreign affairs, and many of the foreign disputes into which England had been drawn were largely a consequence of his policy. He was usually able to win success for his party and his country in these contests, and he had thus become extremely popular and influential.

The subjects in which the people of England were mainly interested from 1865 to 1885 were not foreign but domestic affairs, and to these we now must turn. In these Lord Palmerston was less interested. He had secured the admission of Jews into par-

liament in 1858, but to the proposed further reform of parliament along the lines of the Reform Bill of 1832, to which the Liberal party was turning, he was actively or passively opposed, and the subject was therefore postponed till after his death.

592. Gladstone and the Revival of Parliamentary Reform. — Many other prominent men in the Liberal party, although they had refused for many years after 1832 to agree to any further reform and had opposed the efforts of the Chartists, came in time to believe that the right of voting should be extended more widely and that the districts which were represented should be made more nearly equal. This agitation began about 1852. The leader who best represented these views and who was most influential in carrying out further reforms was William Ewart Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone, who served altogether for more than sixty years in parliament, entered the House of Commons in 1833, the year after the adoption of the first Reform Bill. He was then a Conservative, though one of the moderate group which was under the influence of Sir Robert Peel, just as Palmerston and Peel himself had been under that of Canning. Gladstone was soon admitted to one of the Conservative ministries in an inferior office, and after that time for some years was a member of almost every ministry of that party.

His opinions, however, like those of Peel, gradually changed in a liberal direction. He became famous for his knowledge of the details of financial and commercial questions and for his skill in explaining them. In 1853 he became chancellor of the Exchequer and usually afterwards occupied that office when in the ministry. He introduced life and fire and eloquent interest into all his financial statements and into the defense of the principles upon which they were based. Often by his eloquence he held the House of Commons spellbound for hours at a time while he explained and advocated measures of the most commonplace financial character. In 1858 he became chancellor of the Exchequer in a purely Liberal cabinet and from that time forward was identified with the most advanced section of the Liberal party.

Gladstone was one of those who advocated further reform of parliament and for several years gave eloquent but unsuccessful support to the efforts that were made to obtain it before it became a party measure. Several bills for the purpose were introduced between 1853 and 1863 by private members of parliament and even by members of the ministry, and reform was advocated mildly in the queen's speech. But, as has been said, the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, was privately opposed to it; there was much division within the party on the question, and for some years no measure favorable to reform made its way through parliament. In 1865, on the death of Lord Palmerston, Gladstone became the unquestioned leader of the Liberal party, though Lord Russell, as the older and more prominent man, became prime minister. A reform bill was now introduced and heartily advocated by the Liberal ministry, but was defeated in the House of Commons notwithstanding the strong popular interest in reform which was showing itself in the country. The ministry, as a result of this vote, resigned in 1866, and a Conservative ministry came into office.

593. Disraeli, Acceptance of the Principle of Reform. — Although Lord Derby, a veteran statesman, became prime minister, the most prominent and influential member of this cabinet was Benjamin Disraeli. This able and active minister had entered parliament in 1837, four years after Gladstone, but unlike him remained a Conservative through the whole of a long and active parliamentary career. He had few advantages of position, being of Jewish descent (though his father had become a Christian in religion) and having many peculiarities of manner and appearance that were distasteful to members of parliament; he was, however, brilliant in speech and far-seeing in policy, and long before 1866 had become the real leader of the Conservative party. Disraeli and Gladstone were opponents on almost all measures, and this antagonism continued throughout their lives.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Liberals had been defeated on the question of reform, the Conservatives felt that some kind of reform bill must be introduced. Every one had come to feel that further reform of parliament must be made, and the only question was the form and extent of the change. Much had occurred to prepare the nation for it.

England was a very different country from what it had been in 1832. In the first place, intelligence was far more widespread. Cheap postage, the telegraph, rapid traveling by railroad, many newspapers, the spread of education, had all combined to awaken men's minds and to make every one acquainted with what was going on in the world. Secondly, the working classes, from whom the new voters would principally come if the suffrage were extended, had been rising in position. The factory laws had shortened hours of labor and improved the surroundings under which the laborers worked. The trade unions had done much to train them in self-government, and the number, order, and discipline of these bodies when they appeared in public processions made a great impression on those who saw them. The success of the North in the American civil war was in a certain sense a testimony to the good judgment of the English workingmen, for they had believed in that side, while the upper classes had generally anticipated its failure. But the great reason for the wide acceptance of the general principle of a bill for further parliamentary reform was the passage of time since the last measure of this kind had been adopted. A new generation had grown up which was familiar with the deficiencies of the existing system of representation and was not familiar with the extent to which it was an improvement on still older conditions. To this generation further reform seemed a natural and necessary step.

594. The Reform Bill of 1867. — The bill was introduced by Disraeli in 1867 as a very moderate measure. One amendment after another, however, was carried, introducing more liberal principles, till it was a far-reaching and thoroughgoing measure.



Houses of Parliament, built 1852

The Conservatives were in a yielding frame of mind, Gladstone and the other Liberal leaders urged them to further concessions, and the constant agitation going on outside of parliament during the debates carried both parties farther than they quite realized. The bill was finally carried through both houses by quite large majorities.

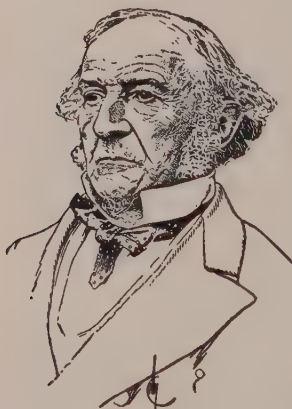
The bill of 1867 deprived eleven of the smaller towns of the representation which had been left to them in 1832. Thirty-five other towns having less than ten thousand population were each deprived of one of their representatives. These representatives were given to the great cities and thickly populated counties. The most important change was, however, in the right of voting. Household suffrage was introduced in the parliamentary towns. That is to say, after this year every man who was owner or tenant of any dwelling house and paid the usual taxes, or who occupied lodgings worth £10 a year, had a right to vote. In the country districts every one who held either as owner or life tenant a piece of land worth £5 a year or more, or who for a shorter term was a tenant of land worth £12 a year, and had paid the usual taxes, could vote for county members.

Thus in the towns almost every man would have a vote, for almost every man would either own or rent a house or occupy lodgings worth £10 a year. In the rural districts all the farming as well as the landowning class would have votes. The only large body who were excluded were the farm laborers, who held no land and whose cottages were too poor to reach the voting limit or to be assessed for taxes. After this year probably two thirds of the men of England had a right to vote. Mechanics and factory laborers as well as the wealthy and professional classes, farmers and store-keepers as well as landowners and merchants, indeed all except the farm laborers and those who had no domicile, could vote for members of parliament. For the first time in English history parliament was under the control of the mass of the people.

595. Reform Administration of Gladstone. — A number of reforms of various kinds were introduced in the years immediately

following the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867, as had occurred after the Reform Bill of 1832. The earliest and most important of these were carried out under the influence of Gladstone. The first election after the passage of the Reform Bill gave a majority to the Liberals. Disraeli therefore resigned and Gladstone entered upon a prime ministership which lasted from 1868 to 1874.

The first task to which he set himself was the disestablishment of the Irish church. At the Reformation the reformed church had been officially established in Ireland in the same form as in Eng-



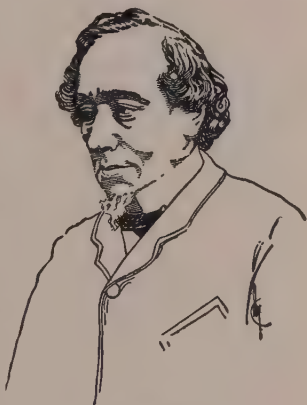
Gladstone

land. Ever since that time its support had been forced upon the Irish people and it was looked upon as the state church, though the great mass of the Irish were Roman Catholics, except in the north, where they were mostly Presbyterians. After a long contest in parliament in 1869 official support was taken from the Irish church and it became a purely voluntary religious body.

In 1870 a land law was passed for Ireland giving to the Irish tenants security from eviction so long as they paid their rents, compensation for the improvements they had made upon the land during the time of their tenancy, and an advance of money to enable them to purchase their farms. In the same year, 1870, the first important act for the establishment of a national system of free elementary schools in England was passed, and in 1871, at the other extreme of the educational system, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to Roman Catholics and Dissenters by abolishing the religious tests which all students had formerly been required to sign. In the same year the use of the secret ballot in voting, instead of giving the vote by word

of mouth, was introduced by an act of parliament, temporarily at first but afterwards as a permanent system. This was one of the old Chartist proposals and had been frequently advocated in parliament since their time, but until 1871 had always been defeated either in the House of Commons or the House of Lords. In the same year an act legalizing trade unions was passed.

In 1870 and 1871 a reorganization of the army took place. The most interesting changes introduced were the abolition of the purchase system, by which officers had long been able to purchase promotion in the army, and the organization of all the regiments on the basis of the counties from which they were recruited. Shortly afterwards a reform was introduced into the judicial system according to which the four old courts of law and equity — King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Chancery, whose organization dated back to the time of the Angevin kings — were united and became mere divisions of the "Supreme Court of Judicature." They were all established in one set of buildings in the heart of London, instead of sitting at Westminster in separate locations as before.



Disraeli

596. An Imperial Policy. — By this time most of the various reforms for which there was pressure at that time had been either adopted or introduced and defeated. Disraeli with his sharp tongue described the ministers, as they sat on the front bench in the House of Commons, as "a row of extinct volcanoes." In 1874 the majority turned against the Liberals, Gladstone resigned, and Disraeli became prime minister for the second time. He had always held high ideas of the proper position of England in foreign affairs and now proceeded to turn the attention of the

country in that direction and to carry to great lengths what is often called the "imperial" policy.¹ In 1875 he purchased in the name of the government a majority of the shares of the Suez Canal stock, thus bringing that great highroad under English control and checking the ambitions of France, under whose auspices the canal had been begun. He tried to prevent the war of 1877 between Russia and Turkey, even after a series of terrible atrocities committed by the Turks in Bulgaria had raised an outcry of horror over all Europe and America. After the close of that war, at the Congress of Berlin, Disraeli, who had just been made earl of Beaconsfield, stood in the way of Russian aggrandizement and secured for England the possession of the island of Cyprus. His policy was responsible for several of the petty wars already described, especially those in Afghanistan and South Africa. By 1880 this policy had become for the time unpopular in England, the Conservatives were defeated, the Liberals came back to power, and Gladstone became prime minister for the second time. In 1881 Lord Beaconsfield died, thus bringing to an end the curious rivalry by which he and Gladstone had alternately held the chancellorship of the Exchequer for twenty-five years and the prime ministership for thirteen.

597. The Third Reform Bill. — Gladstone was still, however, hale and hearty, and in 1884 entered upon a contest for a third reform of parliament. This was brought into practical discussion as early as 1872 by a strike for better wages among the farm laborers. In England there are three distinct classes connected with the land, — the landlords who own the farms, the farmers who rent them, and the laborers who work upon them for wages. When trouble arose between the last class and the employing farmers it came to be recognized how numerous the laborers

¹ This has also sometimes been called the "Jingo" policy, from a popular song of the music halls of the time.

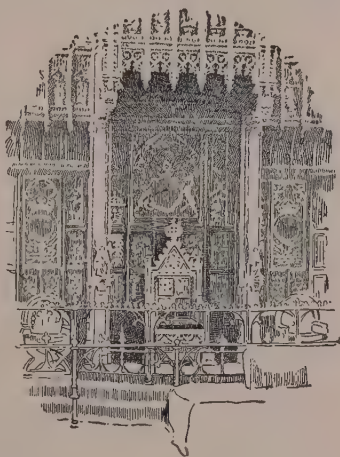
We do not want to fight, but, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too.

were, how completely they were excluded from any share in the government, and how depressed was their condition. As a result an agitation sprang up to change the laws so that they also, like all other considerable classes in the country, should have the right to vote. Of this movement Gladstone made himself the leader, and in 1884 he succeeded, against much opposition, in carrying through parliament a third reform bill, which extended the franchise to the farm laborers and a number of other smaller classes which had not before been included. The House of Lords at first rejected the bill, but after being threatened, much as in 1832, they gave way and passed it.

At the same time the process of depriving the smaller towns of their separate representatives in parliament was carried a long step farther, more than a hundred becoming for purposes of representation simply parts of the counties in which they lay.

As in previous reform bills these representatives were transferred to the counties and the larger cities. At the same time all the counties and most of the large towns were divided into electoral districts of almost equal numbers of inhabitants. Each of these sends one member to parliament. This portion of the bill was separated from the part which referred to the franchise and was passed with little opposition in the year 1885. Thus universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, and vote by ballot, three of the old points of the Charter, were almost completely attained.

598. Reforms in Local Government. — In 1882 the "Municipal Corporations Act" was passed, giving the right to vote for city



Throne in the House of Lords

officers to all the inhabitants of the cities, whether property holders or not. In 1888 "County Councils" and in 1894 "Parish Councils" were created by acts passed by parliament. These were representative bodies elected in each county and parish by universal suffrage, even women having a right to vote for them and to serve upon them. To these councils is given the charge of most matters connected with education, public health, the poor, and many other local interests, though their power is of course limited by the general laws passed by parliament on these matters. Thus many powers formerly exercised by appointed magistrates were now possessed by elected bodies, and government was brought close home to the mass of the people in England by the practice of governing themselves in many everyday matters in their own localities.

England's government had now become an almost complete democracy. National and local affairs were under the control of the whole body of the people. The ministers carried on the government in accordance with the wishes of the majority in the House of Commons, and if they were outvoted on any important question they immediately resigned and the sovereign called the leader of the opposite party to the prime ministership. As the House of Commons was elected by all the people, parliament could not for any length of time act in opposition to the will of the people, any more than the ministry could act in opposition to the will of parliament.¹

599. Irish Home Rule. — In 1886 Gladstone had his last great contest on a measure of reform, and he was defeated. For a number of years leading Irishmen had kept up an agitation for

¹ The plan by which the ministry is dependent upon the approval of its acts by the majority in parliament is called "responsible government." The resignation of office by the ministers when parliament refuses to pass the measures they recommend, adopts measures they oppose, or expresses its disapproval of their actions, has become so customary as to be practically compulsory.

what they called "home rule." By this they meant something like a return to the system in existence before 1800, when Ireland had a separate parliament of her own for her internal affairs. The leadership in this movement fell into the hands of Charles Stewart Parnell, an Irish Protestant member of parliament who showed considerable ability and vigorous leadership. Finally eighty-six of the one hundred members from Ireland became advocates of home rule, and it was desired almost universally in that country.

Many concessions had been made to Ireland in the latter half of the century in matters of landholding, religion, and education, but discontent was scarcely diminished and disorder was constant. Both Liberal and Conservative ministries repeatedly obtained from parliament extraordinary powers of keeping the peace, in the form of what were known as "coercion acts." These angered and alienated great numbers of the Irish people and the country was unhappy and unprosperous. Gladstone, though like other English political leaders he had long opposed the plans of the home-rule party, finally became convinced that it would be better to yield to their wishes and thus obtain peace and contentment than to keep up the opposition. In 1886, when he was prime minister for the third time, he introduced a bill to give Ireland a separate parliament for her own affairs, to sit at Dublin. But he could not carry his party with him. John Bright, Joseph Chamberlain, and a large proportion of the Liberals seceded, formed a new party, the "Liberal Unionists," and joined with the Conservatives to defeat the bill by a considerable majority. Parliament was then dissolved and new elections were held to test the feeling of the country on the question. Since these resulted unfavorably to home rule, Gladstone resigned office.

After the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, with Lord Salisbury as prime minister, had retained control of parliament for a period of six years, Gladstone, in 1892, although eighty-three years old, became prime minister again, being the only English statesman who had ever held that office four times. He now

carried by a small majority a modified home-rule bill through the House of Commons, but it was defeated in the House of Lords and the interest in it was so slight that the lower house did not pass it again. In 1894 Gladstone retired from parliament on account of ill health, and in 1898 died at the age of eighty-eight. Home rule was on his resignation dropped for the time by the leaders of the Liberal party. Later, however, county and district councils were created for Ireland by act of parliament, sundry land bills in favor of the Irish tenants were passed, and much was done towards giving the Irish people local self-government and prosperity. Nevertheless the question of Ireland and her future remained unsettled and troublesome.

600. British Colonies and Dependencies. — As the nineteenth century drew to its close, and as the twentieth century began its course, questions of the whole British Empire came into greater prominence even than internal questions or the relations between England and Ireland. Some statesmen, especially Joseph Chamberlain, called frequent attention to these questions, and in the jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria, in 1887 and 1897, festivities through all parts of the empire and deputations coming to England from its farthest parts increased the recognition of its importance.

It becomes necessary, therefore, to make a rapid survey of the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, and to describe the main occurrences in their modern development and in their relations to the mother country. Of the long list of British dominions in the various parts of the world¹ many were acquired

¹ The following is a list of the most important groups of British dependencies. The total number extended to almost if not quite a hundred.

Australasia	South Africa.	Newfoundland
India	Nigeria	British Guiana
Ceylon	Gibraltar	Jamaica
Hong Kong	Malta	Barbados
Straits Settlements	Cyprus	The Bahamas
East Africa	Canada	The Bermudas



by conquest and have remained foreign communities under the British crown, being ruled primarily for the commercial or military advantage of Great Britain. Of this class of colonies India is the greatest example, as its history has shown,¹ though many of the smaller colonies, such as Hong Kong, Malta, and St. Helena, are still more characteristic examples.

Other colonies, however, were originally settled by English emigrants, or have been so largely occupied by Englishmen since their acquisition that they have become new branches of the English race and nation. The most important colonies of this character are Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa.



Queen Victoria

601. Canada. — When Canada came into the possession of Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 it was occupied by a French population spread along the lower waters of the St. Lawrence, around Quebec and Montreal, and in a few scattered posts along the Great Lakes, besides some English settlers in Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and in Newfoundland. At the close of the American Revolution some thirty or forty thousand Loyalists emigrated from the United States and were added to the English-speaking population of Canada. Most of these either settled in Nova Scotia or pushed on beyond the French part of the province and settled farther up the St. Lawrence River and to the north of the Great Lakes. Colonists soon began to come directly from England and Scotland, going likewise for the most part to the western part of the province. Thus there grew up, in addition to

¹ See pp. 565-571 and 651-654.

the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, two sections of Canada, one on the lower St. Lawrence occupied by the descendants of the French settlers, the other on the upper St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes occupied by English settlers. In 1791 these were organized by an act of parliament into two provinces known as "Upper" and "Lower" Canada, each of which was to have a council and assembly with quite limited powers. The governor and council were appointed by the British government, the assembly was elected by the people.

In both of the provinces there was contention between the governor and the assembly, especially in Lower Canada, where the French population felt that they were being tyrannized over by the English governor and council. This discontent became so serious that in 1837 and 1838 small rebellions broke out in both sections. These rebellions were soon put down; in the hope of preventing further difficulties the British ministry sent Lord Durham, who had been the principal author of the Reform Bill of 1832, with power to take temporary control in Canada and to report on a desirable plan for its government. In 1839 he published his famous *Report on Canada*: its recommendations were not only the basis of the constitution adopted then for Canada, but have been the fundamental principles of the relations between the mother country and her larger colonies ever since. The resulting act of parliament, which was passed in 1840, united the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and created a parliament for Canada with two houses, the upper, or Legislative Council, appointed by the crown, and the lower, or House of Representatives, elected by the people. The greatest change was in the power of the governor. He must select as his "executive council," or group of ministers, men who "possessed the confidence of the assembly," that is, who belonged to the party which had the majority in the assembly. This gave the people of Canada virtual self-government, and the Canadiar



ministry soon came to govern the colony in practical independence of England, under the nominal control of the governor; just as in England the ministry carries on the government under the nominal authority of the king or queen. This relation of a British colony to the home government later became known as "dominion status."

602. The Federal Dominion of Canada. — After self-government had been thus attained the one remaining point of serious dissatisfaction was the discord between the French and the English race. Combined as they now were under one assembly and governor, the French Catholic inhabitants of Lower Canada felt that they were being interfered with in regard to their religion, laws, and customs. The English and Protestant inhabitants of Upper Canada, on the other hand, were continually increasing in numbers and were dissatisfied that the French minority still retained so much power in the government. Partly to remedy this state of affairs, partly to attain still higher ends, a series of conferences was held by representatives of the two sections of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and it was determined to ask the home government to separate Upper and Lower Canada and then to combine all these states in a confederacy somewhat similar to the United States. This was finally agreed to by these colonial legislatures, and a bill for the purpose was carried through the British parliament in 1867. Lower Canada took the name of Quebec, and Upper Canada that of Ontario, while the whole confederation, including Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, became known as "The Dominion of Canada."

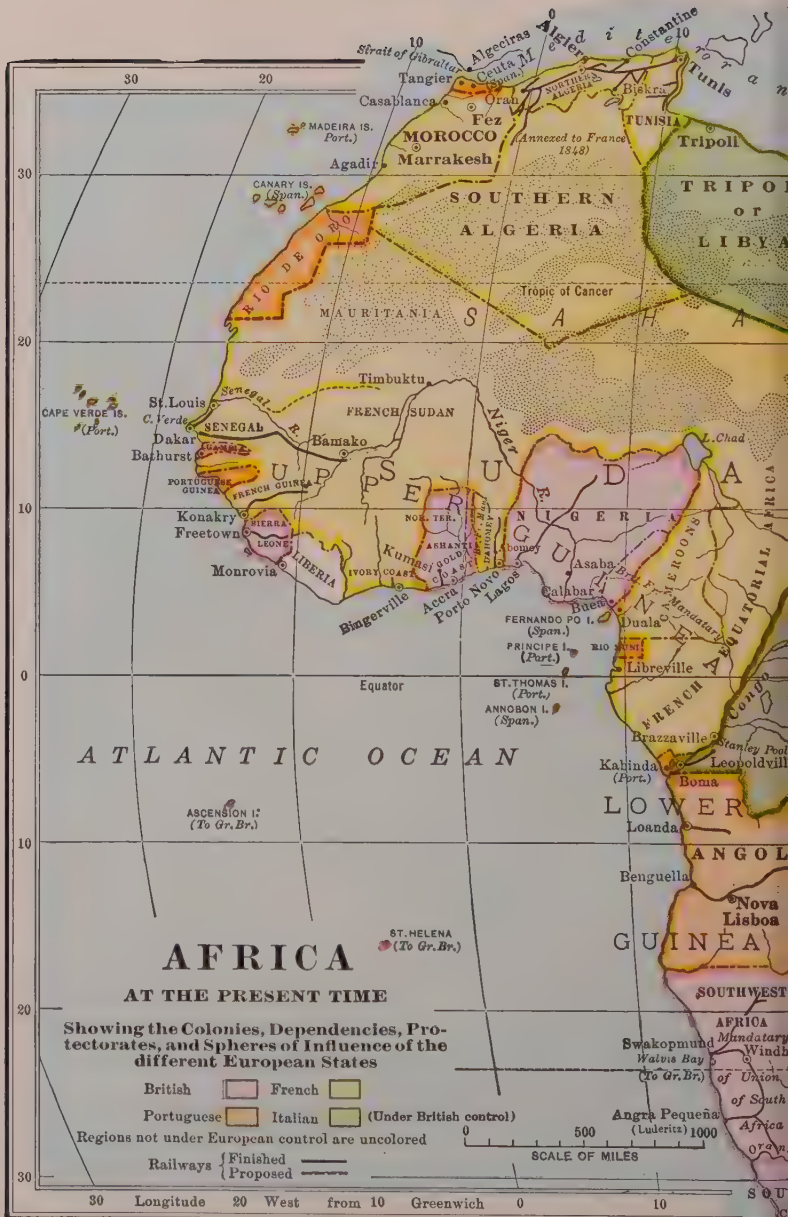
Since 1867 there has been one federal government for general affairs, with its capital at Ottawa, with a governor general appointed by the home government, a federal ministry, and a parliament of two houses, the Senate and the House of Commons, elected by the whole Canadian people. Each state of the confederation has a somewhat similar government for its own internal

affairs, a lieutenant governor being appointed for each by the governor general, but having, like him and like the sovereign he represents, scarcely more than nominal powers. Practically the Canadians govern themselves in all respects. This Canadian self-government within the loose bonds of the British Empire has become the ideal of all modern colonial governments.

In 1869 the Canadian government bought out the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company to the vast domains to the westward and northward, and these have been since gradually settled and divided up into nine provinces and two territories. The Dominion of Canada occupies a territory about equal to that of the United States and in 1940 had a population of some eleven and a half millions.

603. Colonization of Australia and New Zealand. — Founded later than Canada but more purely English, the first population of Australia was constituted of rather unpromising material. It was a body of about seven hundred convicts and their guards sent by the government in 1788 to Botany Bay, on that part of the eastern coast which had been previously explored by Captain Cook and by him named New South Wales. In 1783 a law had been passed authorizing the ministers to form one or more penal settlements wherever they should think fit. At about the same time the colonization of the fertile and unoccupied shores of eastern Australia was being strongly advocated for commercial reasons. The two objects were now combined and the penal colony was established at the same time that free settlers were urged to emigrate thither. From 1788 onward the government continued to send large bodies of convicts, while at the same time independent colonists established themselves there in some numbers.

Every effort was made to encourage the settlement of a permanent population. All who chose to emigrate to Australia were given liberal grants of land, officers and soldiers who had fulfilled their terms of enlistment were encouraged to remain, and the





convicts themselves, on the expiration of their sentences, which were usually for seven years, were given land and the opportunity to begin life anew among more favorable surroundings. Population thus gradually grew and spread and new settlements were formed. The original settlement was named Sydney and became a large city, the district of which it was the center retaining the name of New South Wales. The later settlements were in some cases offshoots of this, in others independent colonies established from England. Since Australia is about ten times the size of Great Britain and Ireland together, the vast distances necessarily made the more remote of these colonies practically independent of one another, and one after another they were organized as separate colonies. Tasmania, an island about two hundred miles in length and breadth, situated off the southern coast, was the first of these. Its settlement and organization were followed by the establishment of Queensland, Victoria, Western Australia, and South Australia. New Zealand, the other great Australasian¹ island group, which lies twelve hundred miles to the eastward of Australia, followed a somewhat similar course, its regular settlement being begun in 1833, although a wild population of shipwrecked sailors, and escaped convicts and other outlaws, had occupied one spot on the coast for some years before, and the Maoris, the native race, were a numerous and vigorous people.

The earliest and most permanent industry of the people of both Australia and New Zealand was naturally agriculture, but in 1797 coal was discovered in Australia and extensively mined, and soon afterwards the inland districts were explored and proved to have vast plains suitable for sheep and cattle raising, so that Australia has become the greatest wool-producing country of the world. In 1851 gold was discovered in New South Wales, and soon afterwards in Victoria, Queensland, and New

¹ The term *Australasia* is properly used to include the mainland of Australia, the island of Tasmania, New Zealand, and adjacent islands.

Zealand. The gold fever now brought in suddenly a great wave of immigration from all parts of the world. This increase of numbers has continued in a greater or less degree, until in 1940 the population of the six Australasian colonies amounted to about seven and a half millions. With this increased population manufacturing and more varied industries have been introduced, so that these colonies now provide for all their needs as completely as any other civilized country.

As the free population increased and the prosperity and self-respect of the colonists became more highly developed, the opposition to the transportation of convicts to their shores became greater and greater, and the home government felt compelled to yield to their wishes. In 1840 transportation to New South Wales was given up, and in 1865 it was totally abolished as respected the whole island.

604. Australian Self-government and Confederation. — At first the Australasian colonies were ruled almost absolutely by the governors appointed by the home government. In 1823, however, a constitution was granted by act of parliament to the two colonies which then existed, New South Wales and Tasmania, giving them each a council, the members of which were, however, appointed by the governor. These rights were added to in later constitutional grants, a council elected by the colonists in New South Wales being authorized in 1842 and extended in 1850 to the other colonies then in existence. This was the beginning of self-government, and in 1855 four colonies, with the permission of parliament, laid before the home government new constitutions drawn up by themselves and in accordance with their own wishes. They were approved, and each of the Australian colonies became a self-governing state with only the same general supervision exercised over it by the British government as has been described in the case of Canada. Universal suffrage and the ballot were early introduced, and in each colony the ministry was dependent on the majority in the colonial

legislature. Thus an almost complete democracy, similar to that of the mother country and indeed in some respects in advance of it, had been introduced in these distant colonies. After the attainment of full self-government in 1855, there was an effort to bring about a closer union among the four Australian colonies. Nothing was accomplished till 1883, when a "Federal Council for Australia" was formed, though with very limited powers. In 1891 a convention met at Sydney and drew up a plan for a closer union much like that of Canada or the United States, with provision for a parliament of two houses, for federal courts, and a governor general to be appointed by the crown. The separate colonial governments were to remain as before except for those powers which they must turn over to the central government. After much discussion this federal constitution was adopted by all the colonies in 1900, and with the approval of parliament the name "Commonwealth of Australia" was adopted for the new confederation. The circumstances of their origin brought it about that the central government in Canada is much stronger, in Australia much weaker, than the state governments. The capital is Canberra.

605. South Africa. — Just as Canada was a French colony captured by England in 1763, so Cape Colony was originally a Dutch settlement which came into the final possession of the British by conquest in 1806, during the wars against Napoleon. The colonists, who had mostly emigrated from Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were a hardy and independent race of farmers and stock raisers who were known as "Boers."¹

They showed themselves quite unwilling to adopt the new language, customs, form of religion, and ideas which the English governors of the colony tried to introduce. They were also deeply aggrieved by the abolition of slavery, which occurred in South Africa, as in all the rest of the British dominions, in 1833. The result of this was that between 1836 and 1842 great numbers of

¹ The word *Boer*, pronounced *boor*, is the Dutch for "farmer."

the Boers "trekked," or emigrated, from Cape Colony northward into the wilderness. There they formed two states, — the Orange River Free State, and, still farther north, the Transvaal, or country across the Vaal River. In 1852 and 1854 the independence of these two states, at least in their internal affairs, was acknowledged by the British government.

The native races of South Africa were numerous and warlike and both the English and the Dutch colonists had many conflicts with them. As population increased and new immigrants arrived from England, as the boundaries of the old colonies were extended and new and ambitious chieftains arose among the natives, these conflicts became more frequent. They led to several prolonged wars, to the annexation of new territory by the British, and to the formation of several new colonies, the most important of which was Natal, regularly organized in 1856. In 1870 the great diamond fields at Kimberley, north of Cape Colony, were discovered and were soon taken possession of by England.

In 1877 the British government, hoping to establish a barrier against the natives, attempted to form a confederation among all the South African colonies, Boer and British. When the inhabitants of the Transvaal resisted this effort their country was by proclamation annexed to Cape Colony. In 1880, however, the Boers of that state revolted, declared their independence, and gained several victories over British troops. Negotiations soon took place and the independence of the Transvaal was acknowledged, except that the Boers agreed to recognize the suzerainty of Great Britain in their foreign affairs and in their relations with the native races. In 1884 there were some modifications of these arrangements, but they do not seem to have been generally understood.

606. The Boer War. — In 1886 gold was discovered in the territory of the Transvaal, or "South African Republic," as it had been called since 1884, and soon this became one of the

greatest gold fields of the world, producing more than one fourth of the total annual supply of gold. As a result much English and other European population and capital poured into the Transvaal, and a whole nation of "Outlanders" grew up, having no share in the Boer government, although they paid by far the greater part of the taxes.

During the same period the boundaries of the English possessions on the northwest were being pushed almost a thousand miles farther, mainly by the energy of Cecil Rhodes, a wealthy mine owner, a man of far-reaching ideas, and the prime minister of Cape Colony. The two semi-independent Boer republics were thus almost entirely surrounded by British territory and at least partly populated with British subjects. Disputes now became almost constant, until in October, 1899, the Transvaal, in alliance with the Free State, declared war against Great Britain.

The two Boer republics made but a small nation compared with Great Britain, but they were well fitted by character and training for warfare, their governments during the whole course of the disputes with England had been drawing from Europe immense supplies of the most improved cannons, rifles, and ammunition, and the nature of the country was favorable to defense against attack. The war, therefore, to the astonishment of the whole world, was begun by an almost unbroken series of victories for the Boers. All through the early winter of 1899 and 1900 they defeated the British in engagement after engagement. The English government sent all its available troops to South Africa, called out the reserves, accepted the services of volunteer militia regiments and of troops offered by the colonies, until it had two hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, more, than in any previous war in which England had been engaged. The commander in chief of the British army, Lord Roberts, took command and gradually the Boers were overwhelmed. After a year of warfare serious resistance came to an end, the capitals and all the important points of the two countries were occupied

by British troops, and the governments of the two republics were dissolved. An embassy was sent by the Boers to the various governments of Europe and to the United States seeking intervention, but they received no encouragement. Then ensued a year and a half more of guerilla warfare, until in May, 1902, all hostilities were suspended and the remaining Boer troops agreed to give up further resistance.

In the meantime the British government had annexed the two republics to the empire under the names of the "Transvaal Colony" and the "Orange River Colony." All the inhabitants were forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the English crown. At the same time the British government announced that the Dutch language would not be disturbed, that civil government would be substituted for military authority as soon as possible, and that representative institutions would be introduced, leading up in the future to the position of self-governing colonies of the British Empire. Six million pounds were lent by the British government to the Boer farmers, without interest, for the restocking of their farms. These were liberal terms, and they were followed in 1906 by the grant of dominion status to the two colonies.

607. South African Federation. — Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State had thus been granted the same degree of self-government that had been attained by Canada and Australia. Population steadily increased until, including that of the recently annexed colonies, in 1940 it exceeded ten millions. It was repeatedly proposed that some such scheme of federation as existed in the two groups of colonies last described should be introduced. This was finally done in 1910, the four colonies being united under the name "The Union of South Africa," with four dependent territories, which were being settled by English colonists.

608. Imperial Federation. — During the war in South Africa, as has been mentioned, India, Canada, and the Australian colo-





nies sent bodies of volunteer troops to help the forces of the mother country and of Cape Colony. These troops were very welcome and the action of the colonies sending them called forth great enthusiasm. Yet the incident brought up one of the gravest problems in the life of the British race. How far was merely voluntary choice, based on patriotic sentiment, a strong enough bond to hold together a vast empire? Many parts of the British Empire, as has been seen, now governed themselves in almost entire independence; they had been allowed by the mother country to introduce democratic institutions; they were rapidly approaching her in numbers, wealth, and enterprise; and they had every capacity for existence as separate independent nations. Would they want to become such, and if so would Great Britain be willing to let them go?



Edward VII

Sentiment both at home and in the colonies was strongly in favor of holding the mother country and all these daughter lands together, but the bond which united them had become a very slender one. How to make it stronger was a matter of much interest and effort. "Imperial Federation," that is to say, a plan to organize a closer, more permanent, and more equal union among the different parts of the British Empire, was much discussed, but not much was accomplished.

The "diamond jubilee" of Queen Victoria, which occurred in 1897, was celebrated with the greatest heartiness in all parts of the empire. To England itself came representatives of all the colonies and of all the races living under the British crown, and a new realization of the significance of the widespread empire

came over British statesmen. Poets like Kipling, as well as ministers like Chamberlain and colonial men of enterprise like Cecil Rhodes, devoted themselves to the extension of the ideal of imperial unity. When Victoria's long and useful reign finally came to an end in 1901, and the prince of Wales succeeded to the throne as Edward VII, the same idea of the importance of the empire as a whole led to the adoption of a new form of the title of the sovereign. This was declared by a royal proclamation issued November 4, 1901, to be "Edward the Seventh, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."

609. Summary of the Period 1852-1906. — This half-century of English history saw more of war than either the interests, the wishes, or the moral feelings of the nation approved. The Crimean War of 1853-1856, the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857 and later wars in India, the three wars with China, and many others in New Zealand, Asia, and Africa, culminating in the terrible Boer War of 1899-1902, made up a list of hostilities which, even if unavoidable, were looked upon with regret by many thoughtful Englishmen. Into these wars Britain was drawn for the most part by occurrences connected with her widespread colonial dominion, and they are often spoken of as part of the "cost of empire."

These wars, with the exception of the war in the Crimea at the beginning of the period and the South African war at its close, were "little wars," and, although they played their part in the building up of the modern British Empire, the internal political changes of the period were more important. The most marked of these internal changes, both in England and in her self-governing colonies, was the growing control of government by the middle and lower classes of the people, instead of by the upper classes alone. As a result of the parliamentary reform bills passed in the years 1867 and 1884 and the measures of local

self-government that have been described, with the suffrage almost universal and frequent elections, England became, notwithstanding the survival of many royal and aristocratic forms, to all intents and purposes a complete democracy, the control of government being in the hands of the mass of the people. This popular form of government undertook a larger number of services directed to the improvement of the condition of the people. These will be the principal subject of the next chapter.

General Readings. — MCCARTHY, J. H., *History of Our Own Times*, Vols. II and III, although rather superficial, contains the most inclusive account of the general affairs of England during this period. BRIGHT, J. F., *History of England*, Vols. IV and V, contains a detailed and impartial narrative, especially intended for the use of students preparing for the civil-service examinations. Among the many important biographies which give varied information on the history of this period may be mentioned HALL, W. P., *Mr. Gladstone*, 1931; BULWER, H. L. E., *Palmerston*; BELL, H. C. P., *Lord Palmerston*, 2 vols.; BEGBIE, A., *Mirrors of Downing Street*, 1922, a book which attracted much attention because of its freedom of criticism. LORD HALDANE, *Autobiography*, 1929, describes a long career. ROSE, J. H., *Rise and Growth of Democracy in Great Britain*. BRYCE, JAMES, LORD, *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, contains a number of excellent short accounts of prominent men of the period. More special works concerning the dominions are JENKS, *The Australasian Colonies*, 1912; BOURINOT, *Canada*; BORDEN, R. L., *Canada in the Commonwealth*, 1929; KENNEDY, W. P., *The Constitution of Canada*, 1922; ADAMS, E. D., *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 2 vols., 1925; SONTAG, R. J., *European Diplomatic History, 1871-1932*, 1933; LIVINGSTON, W. R., *Responsible Government in Nova Scotia*, 1930. REITZ, D., *Commando*, 1929, and *Afrikaner*, 1933, refer to the Boer War.

Contemporary Sources. — HAYES, CARLTON, *British Social Politics*, is a collection of documents with valuable introductions illustrating many of the reforms described in this chapter. A number of extracts concerning India and the Sepoy Rebellion are to be found in CHEYNEY, F. P., *Readings in English Literature*, pp. 716-728; in LEE, *Source Book*, Nos. 225-235; and in KENDALL, *Source Book*, Nos. 145 and 146. ENSOR, R. C. K., *Modern Socialism*. This is a series of extracts from the writings of leading socialists—*Fabian Essays in Socialism* were mostly written by GEORGE BERNARD SHAW. They illustrate the moderate socialism of the time. *The Intelligent Woman's*

Guide to Socialism, an interesting book by the same author, was written and published long afterward. POSTGATE, R. W., *Revolution from 1789 to 1906*, 1921. A group of sources for the history of social conflict.

Poetry and Fiction. — KIPLING, RUDYARD, *The Jungle Book*, *Soldiers Three*, *The Day's Work*, *Kim*, *Seven Seas*, *Five Nations*, are representative of life in British India and of various phases of English opinion about the colonies. Of the vast number of poems and prose works written by KIPLING during the period of this chapter and the few years before and after, many reflect the imperialist sentiments which characterize him and his period. There are almost no limits to the illustrative material of this character at this time. MRS. STEELE, *On the Face of the Waters*, is a story of the Sepoy Rebellion. *A Recantation*, by PUNCH, published May 6, 1865, in that well-known popular journal, and a speech by JOHN BRIGHT given at Rochdale, December 4, 1861, are an indication of English views on the American Civil War. They are printed in CHEYNEY, E. P., *Readings in English History*, pp. 734-735 and pp. 729-733. From the long contest between England and Ireland many expressions of bitterness emerged. Only occasionally was there an expression of affection or of a desire for better relations. Such was the *Appeal* of the poet WILLIAM WATSON, written two years after the defeat of the home-rule bill of 1886, printed *ibid.*, pp. 751-752. Two poems expressive of imperialism, by WILLIAM WATSON and ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE, are on pages 764 and 765; another, on the hard position of the working classes, *The Voice of Toil*, by WILLIAM MORRIS, is on pages 795-796.

Special Topics. — (1) The Second Reform Bill, CHEYNEY, E. P., *Readings in English History*, pp. 735-739; (2) Legalization of Trade Unions, *ibid.*, pp. 743-747; (3) The Question of Colonies, *ibid.*, pp. 752-765; (4) English Opinion on the American Civil War, *ibid.*, pp. 729-733; (5) The Sepoy Rebellion, MCCARTHY, *History of Our Own Time*, Vol. II, chaps. xxxii-xxxv; (6) The "Alabama," *ibid.*, chaps. xlv and lv; (7) Fenianism, *ibid.*, chap. liii.

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL CHANGES, 1906-1914

610. Imperialism yields to the Spirit of Social Reform. — Except for two short intervals, the party made up of a combination of the Conservatives with the Liberal-Unionists had had a majority in parliament for the twenty years following the defeat of the Liberal party in 1886. Lord Salisbury had been prime minister during the early part of that period, Arthur Balfour during its latter part. That party had seen the golden and diamond jubilees of Queen Victoria. But it was becoming less popular. In addition to its main interest, which was in foreign affairs and the growth of the empire, it had carried through, it is true, some legislation on social matters and had attempted by its land legislation to satisfy the demands of Ireland. But all this had been too slow and partial to conform to the ideas of a growing number of members of both parties and to satisfy the clamorous demands of the Irish leaders. The principal interest of England was turning from external to internal affairs.

611. The New Liberal Party and its Allies. There were three parties in existence which held more popular views on social questions and on Irish home rule than the Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists who had been so long in power — the Liberals, the Labor party, and the Irish Nationalists. The old Liberal party of Gladstone's time had been much influenced by the growing up of younger men more interested than earlier parties had been in improving the position of the great mass of the people and more willing to reach this end through laws to be passed by parliament. The leaders of the workingmen had long

held the ambition, among others, that the trade unions should enter the political field and in this way gain recognition and influence. At the Trade Union Congress of 1899 they had resolved to found a separate political party; and in 1900 they held a great organization meeting in London, at which they adopted the name of the Labor party. They called on all members of trade unions, coöperatives, and other working-class organizations and their sympathizers to vote with them, and although there had been no election since, the party was evidently growing in power. They had many sympathizers in the upper and middle classes, including several noblemen. The Nationalists, though pledged in the first place to work for Irish home rule, were quite willing to help in securing measures of social reform, and in return, of course, would expect support in passing a home-rule bill. These three parties therefore agreed to act together at the next election and subsequently in parliament.

The course of events that followed is a good illustration of the working of the English democratic constitution. It will be remembered that when a ministry in England feels that it is losing its hold on its party or on the people, it either resigns and advises the king to appoint a ministry from another party, or advises the king to dissolve parliament and order a new election to test the wishes of the people; if the election goes against it, it then resigns.¹ The king always accepts the advice of the ministry and does what it asks. Now the Conservative and Liberal-Unionist ministry, finding its difficulties greater and greater, resigned in December, 1905. The Liberal ministry, then called by the king, itself advised the dissolution of parliament and the holding of a new election, which took place in January, 1906. This election gave an overwhelming victory to the three associated parties — Liberal, Nationalist, and Labor; they obtained 514 supporters, against only 156 opponents.

¹ See p. 666.

This ministry, at first under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as prime minister, then under Mr. Asquith, remained in office more than ten years, until the close of the year 1916. Its most prominent members, in addition to the prime minister, were David Lloyd George, during most of the time chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Edward Grey, foreign secretary, Winston Churchill, Herbert J. Gladstone, son of the great prime minister, James Bryce, later ambassador to the United States, John Burns, a Labor member, John Morley, and Sydney Buxton.

612. Workmen's Compensation. — The first important measure to be taken up and passed by the new parliament was one to which there was little or no opposition on party grounds and on which the differences of opinion were merely on questions of detail. This was an act by which the principles of the employers' liability act of 1880 and the workmen's compensation act of 1897 were carried further. Before the passage of the first of those acts each workman injured in the course of his employment, if he wished to seek damages, had to sue separately, and there were so many legal obstacles in the way that he could seldom obtain a favorable verdict. The principle introduced by those laws was that the loss of time, health, limbs and life resulting from the vast number of accidents continually occurring in the ordinary business of the country should be paid in the first place by those in charge of this business; that is, by employers. Ordinarily employers will take out insurance to cover such payments, and the expense of this insurance will become part of the general cost of production and be paid in the long run by the community in the form of higher prices for goods.

The law passed in 1906 introduced no new principle, but was much more liberal and inclusive. It provided that any workman injured in the course of his work, or suffering from certain diseases as a result of his work, should receive from his employer as long as the results of the injury or the disease continued an

amount equal to about half his previous earnings. In the case of an accident causing death, an amount equal to three years' wages must be paid to his widow or other dependents. This law doubled the number of persons subject to the provisions of the earlier acts, so that more than seven million working men and women were now under its protection.

613. Legislation in Favor of Trade Unions. — After the legalization of trade unions in 1871 they grew in numbers and strength until, by 1906, there were more than a thousand organized unions, with more than two million members. They had come to be recognized by most people as permanent and useful organizations, and they exercised much influence in the community. The prevailing opinion was expressed by Sydney Buxton, president of the Board of Trade, in a debate in the House of Commons in which he said, "I believe it is the opinion of the House now that it is not only in the interest of labor itself but in the interest of employers as well that these trade unions should be strong, representative, and independent." They had large sums of money in their treasuries, accumulated by dues from their members, some intended for sickness and death benefits, some for help to their members in time of unemployment, some for general expenses during strikes and for other purposes.

A decision of the courts in 1901, known as the Taff Vale decision because it was given in a suit between the Taff Vale Railway and a miners' union, showed that these funds were in considerable danger of being lost by the unions. The court decided that if men who could be considered as representing a union caused loss to another person by any illegal action the person suffering the loss could sue the union and obtain compensation from its general funds. "Illegal" as used in this decision is a broad word. Many actions of workingmen in their disputes with employers were probably illegal, although since the laws of 1871 and 1875 they were no longer criminal. Though the men could not be punished for them they might possibly still be sued for damages.

Such were "picketing," that is personal persuasion of other workmen to join in a strike, and "boycotting," that is appealing to people generally not to deal with employers against whom a strike is being carried on. If the unions as organizations, as well as their members separately, could be sued in such cases, any strike in which picketing or boycotting occurred was likely to cause a union to lose its funds through damage suits.

Both parties agreed that there should be some change in the law in this respect, and the Conservatives had tried to pass an act on the subject but could not agree among themselves on its terms. A measure was now introduced by the ministry, amended through the influence of the Labor party members, and, notwithstanding much opposition, carried by a large majority. It was known as the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. It legalized picketing and boycotting during strikes so long as these actions were peaceful. It prohibited suits in the courts against trade unions for damages caused by the action of members of the trade union. Trade unions as organized bodies were thus given the same protection against civil suits that their members already had against criminal suits.

614. Old-Age Pensions. — The support of old people had long been a difficulty for which no satisfactory solution had been found. Wages were so low that it could not be expected that laborers should save enough for old age, or that younger people could support their parents when they became too old to work. It was calculated in 1886 that average wages were only about \$6 a week, and many were receiving very far below that sum. The provisions of the poor laws for old people were unsatisfactory. Conservatives and Liberals had both sought a more satisfactory plan, and various measures had been introduced into parliament but had failed because of a lack of agreement of parties or of apparent means to carry out the proposed projects. Finally, in 1908, an Old Age Pension Act was passed. It provided that every man or woman who had reached the age of

seventy years and whose means of support did not amount to more than £31 10 s. (about \$155) a year should receive a pension from the national government. This pension varied in amount from one to five shillings a week according to the income which the person receiving the pension had from other sources. Claims for a pension could be made, and the pension was paid, through the nearest post office. Within five years of the passage of the act almost a million old men and women were receiving government pensions, nearly all of them the maximum amount, that is to say five shillings a week.

The debate on the pension bill brought up discussion of many similar questions. The Labor members claimed that aged working people ought to be looked on as "veterans of industry," whose labor had been the chief factor in the winning of England's wealth, and who could therefore claim support in their old age as a right, not merely as a charity. If this were so, their pensions should be much larger, but for this the majority in parliament was not ready. Mr. Asquith, however, who had just become prime minister, said concerning the act, "beyond this there lies the whole still unconquered territory of social reform." Soon afterward, in 1909, a commission on the poor laws which had been making investigations and taking testimony for the preceding three years made its report. It recommended a large number of changes in the law, and the minority of the committee made a separate report, urging still more extensive reforms. This "Minority Report" became a sort of program of projects for social betterment.

615. Help in Obtaining Employment. — One of the first of the more moderate reforms to be carried through was the adoption of a plan for aiding workmen to get employment. It is a sad fact that a vast number of workmen, ready and willing to work, are thrown out of employment from time to time, in the ups and downs of modern industry, from causes entirely beyond their own control, and, notwithstanding all their efforts, are often un-

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able to get work for weeks and months. Their savings are exhausted, they necessarily run into debt, regularity of habits is destroyed, and hope lost. An Unemployed Workmen Act was passed in 1905, but did not solve the problem. By the law which was passed in the fall of 1909 the ministry was authorized to establish a system of "labor exchanges." These were offices intended to bring together workmen needing positions and employers needing workmen, to aid workmen to reach places where their services were in demand, to give information about oppor-



A Government Labor Exchange

tunities for work, and for other similar purposes. The government made immediate use of this authorization and of the appropriation granted at the same time. Within six months some eighty of these government intelligence offices were opened in various cities, and by the end of two years there were about eighteen hundred with their branches in large and small towns. They were carefully organized. The whole country was divided into ten districts for their administration, each with a central office, and there was a main central office in London. Their officials were assisted by voluntary local committees, and they worked as far as possible in connection with trade unions and similar bodies. Much attention was given to placing such chil-

dren and young persons as came under their charge in positions where they would obtain industrial training. In 1912 there were about a million and a half applications for positions by working people, a million offers of positions by employers, and half a million vacancies filled.

616. Trade Boards for Setting a Minimum Wage. — It had long been a matter of observation that there were certain occupations in which wages were deplorably low, hours of labor excessive, and general working conditions very bad. These were the so-called "sweated" industries — occupations in which no trade union existed, usually carried on on a small scale by sub-contractors, in which the employees were largely foreigners or women, and where the usual standards of living were not conformed to.

As a means of partially overcoming these evils, a measure was passed by parliament in 1909 providing for the appointment of what were called Trade Boards. These boards consisted of members representing the employers, the workmen, and the government, and they had the power of setting minimum rates of wages in the particular locality and trade each board represented. This rate of wages for a while was voluntary only, but after it had been established for a certain length of time it became compulsory, and any employer who paid less was subject to a fine and must make up to the employee the deficiency in his wages. In the act these boards were authorized only for the ready-made clothing trades, paper-box making, lace making by machinery, and chain making, but the ministry was empowered to add other industries to these from time to time as need was shown. Trade Boards later were established in several other branches of labor.

617. Wage Boards for Coal Mines. — The law just described almost amounted to government regulation of wages, and was a partial return to the old statutes of laborers and act of apprentices, except that their object was in the main to keep wages

down while the object of this law was to keep wages up.¹ This principle, having been introduced in the "sweated" industries, was almost sure to be extended to others. This occurred three years afterward. In 1912 there was a great strike of coal miners, who demanded from the employing mine owners the establishment of a minimum rate of wages as a matter of union agreement. After this strike had lasted some weeks and caused much loss and suffering, the ministry introduced into parliament and carried an act by which a board was established in each coal district, consisting of appointees of the owners, the miners, and the government, to establish a rate as the lowest which could legally be paid in that district.

618. Social Security. — The law now gave relief in old age, compensation for losses from accident during work, and help in finding employment. A National Insurance Act went on to provide for support during illness, free medical attendance, treatment of consumptives in sanitariums, and care of women at childbirth. Allowances were also made in some trades for support during unemployment. This insurance was expensive, but instead of imposing the whole cost upon the government, as in the case of old-age pensions, the benefits were to be paid from a fund made up by requiring the contribution of a certain amount each week by the workman, a certain amount by the employer, and a certain amount by the government. These payments were compulsory for all members of the working classes and their employers. They were made by the purchase of stamps at the post-office, which were placed each week on a card. The money received by the government for the sale of the stamps was retained, and, along with the government's contribution, made up the insurance fund. Within a year after the passage of the act fourteen million persons were being insured by this means against sickness and two and a half million were being insured against unemployment.

¹ See pp. 244, 338.

619. Social Legislation. — In 1912 there was a further extension of the factory acts. A law was passed which required retail stores, — called in England shops, — restaurants, and similar establishments, to close one half day in each week besides Sunday. It also limited the hours of employment in such establishments to sixty hours a week, and made various provisions about time of closing, comfort of employees, and other such matters.

A number of other measures of this general character were either carried through parliament or introduced for discussion. Many of these were connected with education — the provision of free meals and free medical attendance at school for poor children, reformatory treatment of youthful ill-doers, vocational training, and a reorganization of the university system. Others were connected with the overcrowding and unhealthy building up of towns, government encouragement of the improvement of land, and an effort to break up the aristocratic monopoly of the ownership of land. With the exception of this last project, which deeply exasperated the Conservatives, it is a notable fact that there was very general agreement of both parties on measures of social reform. Differences of opinion were for the most part merely on the details of the measures. Even if the party in power had been defeated and a new ministry had come into office, most of the same measures would have been carried, although no doubt in a weaker form. A prominent member of the Conservative party said in the debate on the National Insurance Bill, "I will say that, believing as we do that you are animated by the sole desire to confer a lasting benefit upon all classes of the community, so we will aid you in the perfecting of the details of the scheme." A Labor member, in the same debate, declared that the Insurance Bill "marks a fundamental change in public opinion. . . . The old assumption . . . by which state aid and state organizations were regarded as something which ought to be suspected by every wise man has been thrown over . . . by everybody."

Another characteristic of this group of laws was the growing opinion during these years before the outbreak of the First World War that such legislation was the most important part of the work of government. Mr. Asquith, the prime minister, declared, "There is nothing that calls so loudly or so imperiously as the possibilities of social reform. . . . Political machinery is only valuable and is only worth having as it is adapted to and used for worthy social ends."

620. The New Taxes. — Social reforms, however, could not be carried through without raising other questions. One was the question of taxation. Many of these new laws, especially the Old Age Pension Act, required the expenditure of a great deal of money by the government. At the same time more was being spent for education, public buildings, and like purposes, and the army and navy, especially the latter, were constantly becoming more expensive. In 1909 the government had to face an expenditure of \$80,000,000 more than its yearly income. In forming his budget, or statement of probable expenses and the taxes proposed to meet them, for that year, David Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, and one of the most vigorous and influential of the ministers, suggested an entirely new plan.

Instead of raising the old taxes much higher, he proposed a new series of taxes which he considered would both increase the revenue and make the wealthy and landholding classes pay a more just proportion than before. The budget therefore became itself a plan for further social reform. In presenting it, Mr. Lloyd George asserted the necessity and the rightfulness of improving the condition of the working classes. He maintained that it was only fair that the wealthy classes of the country should pay a larger share of these national expenses than they had in the past. He declared, "This is a war budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have advanced a great step

toward that good time when poverty and wretchedness and human degradation which always follow in its camp will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests."

The taxes which were either new or so much increased as to be practically new were as follows: a tax of 20 per cent was placed on all increase in the value of land due to its nearness to towns or other general improvement of the neighborhood, not to any improvements placed on the land by the owner, — what is commonly called the "unearned increment." That is to say, whenever by sale, the death of the owner, or a periodical valuation it should be learned that land had increased in value, one fifth of this increase should be paid to the government as a tax. A small tax was laid on lands lying unused, a larger tax on the income from mining lands. Duties paid on estates of persons dying were to vary in amount from 1 per cent on estates of \$500 to 15 per cent on estates of \$5,000,000 and above. The ordinary income tax was increased, and a surtax, or additional tax, was placed on all incomes above \$25,000 a year. Finally, there was a large increase in the taxes on liquor, liquor licenses, and tobacco.

Although these taxes have since become familiar everywhere, they seemed then to many business men, to financiers, to liquor dealers, to wealthy people generally, and above all to owners of large landed property grossly unfair. These classes, especially the last, had long been the most influential classes in England, and strong opposition to the new taxes was therefore to be expected. Nevertheless the budget passed the House of Commons. In the House of Lords, however, there was a long conflict resulting in its defeat by a large majority.

621. Resistance of the House of Lords. — The control of the House of Commons over taxation had been long acknowledged. Resolutions were therefore passed by that House declaring that the House of Lords had acted unconstitutionally in defeating the budget. On the other hand, the leaders of the House of Lords

claimed that they were only exercising their right to force the ministry to have a new election before introducing great changes which had not been proposed when parliament was elected. The ministry ordered the temporary collection of the new taxes, just as if the House of Lords had not defeated the bill, and announced that parliament would be immediately dissolved and a new election held. If the same party was in a majority in the new parliament, the same budget would be reintroduced. The ministry also made the important announcement that they would soon introduce into parliament a bill making it impossible in the future for the House of Lords to oppose itself successfully to the deliberate will of the House of Commons.

622. Conflict between the Two Houses. — This brought up another question, and a very serious one. There had been many conflicts between the two Houses, especially when there was a Liberal majority in the House of Commons. The House of Lords, being made up of hereditary noblemen, bishops, and prominent men raised to the peerage comparatively late in life, naturally looked at questions from a conservative point of view, and were much influenced by considerations of large property and high social position. They had therefore opposed and frequently defeated measures of reform passed by large majorities in the House of Commons. It was claimed by many Liberals that whatever change of majority occurred in the House of Commons, there was always a Conservative majority in the House of Lords. The powers of that House seemed to them a permanent obstacle to the passage of acts for the good of the mass of the people, and real progress seemed impossible until this barrier had been removed.

Moreover, the House of Commons being elected and the House of Lords being made up for the most part of those who inherited their position, it seemed intolerable that the will of the people should be opposed by those who did not represent the people. This difficulty had come up frequently before, but in serious

cases the House of Lords had usually given way, and the question had never been brought to a settlement. In 1907 the House of Commons had adopted a statement of principle, "that in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single parliament the final decision of the Commons shall prevail." Nothing was then done to enforce this principle. The defeat of the budget, however, now brought it up in a definite form.

623. The Parliament Act. — The new elections were held in January, 1910. The Liberals again obtained a majority: not so large as in the last parliament, yet still, with the Irish Nationalists and the Labor party, they had a solid majority of more than a hundred. The budget was therefore brought in again, and this time it was passed by both Houses, though grudgingly by the House of Lords.

Then the larger question came up. The ministry introduced into the House of Commons a bill which, if passed into law, would give that House complete supremacy over the House of Lords. It was debated in parliament and discussed in a series of conferences between the leaders of the two parties during the whole year, but no compromise satisfactory to the two Houses could be agreed upon. Parliament was therefore dissolved in December, 1910, and new elections were held virtually on this one question. The majority was practically the same as before, and the ministers promptly reintroduced the same bill into the House of Commons. It was carried there without great difficulty. It had however to meet a natural opposition afterwards in the House of Lords. That body would be deprived of most of its powers if this law passed, and could not therefore be expected to agree to the proposed change without a struggle, even though a popular vote seemed to have declared in favor of the new law. The contest was a hard one, and, although the bill was not

directly defeated by the House of Lords, amendments were adopted which would have changed the nature of the bill completely and defeated the objects which the majority of the House of Commons had in view.

There was, however, one method by which the House of Commons could still have its way. Three times before in the past two centuries the king had, on the advice of the ministers, either made enough new peers to change the majority in the Upper House, or agreed to do so if it was necessary.¹ The ministers now once more secured the promise of the king to do the same thing if the opposition in the House of Lords should continue. There was a sharp conflict among the peers as to what action they should take, but they finally gave way, and, under the threat of having their numbers increased by a large number of new appointees favorable to the ministry, dropped their amendments and passed the bill as it was sent to them from the House of Commons. It is known as the Parliament Act of 1911. According to this law the budget, or any other money bill passed by the House of Commons, after it has been before the House of Lords for a month is to be signed by the king and become law whether the House of Lords approves it or not. Any other bill which has been passed three times by the House of Commons in three separate annual sessions and presented to the House of Lords each time is to be signed by the king and become a law, even if the House of Lords has disapproved it each time.

In the same act the longest time for which parliament can sit without holding a new election was reduced from seven years to five years. It was an old plan of the radical political reformers to shorten the term of parliament in order to give the people more frequent opportunity to express their will. The Chartist proposal had been to have a new parliament elected each year.² This was an approach to that term, especially as parliament is

¹ See pp. 541, 628, 665.

² See pp. 605, 638.

often dissolved and reelected for one reason or another before the expiration of its full possible term.

624. Payment of Members of Parliament. — In the same session another old proposal of the reformers was adopted. This was the payment of salaries to members of the House of Commons. It was an honor and distinction to be a member of parliament, and men of the well-to-do classes had therefore for two or three centuries been willing and anxious to serve without pay. The result was that the practice of paying them for their services had gone entirely out of use, and the House of Commons was consequently, for the most part, made up of men of means. Many believed, however, that the people would be better served if it were possible for men without wealth or independent fortunes to be their representatives in parliament. A number of the members of the Nationalist and Labor parties were supported by the funds of organizations interested in their membership; but in 1909 the courts decided, in what was known as the Osborne judgment, that trade unions could not use their general funds for this purpose. To meet this difficulty and carry out the idea of the reformers, the measure referred to above was passed in 1911. It provided for the payment to each member of the House of Commons of a salary of about \$2000 a year.

625. The Closing Days of Reform before the War. — Notwithstanding the many social, political, and financial reforms carried through parliament in the busy years from 1906 to 1912, much remained to be done if the many changes that were being advocated by various groups of the people were to be made. A campaign was being waged for women's suffrage, the struggle for Irish home rule was being carried on with vigor and some prospect of success, the labor movement was being pressed, and socialist organizations were taking shape and entering politics. Further expansion of the franchise was being urged and there was a project for disestablishing the English Church in Wales, as had been done in Ireland.

A few words must be said about the progress of each of these reform movements during the two years remaining before they were all brought to a sudden close by the crisis of 1914. In that year the interest of the people was necessarily turned to quite other objects until the reforms were taken up again in a changed world and some, at least, brought to completion.

626. Women's Suffrage. — The proposal to permit women to vote was an old subject of interest, going back at least to the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a matter of practical proposal it dates from the time of the second reform bill, 1867. When that bill was under discussion, John Stuart Mill, one of the clearest thinkers and most influential writers on political and economic questions in the nineteenth century, introduced a resolution to change the word "man" in the bill to "person," so as to include women. He had already declared, on his election in 1865, that he believed women should be represented in parliament, and in 1866 had introduced a petition for the suffrage signed by fifteen hundred women. His proposed amendment was defeated, but it received seventy-three votes, and from that time onward the matter was frequently brought up in parliament. When the Reform Bill of 1884 was under debate Mr. Gladstone, although himself apparently not opposed to women's suffrage, would not risk the bill by adding that subject to it, and proposed amendments for the purpose were opposed by him and defeated by large majorities.

627. Militancy. — In 1903 a new organization, The Women's Social and Political Union, was formed with the object of introducing a more vigorous policy into the agitation for women's suffrage. In 1905 they took means to bring the whole question into greater notice.

Active organizations for the promotion of the cause were formed and rapidly spread through the country. Its advocates held meetings and processions, appealed to members of parliament, published pamphlets, and established newspapers. Some

four hundred branches were said to have existed, with sixty thousand members pledged to its support. Thus the subject became a familiar one, rousing active discussion, especially among the upper and the upper middle class of society.

They invented new kinds of propaganda, much of it very distasteful to those not interested in the cause. They interrupted speakers at public meetings, and even in the House of Commons and during church services, with cries of their slogan, "Votes for Women!" They broke windows in offices and public buildings with stones or hammers, scattering in the neighborhood slips of paper with "Votes for Women!" printed on them. They went so far in their hysteria as to set off bombs, to destroy mail by pouring acid or glue into the letter boxes, and to slash with knives paintings in the National Gallery, — all with the excuse of calling attention to their demands. In 1908 those who disapproved of "militancy," as it was called, split off from the violent party, and at about the same time a society opposed to women's suffrage was formed. In 1912 the subject was introduced again into parliament, but no final vote was taken upon it; with the outbreak of war in 1914 the agitation, along with other peacetime discussions, was dropped.

628. Irish Home Rule. — The most difficult internal question in this period was the old problem of Irish home rule. But, however difficult it might be, the ministry was bound to take it up, because the Irish Nationalists, the party organized especially for the purpose of securing it, made up a substantial part of the majority on which the Liberal ministry had to rely. Moreover, it was a part of the Liberal party platform, and it had been clearly understood at the elections held in 1910 that, if the Liberals should obtain a majority, home rule for Ireland would be a part of their policy. Their success in the elections required them to carry out their pledges.

A home rule bill was, therefore, introduced into parliament in the spring of 1912. It provided for a separate parliament for Ire-

land, to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons, both to be elected. Certain representatives of Ireland would also continue to sit in the imperial parliament. The Irish parliament could make laws for Ireland, although certain subjects were excepted, and the government of Ireland would be carried on by ministers subject to the control of the Irish parliament. A lord lieutenant would continue to represent the king. Provisions were made concerning money and other matters. Although the bill was debated almost continuously through the year 1912, interest in England was not nearly so keen as it had been when the subject was up before. In Ireland, on the other hand, feeling on the subject was intense. An Irish national convention held in Dublin approved the bill, and the societies of Irish Nationalist sympathizers in the United States and the colonies sent over their congratulations.

629. Opposition of Ulster. — Strong opposition, however, showed itself in Ulster, the group of counties in the north of Ireland whose inhabitants were mainly descended from the Scotch and English settlers of the seventeenth century.¹ There are many differences between Ulster and the other parts of Ireland. Its inhabitants are mainly Protestant, while the rest of Ireland is mainly Roman Catholic; its interests are largely commercial and manufacturing, while the rest of the country is principally agricultural; it is more wealthy and enterprising. The ministry tried to meet the difficulties arising from these differences by including in the bill provisions that no religious distinction should ever be made by the Irish parliament, and reserving a number of other points for the control of the imperial parliament. Nevertheless, although all the rest of Ireland, including the Catholics of Ulster, — together making up about four fifths of the population of the whole island, — was strongly desirous of the passage of the home rule bill, the Protestants of Ulster withheld their agreement, fearing that they would be at a dis-

¹ See p. 405.

advantage if subjected to the rule of the Roman Catholic and agricultural majority in a parliament at Dublin. The opposition on the part of Ulster was strengthened by the active support of the Conservative and Unionist leaders in England, who not only sympathized with the opposition to home rule but saw in the contest a possible opportunity to secure the defeat of the ministry and bring their own party into power. They therefore encouraged the Ulster opposition in every way.

Threats of armed resistance to the authority of a home rule parliament if it were formed were widely made. In September, 1912, a "Solemn Covenant" was signed by more than four hundred thousand men and women, in imitation of the agreement sworn to by their Scotch forefathers in the seventeenth century. They pledged themselves to do everything possible to defeat the plan of setting up a separate parliament in Ireland, and if it were done, to refuse to recognize its authority. The principal leader in this agitation was Sir Edward Carson, one of the representatives in parliament from Ulster. Later the "Ulster Volunteers" were organized, drilled, and secretly provided with arms, and took their oath to oppose any attempt to introduce any government in Ireland except that of the imperial parliament. The Roman Catholic portions of Ireland were spurred to activity by this threat to prevent home rule. The "National Volunteers" were soon formed there, and civil war in Ireland became a serious danger. In December, 1913, the ministry prohibited the introduction of more arms into Ireland, but both bodies of Volunteers secured additional supplies by "gun-running," that is to say, unloading cargoes of guns at unusual places on the coast and at night. In September, 1913, the leaders of the Ulstermen organized a "Provisional Government" which was to take charge of Ulster as soon as any attempt should be made to put Ulster under the authority of an Irish parliament.

There was much sympathy with the Ulster opposition among the officers of the army, and when early in the year 1914 some

regiments were ordered to the north of Ireland to put down possible disorder, a number of the highest officers demanded guarantees from the ministry that they would not be called upon to force home rule on Ulster. Disputes in connection with this led to the retirement of about a hundred of the officers and to the resignation of the minister of war. The officers were subsequently restored, but the government issued an order forbidding officers in the future to inquire what service they were to be called upon to perform.

630. A Short-Lived Home Rule Act. — Notwithstanding the opposition and danger of armed conflict in Ireland, and long and bitter debates in parliament, the home rule bill was carried by a substantial majority in the House of Commons in January, 1913. It then went to the House of Lords, where it was, as was anticipated, immediately defeated by an overwhelming majority. It was again carried through the House of Commons in the summer of 1913, and an attempt was made to secure better success in the House of Lords by introducing at the same time an amending bill; but this also was unsatisfactory, and although the same bill was passed by the House of Commons for a third time and therefore had to be signed by the king, its enforcement was postponed and the problem of satisfying Ireland remained unsettled when the war broke out in 1914.

631. The Great Strikes of 1911 and 1912. — Notwithstanding the many measures, intended to improve the position of the mass of the people, that were in process of being carried through parliament, there was still great dissatisfaction among workingmen. As a result there were many strikes; sometimes for higher wages and improved working conditions, sometimes for what was called the "closed shop," that is to say, exclusion of all except members of the union from the establishment. In the years 1911 and 1912 occurred three great strikes which disturbed England more than any earlier labor struggles and, while they lasted, brought much of the industry of the country to a stand-

still. The first was a great railway strike. The four important railway unions merged their interests and grievances and agreed to act together. More than two hundred thousand men went out and for a few days scarcely a train ran in England or Scotland. There were serious riots, the troops were called out to keep order and protect property, and several persons were shot and killed. The government then intervened, and a series of compromises, pressed upon both parties and more or less unsatisfactory to both, gradually brought the strike to an end.

In February and March of the next year, 1912, occurred a great coal strike of more than a million miners, which has already been described.¹ Notwithstanding the intervention of the government and the establishment of wage boards in the coal-mining industry, much dissatisfaction with the rates settled upon by the joint boards continued to exist among the men. An increase of wages for many of the workmen was obtained by negotiation some months later, but there still remained much dissatisfaction.

The third of this group of strikes was in the main restricted to London. Here the Transport Workers' Federation, uniting all branches of labor connected with the loading and unloading of ships and the hauling of the goods from the wharves, struck in May, 1912. More than eighty thousand men went out. A commission was appointed by the ministry to examine into the circumstances. This committee reported that, although both parties had broken the engagements they had formerly entered into, yet the men had substantial grievances. But the government declined to go further and to intervene in any compulsory manner, as it had done in the case of the miners' strike. In order to prevent suffering by the community for lack of transport of the necessities of life, the ministry provided police protection to the employers and their non-union workmen engaged in unloading and hauling goods, although they announced that they did not

¹ See p. 691.

intend to take sides in the dispute. Many violent speeches were made and hard feelings expressed, but there was comparatively little disorder. Work on the docks is largely unskilled labor, and there were many men out of employment who were secured temporarily to fill the places of the strikers. Amidst much bitterness and dire suffering, therefore, the men were gradually starved out, and the strike was an entire failure.

632. Rise of Industrial Unions. — The principal influence that led to the occurrence of these great strikes, as well as to many lesser ones, was the rise of a more active and radical element among the trade unionists. The older unions were made up of men of one occupation only, usually highly trained workmen. They were "craft" unions. There were others in industries that included men of different occupations, many of them unskilled. These were known as "industrial" unions. There was an impression that the older "craft" unions were no longer doing much for the great mass of workingmen. It was believed that the older unions were strong, comparatively rich, well settled in their ways, satisfied with what they had already obtained, and under the influence of their older and more prosperous members. The older unions were looked upon as, in a certain sense, aristocratic and more interested in their insurance funds than in wages and hours of labor. The industrial unions and radical members in all the unions, therefore, during strikes and in the trade-union congresses, advocated making higher demands upon the government and upon their employers. A split thus occurred among trade-unionists; the new unionists threw off what they considered the existing apathy of labor, brought about many contests, and adopted much more vigorous methods of seeking their ends.

633. Socialistic Proposals. — Much of the greater activity both of the government in its social reforms and of workingmen in their labor struggles was no doubt due to the partial acceptance of that general group of principles known as socialism.

This is too large and difficult a subject to be discussed here, but one proposal that came up repeatedly was for all production to be carried on by the government. There would be no privately owned factories, mines, stores, ships, railroads, or farms. All these would belong to the government and be carried on by men in the employment of the whole community, just as the post office is carried on. Other proposals of a socialistic nature attracted more or less support.

Robert Owen and others early in the nineteenth century tried to introduce reforms which were of a socialistic nature. Later, about the middle of the century, Charles Kingsley and the so-called Christian Socialists encouraged coöperation and other plans for eliminating some of the evils of private business, and much of the teaching of Carlyle, Ruskin, and other writers tended in the same direction. But the first considerable body of men and women who advocated socialism in any definite way were those who in 1883 formed the society they called the Social Democratic Federation. Many of its early members were prominent in literature and art, the best-known perhaps being William Morris.

At about the same time another organization was formed, also largely drawn from the intellectual and well-to-do class, whose object was not so much to strive for the immediate adoption of socialistic reforms as to spread as widely as possible a knowledge of the principles of socialism. The most prominent, probably, of its early members was George Bernard Shaw. Since they proposed to follow a policy of awaiting a favorable time, they called themselves the Fabian Society, after the Roman general Fabius, who adopted this plan of overcoming the Carthaginians. For the purpose of extending its ideas it published the *Fabian Essays*, and its members have written several hundred tracts, delivered numerous lectures, and spread their principles through newspapers, in conversation, and in every other practicable way.

Somewhat later, socialism took a more definite hold on the

working classes. A number of the more aggressive labor leaders, who have been spoken of as the representatives of the new unionism, especially John Burns, Tom Mann, Ben Tillet, and Keir Hardie, brought about the organization of the Independent Labor party, with the object of securing separate representation in parliament, and in 1893 this body adopted a platform declaring for a distinctly socialistic policy. It joined, for elections, the new Labor party, formed in 1900. Their representatives in parliament soon rose in number from eleven to forty-three and formed, as already stated, a strong and well-organized section of the party in power. In addition to these and other socialist societies there was a widespread acceptance of many of the same ideas by men who did not call themselves socialists. This was shown by their willingness to support social reforms which limited the rights of private property and extended the functions of government.

634. Disestablishment of the Welsh Church. — One subject of reform brought up at this time had no connection with the labor movement. There was much opposition in Wales to the privileged position of the church of England in that province, and an agitation long existed to take away its official powers there, just as it had been disestablished in Ireland in 1869. Members of the church of England in Wales were only about one quarter of the church members of all denominations there, and three other religious bodies had each as many adherents. It seemed absurd therefore that the one body should have control of all the old religious and charitable endowments and occupy a specially favored position. Almost all the members of parliament from Wales demanded the disestablishment and disendowment of the official church, and a bill was introduced for that purpose in 1895 but failed of passage. Another was introduced in 1909 but withdrawn. In 1910 a royal commission of investigation reported, showing that on the whole the church of England in Wales was doing its work well and growing, but

not more than the other denominations. In 1912 a new disestablishment bill was introduced. It provided that a large part of the ancient endowments of the church, which were considered as public property, should be turned over little by little to a body of commissioners. These commissioners were to hand this property over to the county councils and Welsh colleges, to be applied to libraries, hospitals, dispensaries, free public halls, and other philanthropic objects. The Anglican church would have to organize as a voluntary body and must in the main, like other churches, look for its support to private contributors, but to it were left all the cathedrals and parish churches. The bill was warmly debated and finally carried by a small majority only, many Liberals sympathizing with the supporters of the old Welsh church and voting against them reluctantly and only from party allegiance. Disestablishment, although determined upon by this law, was, like many other social changes, left for its completion till after the war.

635. Accession of George V. — Edward VII died in 1910. His oldest son had died before him; therefore his second son, who became George V, came to the throne in that year. At the time of his accession he was not very well known. He had been trained at sea. Although not a man of great mental powers, he was honest and anxious to do his duty. He showed himself simple in his manner, straightforward, and willing to conform to the requirements of his constitutional position. He had a long reign, extending to 1936, much of which was in a very troubled period; long before its end he had gained the confidence and deep affection of the people. He married his second cousin, Princess Mary of Teck, who proved a strong and helpful consort. The English people have been as fortunate in their sovereigns in recent times as they were unfortunate somewhat earlier. The devotion of the kings to their duty has served as an example to the nation.

The essentially small part the king now plays in the govern-

ment, however, is indicated by the slight attention it has been necessary to give to King Edward VII and, later, to George V in the discussions of the important social and political events of this period. All real political power is exercised by the ministry in office at the time and by the majority in parliament, on which their right to act is based; the members of parliament, in turn, draw their powers from their election by the people. The king embodies the national unity, exercises some indirect personal influence over the ministers, and serves as the intermediary with foreign governments; as a center of national patriotism he is, with his family, an object of national affection.

The kingship is the only position in the country not subject to the struggle for political, social, or economic power. One of the few ways in which the king is able to exert political influence is by drawing the various parts of the empire closer together. Immediately after his accession George made a series of visits, with the queen, the Prince of Wales, and his only daughter, the Princess Royal, to Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, where numerous hospitals, new libraries, and other public buildings were hurriedly finished so that they might be opened by the king.

The next year, 1911, a longer journey was made. This was the visit of the king and queen to India, where for the first time an English ruler in person was crowned emperor of India. The Durbar, or meeting of the Indian princes for this purpose, was held at Delhi, the old capital of the early emperors. The ceremonies were carried out with Oriental magnificence, and proclamations were issued by the new emperor announcing various changes in the government of India, the most important of which was the transfer of the central government from Calcutta, the principal commercial city, to Delhi.

636. Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911. — A conference of representatives of the four self-governing colonies, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand, had been held at London in connection with the queen's diamond jubilee in 1897.

This was the first of a long series of such imperial conferences. A second was called in 1902 as a result of the closer relations between Great Britain and the dominions during the Boer War. In this conference a fifth dominion, South Africa, was included, but despite the efforts of the colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, to arrange a common customs union for the whole empire, neither this nor any other large result was attained. In the third conference, that of 1907, this matter of tariffs made further progress toward general acceptance, notwithstanding England's traditional devotion to free trade. In 1911 a new step was taken, when Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, took the colonial representatives into the confidence of the ministry by appearing before them and giving a full and official explanation of British international relations. A naval defense system also was adopted, by which warships should be built by each of the colonies, and a navy maintained on the model of that of Great Britain, in time of peace, and put at the disposal of the mother country in time of war. The next year there was a special visit to England of Mr. Borden, prime minister of Canada, and some of his colleagues, for discussion of the whole subject of naval defense. The conference of 1911 also recommended the adoption of a common system of imperial naturalization, the establishment of government wireless stations in all countries of the empire, and a commission for the development of the productions and natural resources of the whole empire. It was also resolved that in future the colonial governments should be consulted when agreements which affected the colonies were being entered into by Great Britain with other countries.

637. The Army and Navy. — The serious attention given in the colonial conferences to military and naval affairs indicated the danger felt by the government of being plunged into a foreign war. The condition of the British islands is peculiar. Their small size and large population make them dependent for

their food supply on foreign countries. The occupation of the greater portion of the people in manufactures, commerce, mining, and personal service rather than in agriculture increases this dependence. Of every five bushels of grain or barrels of flour used in England, four came from abroad, only one was produced in the country; of the meat, more than one half was imported. Of lesser articles of food, like eggs, fruit, and fresh vegetables, a very large proportion was brought from France, Holland, and Denmark. In order to get her food, therefore, England must preserve control of the sea. If during a war any foreign nation should be in a position to prevent vessels with grain, meat, and other food from coming into English ports, she would soon be brought to the edge of starvation and would have to submit to any terms the other country cared to impose upon her. She has, besides, colonies in all parts of the world, and lines of commerce, which must be protected against foreign interference.

It had therefore been the policy of all parties in England to keep her navy stronger than any probable combination of enemies. This now was made difficult by the increase in the strength of the fleet of Germany, with which England felt herself more likely to come into conflict than with any other country. England built, therefore, within the ten years from 1902 to 1912 some 60 battleships, 130 cruisers, 200 destroyers, and 75 submarines. Naval expenditures rose to about \$250,000,000 a year. A naval war staff was created in 1912 to strengthen the organization of the navy.

To her army England did not pay nearly so much attention. Instead of making all men serve for a certain number of years, as is customary in most of the countries of Europe, she kept up a standing army of less than two hundred thousand men. There was, however, a fear that this was insufficient; and, in addition, reserves, a territorial army, and a militia were organized for use in case of war. Much of Salisbury Plain, a wide, barren upland

in southwestern England, was purchased by the government for use as a camping, training, and manœuvring place for troops and as a possible battle ground in case of invasion. In drill, experience, and equipment these reserves and territorial troops were, however, necessarily inferior to the standing armies of the other principal countries of Europe. Great Britain relied on her fleet to protect her from invasion, and on her disinclination to war to avoid the necessity for the use of troops as an attacking body.

A new branch of military activity arose with the invention and development of airplanes. In 1912 a Royal Flying Corps was organized, with a branch for the army and one for the navy, a government aircraft factory was established, air stations prepared, and a training ground set apart on Salisbury Plain. The total annual expenditure for national defense amounted in 1912 to about \$375,000,000, an average of about \$8 a year for each man, woman, and child in Great Britain. All this military equipment, however, as events were soon to prove, was but an inadequate preparation for the needs of the immediate future.

638. Summary of the Period 1906-1914. — The period from 1906 to the outbreak of war in August, 1914, was marked by a body of social legislation bolder and more extensive than had ever before been adopted in England. It was somewhat similar in character to the period of reform between 1829 and 1846, and to that of the reforms carried through by Mr. Gladstone in his great administration between 1868 and 1874, but its measures came closer home to the people and introduced more fundamental changes than those of either of those periods.¹ They were, it is true, "class legislation," taking away from the upper classes many privileges they had long enjoyed and improving the position of the lower classes, who had long suffered from the irregularities of existing society; but such changes are the

¹ See pp. 623-644, 658-663.

natural fruits of democracy. These changes required new expenditure by government just at a time when there was also need for greatly increased expenditure for the army and the navy. The new taxes thereby made necessary were so arranged as to cause the upper classes to pay a higher proportion of the costs of government than they had done in the past, thus again favoring the recently enfranchised masses of the people.

In the political field, the Parliament Act of 1911, which took away most of the power of the House of Lords and made the House of Commons the real ruling power in England, and the custom of paying members of the House of Commons, introduced in the same year, carried a long step further the process of putting the powers of government into the hands of the mass of the people.

In addition to the social and political changes consummated in this period, agitation for Irish home rule, for women's suffrage, and for carrying still further the equality of the right to vote filled the annals of the time. Trade unions were carrying their claims further both by strikes and by what was called "direct action," that is, by votes in parliament. Socialistic proposals were being brought into general discussion. Somewhat greater unity of the empire was being attained. But in foreign affairs, clouds were rising on the horizon that finally led in 1914 to the outbreak of war, which brought to a close this devotion to internal reform. It turned the attention of the people to new needs and made new demands on their patriotism.

General Reading. — *The New International Year Book*, which has appeared annually since 1901, gives a full and useful summary of historical events. *Hazell's Annual* and the *Labor Year Book* have devoted themselves to matters of social and economic interest. The fullest general work on English social reform in this and adjacent periods is PIPKIN, CHARLES W., *Social Politics and Modern Democracies*, 2 vols., 1931. The first volume is devoted to England, the second to France. FLICK, A. C., revised by BOWDEN, WITT, *Modern World History since 1775, A Survey of the Origin and Development of Contemporary Civilization*, 1935, gives a valuable introduction to the social

questions that have been so prominent in this period and ever since. ALDEN, PERCY, *Democratic England*. OGG, F. A., *Economic Development of Modern Europe*. USHER, A. P., *Industrial History of England*. CHEYNEY, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*. Although textbooks give attention to different phases of the subject and have bibliographical references, FAWCETT, MILDRED, *A History of Women Suffrage*, PANKHURST, E. D., *The Suffrage Movement*, 1931, and METCALF, AGNES E., *Women's Effort: A Chronicle of Women's Struggle for Citizenship*, are three books that testify to the contemporary interest in that subject. WEBB, S., and WEBB, B., *The History of Trade Unions*, 1920. CRAIK, W. W., *A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement*. DICKINSON, G. L., *The International Anarchy, 1904-1914*, 1926. BEER, M., *History of British Socialism*, 2 vols., 1919-1920. This thorough and interesting work covers a much longer period than that of this chapter, but is fundamental to the subject. MACDONALD, J. R., *The Socialist Movement*, 1911, a small but suggestive book. FOSTER, ARNOLD, *English Socialism of Today*. HOLYOAKE, G. J., *The History of Cooperation in England*, 2 vols., 1877 (latest edition 1906); the classical work on the subject, containing many details, often irrelevant, concerning the early history of the movement. REDFERN, PERCY, *The Story of the Cooperative Wholesale Society*, 1913.

[**Contemporary** [Sources. — There is little distinction between the statements of belief and the formation of plans that are the subjects of this chapter, and the efforts that have been made to carry them out. For their contemporary history, their own records must be read.

Poetry and Fiction. — ROBINS, ELIZABETH, *The Convert*, is a suffrage story. SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD, *John Bull's Other Island*, 1904, refers to the Home Rule struggle; *Man and Superman*, *Major Barbara*, *Androcles and the Lion*, *Getting Married*, and other plays by the same author which appeared during this period are more or less illustrative of the time. BESANT, WALTER, *Children of Gibeon*, is a characteristic story of labor conditions in London.

Special Topics. — (1) Old Age Pension Act of 1908 and its successors, CHEYNEY, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*, pp. 338-349, and PIPKIN, *Social Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 103-113; (2) Growth of the Labor Party, *ibid.*, pp. 308-311; (3) Social Legislation, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 33-63; (4) A League to Enforce Peace, *International Conciliation*, No. 106; (5) The Establishment of the Irish Free State, *ibid.*, Nos. 121-122, 168-173; (6) Communism and Socialism, ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY *Readings in Modern European History*, pp. 483-505; (7) Japan and China at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century, *ibid.*, pp. 427-441.

CHAPTER XXII

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-1918

639. Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. — During the period covered by the last chapter, 1906 to 1914, while England's internal interests were so largely devoted to questions of social conflict and reform, externally she was being drawn deeper and deeper into the foreign complications of the time. There was unavoidable rivalry between her and the other great nations of Europe — Russia, France, Germany, and Italy — and even with the United States and distant Japan. Each of these was trying to build up a trading and colonial empire; each had a national pride that resented any real or seeming inferiority to the others. Especially with Germany was this rivalry of growing intensity. From about 1890 German industry had been seeking in various parts of the world an outlet for its products and sources of raw materials for its use. In several of these regions Great Britain, because of the earlier growth of her trade and manufactures, had long had a practical monopoly, and in several of them, through emigration, conquest, or mere occupation, had established colonies.¹

Germany also was now looking for colonies, though England, Spain, France, and Holland had long secured the pick of the available parts of the earth. Between 1880 and 1890 she seized lands in Africa and somewhat later obtained island colonies in the Far East in imitation of Great Britain's far-flung empire.

A still greater source of ill-feeling between England and Ger-

¹ See pp. 668-678.

many was the latter's policy of building up a strong merchant and war navy. This offended and alarmed England, which had so long been "mistress of the seas" that any serious rivalry on the ocean made her fear for her empire and even for her national safety. As has already been said, England's dependence on importations for her food supply, and the requirement to defend her empire and her lines of trade, had induced her always to keep up a navy calculated to be equal in strength to the navies of any other two countries. Germany, by her navy law of 1900, adopted a program of shipbuilding that made this extremely difficult, and indeed threatened to reduce England's navy to second place.

The international rivalries of this time had been met by the formation of alliances among the continental countries, intended to ward off war or to give greater strength in case of war. One of the strongest of these after 1890 was the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy.

England's traditional policy had long been what one of her foreign ministers had described as "splendid isolation," that is, avoidance of involvement in any of these alliances, relying on her own naval and financial strength and her freedom from any warlike ambitions. But isolation was no longer safe. With the increasing intensity of international disputes and the rising power of Germany, England felt the weakness of her position and in 1907 somewhat reluctantly joined the alliance already existing between France and Russia in what became known as the "Triple Entente."

The connection of England with France and Russia was merely an understanding that their international interests were very similar and that in a general way they would support one another, not a regularly signed alliance. Nevertheless it was strengthened by support given from time to time by one country to the other. In 1911, when a difficulty arose between Germany and France concerning their interests in Morocco, the English

government indicated that it would not leave France isolated in its settlement.

A defense treaty between England and Japan, entered into in the first place in 1902, was expanded into a formal alliance in 1905, and strengthened and continued for ten years more in 1911. It bound the two countries to act together for the purpose of keeping the peace in eastern Asia, preserving China from seizure by other countries, and defending their own special interests in that part of the world. In 1912 the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy was renewed for a period of seven more years, and various opportunities were taken in France, Russia, and England to remind the world and one another of the continued existence of the Entente among these three great powers.

640. The Murder at Sarajevo; the Outbreak of War. — In July, 1914, the great war which all the countries of Europe had been anticipating for years, trying to avoid or postpone, and yet at the same time preparing for, suddenly broke out. The immediate occasion for the war was a dispute between Austria and the little adjoining country of Serbia. June 28, 1914, the Crown Prince of Austria and his wife were assassinated by a Serb in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The Austrian government held Serbia responsible for this murder and for the many plots among Austrian subjects of the same race as the Serbians. She therefore made certain harsh and peremptory demands upon Serbia which that country refused to accept. Austria thereupon declared war upon her. Russia, which looked upon herself as the protector of Serbia and other small states of the Slavic race to which her people belonged, and which was, moreover, unwilling to see Austria's power increased by the probable conquest of Serbia, immediately protested, threatened to declare war on Austria, and began the mobilization of her troops.

Germany, claiming that Russia with her army once in the field might attack her, declared she would support her ally, Austria

proceeded to mobilize her vast army, and on August 1 declared war on Russia. This involved France, which immediately prepared to put her army in the field. Germany then declared war on France. Thus two of the countries of the Triple Alliance were at war with two of the Triple Entente. For a few days it was uncertain what England would do. Her foreign minister tried to bring the hostile countries to agree to a conference for the settlement of their differences without going to war, but unsuccessfully. Germany offered England various terms if she would remain neutral during the war, but none that the English government felt that they could honorably accept. Germany then announced that she had reason to believe that France was preparing to attack her through Belgium, that "necessity knows no law," and that she would have to disregard the treaties by which Belgium, which lay on the easiest route between Germany and France, was protected from invasion. England then inquired from France whether she would respect the neutral rights of Belgium, and France agreed to do so. When Germany began to march her armies through Belgium, England, on August 4, declared war upon her. The great war was therefore begun, so far as England was concerned, mainly because she was not willing to see Belgium invaded without coming to her help, but partly also, no doubt, because she felt that she must aid her two allies and because she dreaded the results to herself of German success. Three of the ministers resigned rather than take the responsibility of carrying on the war, and Lord Kitchener, although a Conservative, became Secretary of State for War.

641. Japan and Turkey join in the War. — Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, claiming that her own interests were not involved, that her allies were the attacking, not the attacked, parties, and being at heart antagonistic to Austria, refused to support that country and Germany and declared herself neutral. All the other countries of Europe, the United

States, and other American countries also declared their neutrality. In the Far East, on the other hand, Japan, on the ground that she was carrying out the principle of her alliance with England, that of keeping peace and protecting China from other foreign influences, demanded that Germany withdraw from Kiao-chow, her one foothold in China, and dismantle her few ships of war in the East until the war was over. Germany sent no reply to this demand; Japan thereupon declared war upon her, sent a military and naval force, in September, 1914, to attack the harbor and defenses of Kiao-chow, and in November captured them, as well as a number of scattered islands in the Pacific formerly in the possession of Germany. In the same month Turkey also entered the war, but on the side of Germany and Austria.

642. First Battles in Belgium and France. — The Germans apparently believed that Belgium would not resist when they demanded a passage across that country to the French border, and offered to restore her territories to her unharmed or with compensation for losses when the war was over. But the Belgians, deeply stung in their national pride, unwilling to participate in this violation of international agreements, knowing that they had strong forts and a well-prepared, even if small, army, and trusting to the help of France and England, refused their consent. When Germany then declared war upon them and began to march across their borders they resisted in a series of brave, hard-fought, and destructive battles. But the enormous mass of the German army and its equipment of siege guns were too powerful, and their allies were too far away, for the Belgians to have more than temporary success against the invaders. Step by step they were forced to fall back, leaving their country, with the exception of a narrow strip in the extreme west, in the possession of the Germans. There was vast loss of life in the armies, and most deplorable suffering among the peaceful people, and destruction of public and private buildings.

Early in August the first detachment of English troops crossed the Channel and united with the French army. Later others were sent over as they were recruited, drilled, and equipped in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. As in the Boer War, the great self-governing colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and now South Africa immediately offered troops and supplies, and the native princes of British India likewise offered their troops, money, and their own services. All these were accepted by the home government and gradually brought into the field. But the non-military character of England, and still more of the colonies, made the preparation and equipment of these troops a slow matter. By common consent all conflict between parties on questions of internal policy, such as home rule, women's suffrage, and labor questions, was suspended, and unanimous action took place for the financial and other support of the ministry in carrying on the war.

In the meantime the Germans fought their way through Belgium and northern France until they almost reached the suburbs of Paris. Then the fortunes of war changed and they retreated about fifty miles to the northeast, followed closely by the French and British armies. This first victory of the Allies, won between September 5 and September 10, 1914, is known as the first battle of the Marne. The Germans, after their retreat, established themselves in entrenchments carefully prepared in favorable locations along the ridges of eastern France, and successfully withstood further efforts of the French and British to drive them back. Thus began the long war of the trenches, which continued on this western battle front, extending all the way to the Channel, for more than four years. The year 1914 closed with a series of stubbornly fought and bloody battles along this line.

643. The Western Front, 1915-1917. — During the next year there were numerous engagements between these armies facing one another but nothing decisive was accomplished, although

asphyxiating gas, liquid fire, hand grenades, machine guns, high explosives, and other destructive devices were largely used. Great Britain gradually increased her number of men in France. By the close of 1915 she had more than a million, and by the end of 1916 more than two million, men on the fighting fronts. There was a still greater increase in cannon and ammunition, partly imported from America, but more and more, as time went on, produced by British munition works. By the middle of 1917 there were five million men and women in Great Britain engaged in work connected with the war, a great part of them working in munition factories. As a result of this increase in men and equipment the British took over from the French a large part of the battle line, and joined with them in the task of trying to drive the enemy from France and Belgium.

From February to August, 1916, the Germans made a terrific but unsuccessful attack on the French forces around the great fortress of Verdun. When this was over, the British and French began a long-continued and frequently suspended but never abandoned drive forward against the Germans, sometimes on one part of the line, sometimes on another. The battle which extended from July to September, 1916, is known as the battle of the Somme. A later movement was directed against the Ancre Valley and still another against Vimy Ridge; another takes its name from the city of Arras, and another big advance was made east of the city of Ypres. As a result of these repeated attacks and of those made by the French along their part of the line the Germans, early in 1917, withdrew a considerable distance to new and stronger positions known as the Hindenburg Line.

For the purpose of advancing against the entrenchments and barbed-wire entanglements, especially on the ridges, the English brought into military use a new weapon, tanks, which were immense, heavily armored motor trucks. In place of wheels, they ran on long caterpillar treads, which enabled them to pass over trenches and deep holes, to break their way through barbed-

wire entanglements, and to climb the ridges even against concentrated fire from the enemy.

These attacks against the front of the German lines cost a terrible price in life, suffering, and ammunition, but they gradually pushed the invaders back from the parts of France and Belgium which they had conquered.

644. Proposals for a Negotiated Peace. — From the beginning of the war there was a small but earnest group of pacifists in parliament, with a considerable party behind them in the country, who used every opportunity to urge entering into negotiations to bring the war to an end. In February, 1915, the Labor party at its convention demanded that peace should be made as soon as possible, and at several periods influential bodies among the trade-unionists declared for an early peace. In February, 1916, the pacifists forced a debate in the House of Commons on the whole question of war aims and the possibility of peace. On the occasion of a German peace offer and a note by the President of the United States, in December, 1916, they again brought the matter up in parliament and made it the subject of debate.

In the spring of 1917 a revolution broke out in Russia, and the new government withdrew its troops from the field and declared for an early peace "without annexations and without indemnities." The pacifists in England believed that the working classes and liberal elements in Germany could be induced to overthrow their warlike government if liberal war aims were announced by the Allied governments. In January of 1917 President Wilson, in an address before the Senate, suggested possible conditions of peace; it was proposed by the Socialists to hold an international conference at Stockholm which might exercise an influence for peace; in August the Pope sent a letter to all the belligerent powers urging peace. Mr. Henry Ford paid the expenses of a "peace ship" to go to Europe and work for peace, hoping to "get the boys out of the trenches before Christmas."

On November 29, 1917, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who had repeatedly served as minister of foreign affairs but was not now in office, declared that an attempt should be made to bring about peace before "the prolongation of the war leads to the ruin of the civilized world," and urged a clearer and more liberal statement of the war aims of the British Empire to the people of Germany.

Each of these proposals or efforts awakened some response in England; but as the war progressed, popular feeling became more and more nearly unanimous that it should be fought out to the bitter end. Organized workingmen became more satisfied that the war should be continued until what Lloyd George described as a "knockout blow" should be given to Germany.

Intimations came from both Germany and Austria that some kind of negotiated peace was possible, but the harsh terms of the peace imposed by the Germans upon the Russians at Brest-Litovsk convinced many otherwise inclined to peace that the German government was still confident of obtaining military victory over all opponents, and the war must therefore be continued.

645. Compulsory Military Service. — During 1914 and 1915 recruiting for additions to the army was carried on by seeking volunteers, and an active army of 1,500,000 soldiers was thus secured. Many volunteered in the hope and confidence that this would be the last war, that it was a "war to end war." The need for additional men, however, led to an agitation for compulsory military service, such as was required in the continental countries. Although the proposal was at first strongly opposed by a great part of the Liberal party and by almost the whole Labor party, opposition to it became less and less, and in February, 1916, partial conscription was adopted; in May a more complete conscription act was passed, making all men from eighteen to forty-one years of age liable to military service. Ireland was not subject to this act, and conscientious objectors

to war also were exempted. Early in the war a bill had been passed for the registration of all men and women from fifteen to sixty-five years of age, to determine how they could be most usefully employed. This act was extremely unpopular, and the ministry was forced to explain that it did not signify the "conscription of labor." In March, 1917, however, a National Service Bill was passed, enrolling all men between the ages of eighteen and sixty-one; those not called for military service were made subject to call, though not by actual compulsion, for any work to which the government should assign them; none were to be paid less than \$6.25 a week. This the Labor party agreed to with great reluctance. As a matter of fact, these powers granted to the ministry were scarcely made use of.

646. Distant Fields of War. — Immediately after the outbreak of the war British Colonial and Allied troops invaded the German colonial possessions and successively conquered them all. An expedition organized for the most part in India was sent to Mesopotamia against the Turks. It was, however, badly equipped and ill supported, and in April, 1916, the commander, with all his forces, was compelled to surrender at Kut-el-Amara. A year later, however, a larger British expedition followed the same route, and in March, 1917, captured the ancient city of Bagdad. About the same time an army of British, Australians, and Indians, which had been defending the Suez Canal against a threatened attack from the Turks, marched northward into Palestine and, fighting with the Turks, entered the city of Jerusalem, December 10, 1917. As against these comparatively successful operations, the year 1915 saw the calamitous Gallipoli expedition. A combined British and French fleet tried to force its way through the Dardanelles to capture Constantinople. Several vessels were sunk by shore batteries. An army was then collected in Egypt and landed in the Gallipoli peninsula; but despite some months of heavy fighting and persistence in the face of much suffering from lack of water

and from disease and exposure, nothing was accomplished. The campaign was a complete failure; and in January, 1916, what remained of the troops were withdrawn. The encampment of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps which fought so gallantly in this campaign was called, from their initials, "Anzac," and "Anzacs" became the familiar name for the troops from those countries.

While these expeditions in which the British were engaged were taking place, a series of campaigns in which Britain was interested through her allies was taking place in eastern Europe. The result of these campaigns up to the latter part of 1917 was that Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were overrun and occupied by Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, or Turkey. In November, 1917, a sudden advance of a combined German and Austrian army swept through the defenses of northeastern Italy, deprived the Italians of all their recent conquests, and carried its invasion almost to Venice.

647. Sea and Air Warfare. — On the sea the British fleet — still, notwithstanding its somewhat unprepared condition, the pride and main reliance of the nation — occupied itself in keeping the seas open for British commerce and for that of her allies and of neutrals engaged in commerce with her. England was able by means of her fleet, throughout the war, to protect the country from invasion, to import necessary food and war material, and to take her soldiers and their supplies to the Continent. While engaged in this work, however, a number of English war and merchant vessels were sunk by German surface raiders, by submerged mines, and by submarines, and at several periods England had necessary food supplies only for a few weeks or even days ahead. Although German ships remained for the most part in harbor, several minor naval battles brought destruction to battleships of both countries. German cruisers also once or twice slipped across the North Sea and bombarded unfortified English coast towns.

Only one large naval engagement took place between the British and German fleets. This was the battle of Jutland, May 31, 1916. An English fleet of fast cruisers came into conflict with the German warship fleet. The English vessels, being smaller, suffered so severely that they withdrew temporarily till their larger warships should come up. When the combined



© International

The British Home Fleet, Portsmouth, February, 1915

English fleets returned to the scene of action, the Germans had steamed into harbor. The German fleet did not appear again in the open sea to give battle. German submarines, however, caused large destruction of British merchant vessels. These losses increased very greatly in 1916 and created fear in Great Britain that her food supply might be cut off and the transport of troops and munitions seriously interfered with. By July, 1917, some thirty-two hundred British merchant vessels, amounting to more than eight million tons, had been sunk.

But this destruction diminished during the latter part of 1917; many of the submarines were themselves destroyed by the newly invented depth charges and much new shipping was built.

Aviation played a large part in the war, airplanes being constantly used in scouting work over the battle lines and for dropping bombs on hostile positions behind the lines. England suffered severely from destruction and loss of life from bombs dropped on London and other places from German Zeppelins and airplanes. In thirty-six separate raids across the Channel and the North Sea more than eight hundred persons were killed and twenty-five hundred wounded. The slaughter of noncombatant men, women, and children in this atrocious warfare, however, served only to strengthen popular determination to carry on the war more vigorously.

648. Entrance of New Belligerents, 1915-1917. — During the early part of the war long and bitter disputes broke out between Great Britain and neutral countries, especially the United States, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries, owing to British extension of the definition of contraband. She interfered with cargoes of goods consigned to neutral countries, which she asserted would finally reach her enemies, and stopped the mails in vessels on the high seas. She declared her action justifiable and explained that she was using her right of seizure of contraband with as little injury to neutrals as possible.

Germany, on the other hand, protested to the neutral states against Great Britain's laying of mine fields in the open North Sea; her policy of using her command of the sea to keep all food supplies from reaching Germany, thus threatening German women, children, and noncombatant men with starvation; and her general interference with world commerce. As a measure of retaliation, as she claimed, Germany declared all the seas surrounding the British Isles a closed zone and proceeded to sink with torpedoes from her submarines all vessels, British or neutral, which passed through those waters. This inhumane

and reckless policy of submarine warfare caused an ever-growing hostility to Germany on the part of all countries which had vessels on the sea.

One country after another then joined in the war on the side of Great Britain. In May, 1915, Italy declared war against Austria, and a year later she declared war against Germany also. In February, 1916, Portugal fulfilled her old treaty obligations to England by seizing all German ships in her waters. Germany then declared war upon her. Rumania entered on the side of the Allies in August, 1916; Siam and China declared war against Germany in 1917; and many lesser states in distant parts of the world broke off friendly relations with her. Turkey had early entered the war on the German side, and Bulgaria somewhat later. By far the most important new opponent of Germany was the United States, which for various reasons, including the sinking by German submarines of the passenger liner *Lusitania*, unarmed though carrying munitions, and of other vessels with the loss of American lives, entered the war in April, 1917. From her unlimited resources she began immediately the loan of large sums of money to Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Russia. A fleet was sent to European waters in May, and the first American troops arrived in France in June. After that time others were steadily added to the Allied fighting forces, and by the end of the year 1917 they had taken their place in the battle line in the east of France.

649. Last Campaigns of the War, March–November, 1918. — The year 1918 was a year of the greatest suffering, the greatest danger, and the greatest military triumph for Britain and her allies. Notwithstanding the advance which the British and French had made during the year 1917, their more abundant supply of munitions, and the promise of American reinforcements, the German hold on Belgium and the eastern regions of France had been hardly shaken. The withdrawal of Russia from the war enabled Germany to place new troops on her

western front, and the desperate condition of her internal affairs required her to gather all her forces for a last tremendous effort which might well break through the British and French line. This great effort was launched March 21.

The hope of the Germans was to accomplish three immediate ends: first, to drive a wedge between the British and French armies; secondly, to capture Paris; and thirdly, to advance to the English Channel, capture the remaining Channel ports, and thus threaten England more closely. To achieve these results a greater number of troops than had been used in any former battle in human history were thrown successively upon different parts of the line held by the English, French, Americans, and the few detachments of other Allies. They made their way forward. All the land the British and French had regained in 1917 was again lost, and some that had been in Allied hands since the end of 1914 was now recaptured by the Germans. The Allies also lost great numbers of prisoners, cannon, and supplies. This huge drive continued in successive waves from March to July, carrying the Germans beyond the Marne River — farther than they had been in 1914 — and within forty miles of Paris. Air raids were made upon Paris such as had long been made upon London, and the city was bombarded by cannon; the "Big Bertha" threw shells from a distance of more than fifty miles. The French government once more contemplated leaving Paris, as it had in the early part of the war.

Yet certain outposts continued to be held by both the French and English throughout the whole struggle. On April 14, 1918, the Allies obtained greater efficiency by concentrating in the hands of the French general Foch the supreme command of all the Allied armies fighting in the west against the Germans and their allies. A bold and self-sacrificing attack was made in May on the two German-held Belgian ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge. A little band of British sailors, soldiers, and marines slipped at night across the Channel and, at the cost of the death of many

of the men and the destruction of most of the boats, sank obstructions at the entrances of the two harbors and thus destroyed their usefulness as submarine bases. The Allies were also obtaining supremacy in the air, and the American reinforcements were arriving in ever-increasing numbers, more than a million being in France by the first of July and others coming at the rate of 300,000 a month. Dark, therefore, as was the outlook and apprehensive as were the western countries, their position was not without many elements of hope.

The German advance was at high-water mark early in July. Yet this tide of success suddenly fell, and within the next five months the military overthrow of Germany occurred with striking suddenness and completeness. By the first of August the initiative in the war had definitely passed to the Allies, and the Germans were fighting on the defensive. By the first of September the Allies had broken through the famous Hindenburg Line, which the Germans had relied on holding against all attacks. Through September this great line of defense was crumbling, and by the close of the month the Allies were advancing along more than two hundred miles of the western front. By the first of October it was no longer a question of either victory or retention of territory by the Germans, but of their withdrawing without suffering a complete overthrow and capture of a great part of their forces. The Belgian coast was being bombarded by British warships, and on October 17 the whole German army in Belgium gave way and began a quick retirement from that country. By November 1 the end was fast approaching. The German armies were in full and rapid though skillful and, on the whole, orderly retreat. The triumph of the Allies over them was complete, unquestionable, decisive, and fully recognized by German military leaders. Further conflict could mean only more destruction.

650. Defeat of Germany's Allies. — In the meantime the Allies were achieving success in other fields of struggle. On September

19 Allied armies in the Balkans, under the general command of a French officer, moved forward in an astonishingly rapid series of attacks, which resulted in the capture of mountain ridges and river valleys in Serbia. Bulgaria, already bitter in her feeling toward the Germans and Austrians for their failure to give her the help she needed and to hand over to her the territory she wanted, made a sudden and complete surrender, yielding to the Allies the use of all of her territory and railroads for military attacks on Turkey and Austria. The downfall of Bulgaria was the first great breach in the Central European war citadel.

The British troops in Palestine, after their capture of Jerusalem, made slow progress against the Turks to the northward and eastward. But General Allenby was quietly preparing a much more extensive campaign. On September 19 he suddenly appeared in the level plains of northern Syria, provided with a large number of cavalry, supported by naval guns from warships on the coast, and strengthened by allied Arab detachments along the line of the Hedjaz railway. In a series of open battles he scattered all the Turkish armies in that part of the country, captured a large number of prisoners, and occupied Damascus and Aleppo, the Syrian capitals. French and British warships entered the harbor of Beirut on October 11 without resistance. Turkey, cut off from her allies in the north by the defeat of Bulgaria, and her forces scattered in the south, asked for terms of surrender and made a complete capitulation on October 31. The Allied fleets passed through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus and anchored off Constantinople, and on November 21 British and French troops occupied the city.

Late in October the Italians swept across northern Italy, scattering the Austrians in all directions and forcing them, powerless as they were on account of the internal breaking up of their empire, to ask for peace, which was granted them on November 3, three days after the fall of Turkey and a month after the fall of Bulgaria.

651. Fall of the German Empire; the Armistice, November 11, 1918. — All Germany's allies had now been defeated and forced to retire from the war, and she was subject to attack through their territories. She was also being herself rapidly overwhelmed by the British, French, and American armies in France. From October 6 forward, therefore, a new chancellor of Germany was making desperate but unsuccessful efforts, through the mediation of President Wilson, to obtain favorable terms of retirement from the war.

On November 6 terms of surrender drawn up by the Allies were handed to German envoys. The actual end of all German power of resistance came from within. Early in November there was a mutiny in the German fleet, and risings of the people occurred throughout the country. On November 11 the terms of surrender were accepted and an armistice was declared.

Germany was required immediately to withdraw her troops from all invaded countries and to a considerable distance within her own boundaries, and to surrender a vast number of cannon, machine guns, ammunition, aircraft, locomotives, and railway cars. All her undersea boats and fighting ships were either dismantled, surrendered where they were in neutral ports, or forced to pass in a long column between English war vessels into Scapa Flow, a bay in the north of Scotland, where they were to be held until their final disposition should be settled in the treaty. Germany must immediately surrender Alsace-Lorraine, — her capture of 1871, — return all prisoners of war and deported persons, and agree to make reparation for all damage done to civilians in other countries during the war. There were a great many other requirements, including provision for the occupation by Allied armies of the parts of Germany west of the Rhine and of three extensive sections east of the Rhine at its principal crossings. It fell to Great Britain to occupy the city and district of Cologne and its bridgehead on the other side of the river.

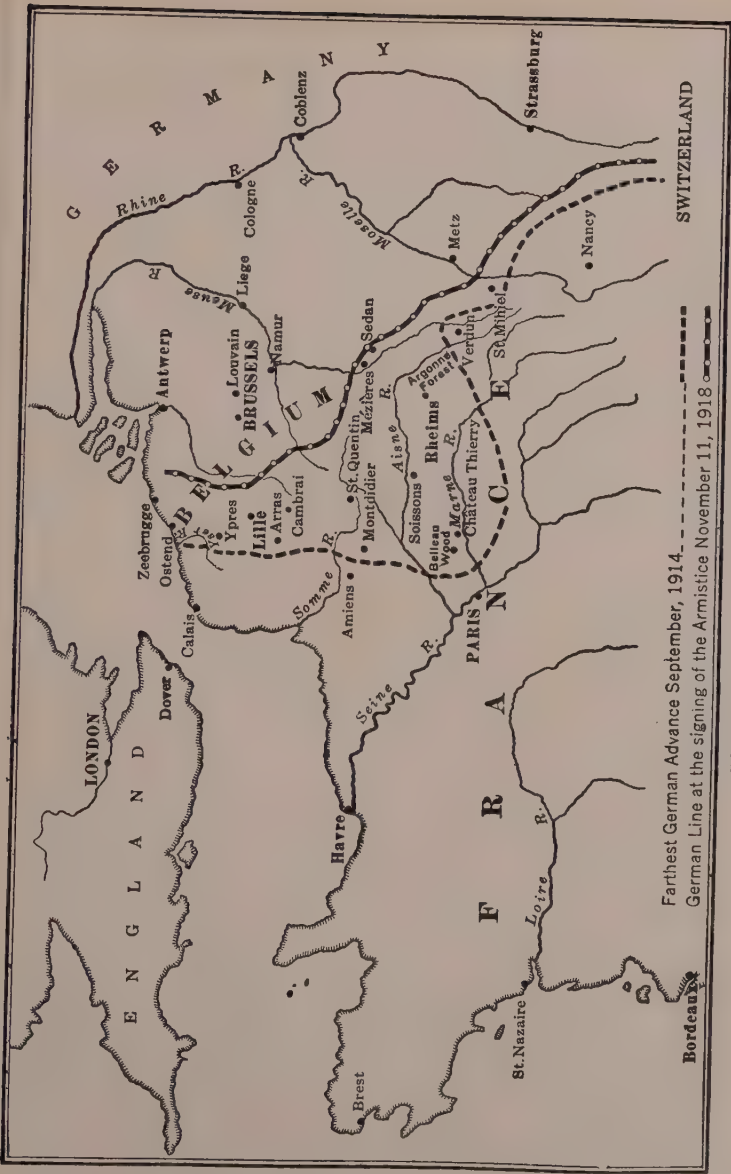
Early in December British, French, and American troops entered Germany upon the heels of her defeated and retreating army and established themselves in their respective spheres of occupation. In the meantime it became doubtful with what government of Germany peace would have to be made. On November 7, while the terms of the armistice were under consideration, revolutionary outbreaks occurred among the sailors and workingmen at Kiel, Hamburg, and other port towns. These spread from city to city and finally to Berlin itself. On November 10 the emperor and crown prince sought refuge in Holland, where later they signed documents giving up their claims to the throne. The imperial chancellor, Maximilian of Baden, handed over his office to Ebert, a socialist member of the Reichstag, and at the same time announced that a German national assembly would be elected by universal suffrage to decide on the future form of government of Germany. It was with this new and tentative government that peace would have to be made.

652. The Treaty of Versailles, June 28, 1919. — The peace council met at Versailles, just outside of Paris, on January 18, 1919. There were present representatives of all the nations which had taken part in the war on the side of the Allies, besides a host of official advisers and persons seeking recognition of new nations. Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, the defeated powers, were not invited to the conference. When the treaty was completed they were to be required to sign it. It was a dictated, not a negotiated, peace. It was mainly drawn up by Lloyd George, prime minister of England, Clemenceau, prime minister of France, and President Wilson of the United States, principal representatives of their respective countries. Committees of experts were appointed to report to them on matters of detail, and representatives of the lesser powers were called in when arrangements had to be made which affected them. All thirty-two of the "Allied and Associated Powers" met occasion-

ally in a "plenary session." The meetings of the principal ministers were secret. The conference sat for months, its last session being on June 28, 1919. This was a particularly hard period for Germany, since until she had affixed her signature to the treaty the embargo excluding food and other imports from her borders was still imposed upon her, to guarantee that she should not resume the war. On June 28, in a great ceremony in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Germany's two representatives were called in and, along with thirty-one of her former opponents, signed the treaty. It was a harsh treaty. The most bitter, if not the most burdensome, article that Germany was forced to sign was an acknowledgment that she had been solely responsible for the war. This has since been generally considered by historians as of doubtful accuracy.

Punishment of Germany for starting the war and causing all its losses and sufferings, and provision for making her powerless to break the peace of Europe again, were the first object of the treaty. Obtaining for themselves recompense and security was the next object of those who drew it up. Provisions for a general settlement of European problems were introduced, but did not obtain the hearty concurrence of the treaty-makers. Many of the harsher terms of the treaty were opposed by President Wilson and some of them by Lloyd George, but Clemenceau remorselessly insisted on all provisions supposed to be favorable to France, and had little interest in a general reorganization of Europe.

The treaty included three principal groups of provisions: territorial changes, the reparations which Germany must pay, and the organization of the world for the future under three permanent international bodies, the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the World Court. Many imperfections were seen in the treaty, but it was expected that they would be remedied through action taken by these international bodies.



Farthest German Advance September, 1914.
German Line at the signing of the Armistice November 11, 1918

The Western Front in the World War

So far as these provisions affected Great Britain,¹ her territorial gains were small, although the value of her empire as a sphere of trade and a field for investment of capital was made greater by the disappearance of Germany, at least for the time, as a trade and naval rival. Great Britain was restored by the results of the war to her former position of preëminence. This brought a renewal of jealousy in certain rising nations, especially Italy and Japan, and, after an interval of time, in Germany. Great Britain was drawn closer, on the other hand, to her recent allies France and the United States, and she also became a leading supporter of the League of Nations and other institutions looking toward international peace and security. Her old position of relative isolation from general world affairs was gone forever. Her history was inseparably bound up with the history of the rest of the world. Many results of this fact will come out in the later chapters of this book.

653. The Irish Rebellion of 1916. — Although the Irish Nationalist party supported the war, there was much opposition to it among the people, and in its early months several newspapers were suppressed by the government for urging Irishmen not to enlist. A society known as Sinn Fein, whose object was Ireland's complete independence from Great Britain, was having a rapid growth at this time. On April 24, 1916, an insurrection of the most radical members of this society suddenly broke out in Dublin. They seized the post office and several other buildings, and issued a proclamation declaring Ireland a republic founded on universal suffrage, religious and civil liberty, equality,

¹ It is impossible to describe the provisions of this world treaty and discuss its consequences as if it were merely a part of English history. It can be properly studied only as a chapter in world history. There are excellent books on this larger subject; a useful book, for instance, is Walter Millis's *Why Europe Fights* (1940). Yet an effort must be made, in a textbook of English history, to trace as far as possible Britain's part in these events, recognizing at the same time that this is only a part in a larger and more complicated story.

and fraternity. They adopted a green, white, and gold flag and announced a provisional government under P. H. Pearse (a man of high character and attainments, and principal of a Dublin school) as president. For a few days they had control of the center of Dublin, and the revolt threatened to spread through the country; but Major General Sir John Maxwell, with overwhelming forces of British troops and artillery, was sent to Ireland and attacked the rebels, a warship shelled them from the harbor, and, five days after the rising, Pearse, who had never been really in favor of revolt, ordered a general surrender, and his men laid down their arms. Several thousand were taken into custody. The president and some fifteen others were immediately tried by secret court martial and shot in groups within the next three or four weeks; others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and a great number were still held under arrest.

Aid had been sought by the Irish rebellion party from England's great antagonist, Germany. Sir Roger Casement, an Irishman who had held a position of some prominence in public life, was captured shortly after landing on the Irish coast from a German submarine that was accompanied by a munition ship. He was imprisoned in the Tower and subsequently tried by a regular court, found guilty of treason, and hanged. Although the Nationalist party did not support the insurrection or sympathize with Casement's efforts to obtain German support, they were angered by the series of military executions, by the holding of prisoners without trial, by the hanging of Casement, and by the long delay in the introduction of home rule. Lloyd George was therefore appointed by the ministry to consult all parties in Ireland and suggest some action by way of compromise. This he did, but his agreement was later disowned by the Unionists in the ministry. The Sinn Fein began again to grow rapidly in numbers, and the Nationalists appealed against the government to the United States and to the self-governing British colonies.

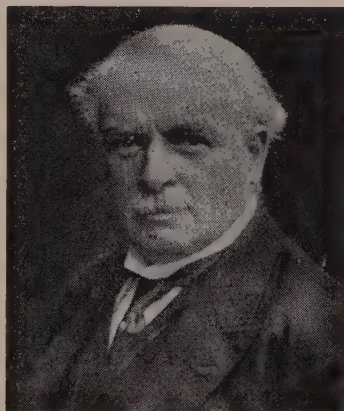
in the name of the right of small countries to liberty. In May, 1917, the ministry called a convention of Irishmen intended to be made up of representatives of all classes in Ireland, inviting them to draw up some kind of government short of entire independence. This convention met at Dublin in July and held many sessions in the next few months. It made its report to the prime minister on April 12, 1918. It had not been able to obtain anything approaching unanimity, inasmuch as the Ulster Unionists still held out against any form of home rule. Nevertheless a majority of forty-four to twenty-nine reported a plan for the self-government of Ireland and urged parliament to pass and enforce this measure as a substitute for the home-rule bill passed in 1914 but not yet brought into force. The prime minister announced that the cabinet intended to ask parliament immediately to follow this advice.

Just at this time a new Irish controversy arose. In the increasing need for soldiers, as the war continued, the ministry proposed to extend the Conscription Act to Ireland, which had been omitted from the former acts. Against this the Nationalists made a bitter protest, claiming that they should have the same right as Canada or New Zealand to decide in their own legislature on a point of this kind. When the bill passed, the Nationalist members remained away from parliament in protest. The war closed with the Irish question more unsettled than ever.

654. Political Changes of the War Period. — After the war had been in progress eight months, criticism of the ministry became so severe that in May, 1915, Mr. Asquith reorganized it as a Coalition ministry, bringing in almost as many men from other parties as there were Liberals. A new office was also created, the ministry of munitions, in which Lloyd George was placed, as being the most energetic man in public life. In this position he achieved great results, inducing parliament to give authority to the ministry to take all munition industries under their control, and gradually increasing their number and trans-

forming them into government works. By July, 1916, there were four thousand munitions and other establishments under government control. Later Lloyd George became minister of war.

By December, 1916, the ministry was so divided that Lloyd George threatened to resign unless certain changes were made. Mr. Asquith would not agree to these and resigned, leaving Lloyd George to make up a ministry in which he was prime minister, most of the ministers were Unionists, and the real power was lodged in a small group, or "war cabinet," of five men. A number of members of this ministry were heads of large business organizations, and among the most influential members were men who had been bitter opponents of Lloyd George before the war. Since all these changes in the ministry were made without any corresponding changes in the House of Commons, it is evi-



Underwood

David Lloyd George, Prime Minister

dent that the ministry was less representative of parliament, though more closely representative of the people, than it had previously been. Much of the criticism that had led to the changes was made in a group of newspapers owned and controlled by Lord Northcliffe, whose influence was thus very large, though he had no connection with the ministry and seldom spoke in parliament. Furthermore, the necessary absence of the prime minister and several of his colleagues at Paris during the long period of negotiations for the peace made it difficult to carry on the business of parliament. At the close of the war a new parliament was called which brought many disputes to a conclusion, but this belongs more properly to the next chapter.

In June, 1919, after his return from Versailles, the prime minister, Lloyd George, reappeared in parliament, presented the peace treaty, explained its provisions, and described the negotiations by which it had been obtained. He was received with a great ovation, notwithstanding his many adversaries, but the real work of the first parliament under the latest of the reform bills had still to be begun.

655. Industrial Changes in the War Period. — Although the outbreak of the war brought to a close for the time the series of laws for social and industrial change that had been introduced during the years between 1906 and 1914,¹ many influences of the war brought the condition and opinions of the mass of the people into greater and greater prominence. The need for more workers in the industries making munitions and other requirements for the war brought vast numbers of women and unskilled laborers, who could not conform to trade-union rules and were not paid union wages, into these industries; and the leaders of the old unions saw their slowly built-up system of protection to the standards of life in danger of being destroyed. Yet the need for extra labor was overwhelming. Therefore, in March, 1915, a meeting was held between the prime minister and the officers of thirty-five of the trade unions, at which it was agreed that trade-union rules should be suspended till the war was over but should then be reëstablished. It was agreed also that no strikes should be entered upon, but that the unions would be represented in all arbitrations or decisions concerning wages, hours, and similar questions. By the end of 1917 there were about a million women engaged in munitions work, night work was almost universal, and skilled workmen were regularly taking charge of large groups of unskilled and non-union workers.

There were, notwithstanding the war, embittered disputes between workmen and employers and between workmen and the government as prices rose higher in proportion to wages,

¹ See pp. 685-693, 703-707.

as the burdens of all, owing to the war, became heavier, and as a strong party among the organized workingmen strove to force the ministry to make a more explicit and liberal statement of the objects for which the war was being fought. Several serious strikes were threatened, mostly without the approval of the union leaders or in those trades that had not entered into the agreement of March, 1915. At the same time the government was being forced by circumstances to take control of one branch after another of industrial life. The control of iron and other works producing munitions of war has already been mentioned. The railways, coal mines, shipping, wool, leather, and the importation, production, and distribution of foods were successively either taken into the possession of the government or placed under its strict regulation.

Early in the war the government recognized that these and other changes in progress were so extensive that when the war closed, or perhaps even before, there would have to be much reorganization, and that this should be provided for beforehand. Therefore, a "ministry of reconstruction" was created, as a ministry of munitions had already been, and as several other new ministries were to be before the war was over. Among the various committees appointed by the minister of reconstruction was one on the relations between employers and employed, of which a member of parliament named Whitley was chairman. At the recommendation of this committee, made in the spring of 1917 and approved shortly afterward by the prime minister and cabinet, joint industrial councils, or "Whitley councils," as they were commonly called, were introduced into various industries. These were an extension of the Trade Boards established in 1909,¹ but they had far more extensive powers. They were national boards of whose members one half were elected by the organization of employers in an industry, one half by the trade union in that industry. The boards met frequently

¹ See p. 690.

and determined a number of questions of common interest to the employer and employees, such as hours, piecework rates, methods of settlement of disputes, and the improvement of processes. Within two years some forty trades voluntarily introduced national boards or councils of this kind, and joint management in such industries as baking, building, pottery, weaving, the manufacture of chemicals, and others made considerable progress. The growth of social devices for the improvement of unsatisfactory industrial conditions was in full progress when the war came to an end.

656. Summary of the Period, 1914-1918. — The outbreak of the war in 1914 changed the whole course of the country's interests and the occupations of the government during its continuance. Instead of a peaceful manufacturing and trading country engaged in internal reforms and civilized occupations, Great Britain became a military power, bending every energy to defend herself and to bring about the downfall of her great antagonist. In doing this she performed with success a difficult task. Her energy, her perseverance, the devotion of her great wealth to the national purpose of winning the war, the fighting ability of her hastily recruited, trained, and equipped army, and the steadfastness of her navy made her the principal factor in the defeat of Germany and her allies.

After her first little army had been sent across to Belgium in 1914, a large volunteer army was rapidly organized and equipped and this expeditionary force sent abroad in successive waves in 1915 and 1916. Compulsory military service was introduced in 1916, and drafted troops were sent across the Channel and elsewhere where they were needed as fast as they were recruited and trained till the very close of the war.

The dominions added substantially to the British forces, and the Australian navy played a part in the sea warfare. The entrance of the United States into the war in 1917 broke the deadlock that seemed to be establishing itself and made it a world

war in its extent and consequences. The Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919.

The great need for labor for the production of munitions and other war requirements drew attention to the problem of the condition of workingmen and led to at least the beginning of a new struggle on their part against the existing organization of society. The Irish question flamed up into rebellion in 1916. The actual political changes of the period were temporary rather than fundamental, but the stage was set for more substantial changes after the war.

General Reading. — England's part in the origin and occurrences of the First World War cannot be understood apart from the history of other nations. Some of the best books on the general subject are: FAY, S. B., *Origins of the World War*; DICKINSON, G. L., *The International Anarchy, 1904-1914*; BARNES, H. E., *The Genesis of the World War*; ASQUITH, H. H., *Genesis of the War*.

England's part in the war itself will be found, in its essentials, in the following single-volume works: CRUTWELL, C. R. M. F., *A History of the Great War, 1914-1918*; POLLARD, A. F., *Short History of the Great War*; HAYES, C. J. H., *Brief History of the Great War*. Among the many fuller histories of the war the two following are notable: CHURCHILL, WINSTON, *The World Crisis*, 5 vols., and BUCHAN, J., *A History of the Great War*, 4 vols.

Special phases of the war are treated in LAWRENCE, T. E., *Revolt in the Desert and The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*; GRAY, H. C., *War Time Control of Industry*; KELLOGG, P. W., and GLEASON, A. H., *British Labor and the War*; LASWELL, H., *Propaganda Technique in the World War*; ABBOTT, W. M., *Aircraft and Submarines*; TURNER, C. C., *The Struggle in the Air, 1914-1918*.

Books describing the making of the Peace of Versailles are numerous. Some of the best are NICOLSON, H. G., *Peacemaking*; HARRIS, H. G., *The Peace in the Making*; HANSON, H., *The Adventure of the Fourteen Points*; THOMPSON, G. I., *The Peace Treaties Day by Day*.

For the Irish Rebellion and events leading up to it see PHILIPS, W. L., *Revolution in Ireland, 1709-1923*; HENRY, R. M., *The Evolution of Sinn Féin*.

Contemporary Sources. — The General Reading and the Contemporary Sources in modern times tend to become indistinguishable. The modern

writers have in many cases themselves taken part in the events they describe and are writing partly, at least, from their own observation. Almost all modern writings, whether government documents, speeches, autobiographies, official statistics, or journals and newspapers, are in a certain sense contemporary sources for the history of this period. There are various journals and publications that provide materials for history by recording events as they occur. The Treaty of Peace with Germany is found conveniently in the series *International Conciliation*, No. 142, Sept., 1919, New York.

Poetry and Fiction. — *Songs and Sonnets for England in War Time*, published by John Lane, London, 1915, contains about fifty poems called forth by the oncoming of the war. DOYLE, ARTHUR CONAN, *The Guards Came Through*, MACHEN, ARTHUR, *The Bowmen and Other Legends of the War*, and BLUNDEN, EDMUND, *Poems, 1914-1930*, are groups of war poems. Poetry characteristic of wartime has been written also by GIBSON, W. W.; NOYES, ALFRED; SASSOON, SIEGFRIED; GRAVES, ROBERT; and BROOKE, RUPERT. WELLS, H. G., *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, *Tono-Bungay*, and others of his novels describe the onset of the war and other recent occurrences. MONTAGUE, C. E., *Rough Justice*, is a vigorous war novel, and his *Right off the Map* is a satirical treatment of the same theme. The novels of SNAITH, J. C., illustrate this period. ERVINE, ST. JOHN G., *Changing Winds*, is a novel of Ireland in wartime.

- Special Topics.** — (1) International Arbitration, *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
 (2) The Role of the Submarine, DOMVILLE, C., *Submarines and Sea Power*.
 (3) The Early Use of Tanks, FULLER, J. C. F., *Tanks in the Great War*.
 (4) The Gallipoli Campaign, MASEFIELD, JOHN, *Gallipoli*.

CHAPTER XXIII

YEARS OF TROUBLED PEACE, 1918-1935

657. Representation of the People Act of 1918. — To pick up the thread of the internal history of Great Britain, it is necessary to go back two or three years to a date before the Armistice and the Treaty of Versailles. By the end of 1915 the five-year period which was the longest time a parliament could continue, under the provisions of the Parliament Act of 1911, was drawing toward its close. Yet it was felt to be undesirable to hold an election in wartime. Many also were dissatisfied with the old conditions of voting. The difficulty was met for the time by extending, by act of parliament, the life of the existing parliament for five months, and then for another five months, to May, 1917. An election could hardly be postponed any longer. Women's suffrage, restriction of plural voting, trade-union demands, and other proposed reforms which had been dropped at the outbreak of the war were now again clamoring for attention. Yet the existing parliament was unresponsive. It was evident that there must be another, a fourth, reform of parliament before the new election if such matters were to obtain proper consideration.

The Coalition ministry, formed for war purposes, was too much divided on internal questions to bring in a thoroughgoing reform bill. Under these circumstances a new plan was adopted. The prime minister asked the Speaker of the House of Commons, who is not supposed to belong to any political party, to appoint a nonpartisan conference of distinguished men from all parties to draw up a bill which, it was hoped, would commend

itself to all parties and could be passed by common consent. This actually happened. In May, 1917, a bill was presented to parliament, and in February, 1918, it was passed and became known as the Representation of the People Act.

It was the culmination of the long succession of parliamentary reform acts. Those of 1852, 1867, and 1884-1885 and the Parliament Act of 1911 had all but completed the process of changing the government of Britain from an aristocratic to a democratic form. The act of 1918 repealed all the old laws,¹ with their complicated rights of suffrage, which frequently permitted one man to deposit several votes based on various claims. It substituted for these a single vote, based either on a six months' residence in one parliamentary district or on a business connection in such a district for the same length of time, but not on both.

The conference committee recommended the grant of the suffrage to women, and during the debate one old opponent after another announced his conversion. Many — Mr. Asquith, the old, apparently irreconcilable, prime minister, among them — acknowledged that the part women had taken in winning the war was so great that they had a right to take part in the reconstruction of the country after peace was attained. Others based their support on the recognition that legislation was now engaged largely with matters of health, education, and affairs of the home, in which women were interested even more than men, and in the control of which they therefore should share. Women were given the same right as men to vote and to sit in parliament, except for one reservation. There were more women than men in England and many of the younger women, it was believed, were more progressive than men. Conservative members of parliament were afraid to give votes to this mass of young, inexperienced, and perhaps radical women. A distinction

¹ See pp. 628, 661, 664-665, 696-698.

therefore was made between men, who could vote when they were twenty-one, and women, who could not vote till they were thirty.¹ There were a few irregularities in voting left. The universities of England, Scotland, and Wales were given among them eleven representatives in the House of Commons, and their graduates were given the right to vote for these representatives, thus having two votes each.

Vote by ballot was made permanent, instead of being re-enacted in each parliament as before. The country was divided into parliamentary districts practically equal to one another in population. There were provisions for the payment by the government of the expenses of elections and for the distribution of a certain amount of campaign literature by the post office free of charge. Concomitantly the amount of private election expenditures allowed was strictly limited, and the severe Corrupt Practices Act was re-enacted.

658. The "Khaki Election" of 1918. — The conditions of voting having been settled, the long-delayed election for a new parliament was held in December, 1918. The voting was carried on in the midst of the confusion at the close of the war and while the terms of the treaty were still under discussion at Versailles. The soldiers were allowed to vote by proxies sent through the mails. Because of this soldier vote and the continued prevalence of the war spirit this election was commonly known as the "Khaki Election." Although both the Conservative and Liberal parties were split and the Labor members of the War Cabinet had resigned as soon as the war was over, the Coalition ministry which had carried the war to a successful conclusion

¹Ten years later, in 1928, the fear of this "flapper vote," as it was called, had passed away, and in voting rights women were placed on exactly the same basis as men. In this year 13,655,577 men and 15,195,199 women had the right to vote for members of the House of Commons. Thus a considerable majority of those who could vote were women.

returned a majority of more than two hundred in parliament, and Lloyd George continued in control of the government.¹

Before following further the internal history of the period, it is necessary to look abroad at some of the international developments of the time that affected the course of British history in the ensuing years. They were years of peace and reorganization, but of a peace troubled internally and full of apprehension for the future of Europe.

659. Great Britain and the League of Nations. — In the forefront of the Treaty of Versailles stood the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League was one of the first provisions of the treaty and was looked upon by its advocates as a principal outcome of the war; it was expected to ameliorate in time some of the crude terms of the treaty. It was a world league, at first of forty-two countries, to which most of the other countries of the world later added themselves — but from which also some withdrew. The United States was, unfortunately, only momentarily a member. Although President Wilson had long been a zealous proponent of such an alliance, had much to do with its formation, was its first signatory, and indeed had urged American entry into the war largely in the hope of ending all wars by establishing a world league of this kind, he was not supported by the legislative branch of the American government. There was much opposition in the Senate, due partly to partisanship, partly to ignorance or misunderstanding of European affairs and of the terms of the treaty, partly to the traditional American reluctance to entanglement in European problems. Only a simple majority of the Senate, not the two thirds required for the approval of a treaty, voted for acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles. A separate American treaty with Germany

¹The first woman now was elected to the House of Commons, Lady Astor, an American by birth. She represented Plymouth. She was a hard-working member, a Conservative, and kept the House entertained by her sharp repartees to her opponents or questioners.

and Austria was adopted which did not include the Covenant of the League of Nations.

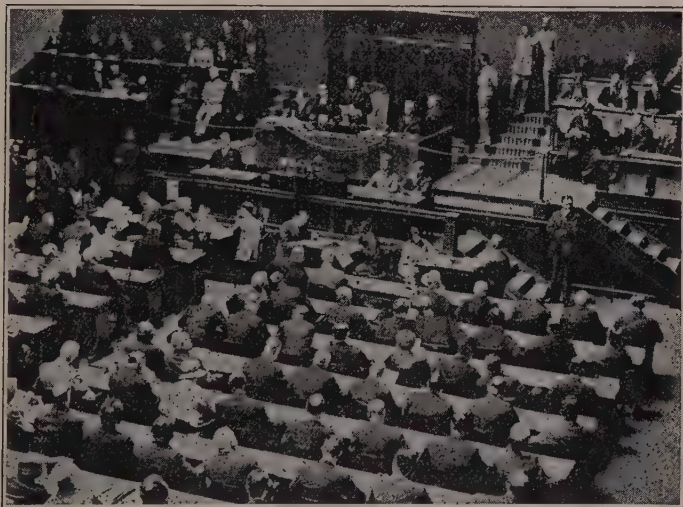
Great Britain took a prominent part in the formation and work of the League. Lord Robert Cecil, who had been and remained a life-long supporter of such a league, was active in drawing up the Covenant and frequently represented Great Britain on its Council, which met regularly four times a year. The first Secretary General of the League and for twelve years (until 1932) its chief officer was a Briton, Sir Eric Drummond.

Great Britain also took an active part in two other international organizations established by the peace treaty as part of the plan of the League of Nations — the International Labor Organization and the World Court. The first head of the Labor Office was a Frenchman, Albert Thomas, with an English Assistant Director who became Director when Thomas died. The third was an American, the United States having joined the Labor Organization in the meantime. The headquarters of the League and the International Labor Organization were located at Geneva, Switzerland, those of the World Court at The Hague, in Holland. In these bodies and their many committees and commissions British representatives were prominent. On all world questions that came up during this period, therefore, Great Britain, through the League and its accompanying agencies, had a deep influence, though it was not always exerted as the supporters of the League had hoped it would be. British government policies varied as one or another political party was in power; but support for inclusive international action in crucial matters often was withheld or was only half-hearted, as was the interest of the conservative classes of the British people. On the other hand, the work of all these international agencies was generally supported by the Labor party, by many Liberals, and by an influential society, the League of Nations Union, of which Lord Robert Cecil was president.

660. Disarmament. — The most serious matter on which action by the League was expected was some arrangement for general disarmament, or at least a gradual reduction of the great armies, fleets, air forces, and production of munitions that were crushing the nations by their expense and threatening the outbreak of another war. In one conference after another for twelve years, and by committees between these meetings, the desirability of such a step was pressed unsuccessfully upon the member nations. Britain alone, partly by neglect, partly by intention and as an example, allowed her army and navy to run down in numbers and equipment, but did little to force a general and compulsory disarmament of other countries. The reduction of the military power of Germany to unimportance was considered to have been accomplished by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles; but the other countries of Europe, which likewise, according to the terms of the treaty, themselves should have reduced the size of their armies and navies, postponed doing so. Finally, in 1932, a general Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva with great formality. But suspicions of one another by the various countries still existed; by this time there was a well-grounded fear that Germany was secretly rearming; Japan had invaded China, against her promises and the protests of the League, and her cannon were mowing down women and children as well as men at Shanghai. Influential elements in the governments of all the countries still had greater faith in their armies and navies than in collective security guaranteed by international agreement. In 1933 the conference broke down, and there was no further effort for general disarmament before the threat of another world war forced upon all countries an increase rather than a limitation of military preparation. Notwithstanding this failure in one of its main purposes, the League of Nations accomplished many useful international objects, in which Great Britain participated; but after this time a series of occurrences brought discredit upon

the League and indicated its growing weakness. These, however, belong rather with world history than with the special history of England.

661. The British Commonwealth of Nations. — One of the results of the war was to give to the self-governing colonies — the “dominions,” as they had come to be called, — that is,



A meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations

Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, a greater sense of independence, which was recognized by the mother country. Their prime ministers had been asked to sit in the Imperial War Cabinet, which determined much of the policy of the war period. After the war was over they took part in the Peace Conference and, at Versailles, signed the treaty separately, just as other nations did. They were also admitted as separate countries to the League of Nations.

Just how far this semi-independence extended was uncertain.

At successive Imperial Conferences, in 1921 and 1923, no action was taken to make their position more clear. On the other hand, the dominions themselves from time to time assumed the right to take independent action. In 1920, for instance, Canada announced her intention of appointing a minister at Washington and since 1926 has done so. The American government, likewise, sends ministers to Ottawa and Dublin.



The Australian Flag, with the seven-pointed star of Australia and the five stars of the Southern Cross

In 1923 Canada gave another proof of its separate position by entering into a treaty with the United States in regard to fishing rights—a treaty which was signed by those two countries alone, without the signature of Great Britain.

The dominions were growing in population, in wealth, and in industrial independence. Like the American colonies at the time of the Revolution, they were growing up into separate nations. But unlike the obstinate mother country of 1776, Great Britain now was willing to give to these great English-speaking colonies whatever degree of independence they wanted.

All doubts and uncertainties as to the relations of the mother country and the dominions were settled in the Imperial Conference that met in 1926. Under the chairmanship of Lord Balfour, who probably had had more political experience than any other man in England, and who had been a member of the first Imperial Conference, that of 1877, a committee was appointed to formulate the actual relations among the parts of the empire. This committee made a remarkable report, which was accepted for the respective dominions and Great Britain by all the prime ministers present. It declared that Great Britain and the self-

governing dominions were all on an exact equality as independent members of the British Empire, "equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Great Britain no longer claims any authority over the dominions; she is simply one state of the group. Each makes its own laws and carries on its own policy; each can make treaties, which may or may not include any of the others. The only bond that binds them is their common loyalty to the Crown and whatever attachment they may feel to one another and to the mother country. In war no one of the members of the Commonwealth has to join with the others.

No such empire or group of states, held together only by voluntary bonds, and acknowledging no power supreme over them all, has existed in the world before, and its endurance is necessarily uncertain. It may be that the very fact of its being a purely voluntary union will make it more permanent than earlier empires have been. So far the only changes have been in the direction of making its organization clearer and the union among its members closer.

There is, it is true, the possibility of a constitutional appeal from a court in one of the dominions to the Privy Council in England, but this right has almost never been invoked. There are, besides, certain voluntary agreements among the dominions, but no more than among other nations. Although the declaration of the Imperial Conference of 1926 was accepted with enthusiasm by the mother country and all the dominions concerned, it was felt by many that it should be given more legal and authoritative form. Therefore, in December, 1931, the statement accepted in the Conference of 1926 was, with the agreement of all the dominions, given sanction in the so-called Statute of Westminster, passed by the British parliament.

662. The Empire outside the Commonwealth. — The political arrangement just described is known officially as the British Commonwealth of Nations. It makes up by far the most important part of the British Empire and is often spoken of as identical with it; but it was not the whole of the empire. There were in the empire a great number of colonies, possessions, and dependencies that still lay outside the British Commonwealth of Nations, some of them with a population largely British and with partial self-government, such as the Bermudas and the British West Indies; some mere armed stations, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, others of still other character. These had for the most part either populations of European origin, proud of their British citizenship and appreciative of the advantages of belonging to a great empire, or native populations without as yet a sense of nationality, satisfied with their dependent position and evidently benefited by the civilization, relative prosperity, law, and justice that British rule had brought them.

The conception sometimes entertained of the British Empire as consisting of populations held down unwillingly, oppressed and unhappy because of British rule, is a shallow and generally incorrect one. Imperialism is not always injurious. The British Empire has been on the whole a great civilizing force, bringing greater well-being to vast native populations, especially in the non-European world.

There are, however, two British dependencies whose relation to the empire has been particularly hard to settle. They are India and Ireland.

663. The Government of India Act of 1919. — Partly in recognition of loyal help given by many of the people of India in the war, partly as a result of growing liberal sentiment, the ministry declared in parliament in August, 1917, that the deliberate policy of the British government and its representatives in India was the admission of the natives of that country to a larger and larger share in its government and "the gradual

development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." That is to say that more and more Indians would be admitted to government offices and that the country would be progressively prepared for "dominion status." It was the view of the ministry that, just as it had taken eighty years to transform England from an aristocracy to a democracy, so the transformation of India from an absolutely governed to a self-governing country should be a gradual one.

Two years later these promises were partially fulfilled by the passage of the Government of India Act of 1919. This was a long and detailed statute, covering more than three hundred pages of the statute book. It made no distinction in appointment to office between men of Indian and of British blood, and as a matter of fact there were many Indians in office, although it was hardly to be expected that native Indians would immediately be appointed in very large numbers to the higher positions. Although it guaranteed freedom of speech and of assembly, and provided for a constitutional government, there were many restrictions upon legislation, certain subjects — such as foreign affairs, military defense, religion, and coinage — being kept under the control of the Viceroy, who was of course an appointee of the British government, or of the appointed governors of the provinces.

These concessions, liberal as they seemed to the British government, did not satisfy the rising desire of many of the inhabitants of India for control of their own affairs. Ever since 1885 there had been a "national" movement in India. There was, properly, no Indian nation, except as the rule of earlier conquerors, and now of the British, gave a certain amount of unity to the various populations, with different languages, religions, and customs, that filled this vast region of southern Asia. But scattered through India, especially through the Hindu provinces, were native Indians, many of them influenced

by English education and ideas, who had come to dream of home rule for India. These had formed the "Indian National Congress," an unofficial body which met every year at some well-known city and discussed political action. There was much difference of opinion among its members. Some would be quite satisfied with the dominion status the government had promised them, and were willing to wait for it. Other more extreme members were determined on complete independence as soon as it could be attained. The Congress was, of course, a purely voluntary body, not regularly elected and not having any official standing. The Congress party were almost all Hindus; there was another organization, the Moslem League, made up of men of the Mohammedan religion. They were less interested in their relations with the British government than in their position in India.

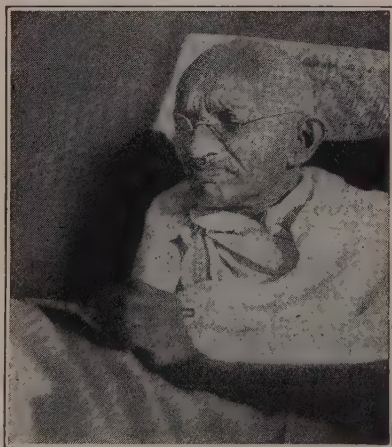
Owing partly to the agitation of these parties, partly to other causes, there was much disorder and crime in India; there were frequent riots, many assassinations, many bomb outrages, and attacks on the police. As in Ireland, the law gave the police and military special powers in times of confusion. In using these powers and in putting down disorders the police and military authorities often went to great lengths. A conspicuous and unfortunate episode was the so-called "Amritsar massacre," in 1919. There had been riots in that city, in which several Europeans had been killed and houses burned. Brigadier General Dyer, with a detachment of soldiers, was summoned by the governor of the province to restore order. He arrested the rioters and prohibited the holding of any more meetings. Shortly afterwards he discovered a meeting in progress and speeches being made. He stationed soldiers outside the square where the crowd had gathered and ordered them to use their weapons. Some three hundred and seventy-five people were killed and many more wounded. As further punishment and penance, he required all natives passing through a street where an earlier

murder had been committed to crawl, not to walk. A cry of resentment at these barbarities and humiliations arose not only throughout India but at home also, and a committee of inquiry into the circumstances was sent out from England. This committee reprimanded General Dyer, though somewhat mildly; and he was transferred elsewhere, outside the Indian service. A minority of the committee reported the matter in more severe terms; and although General Dyer's action was by no means typical of British government policy, it has never ceased to awaken a bitter memory in India, and in England widespread disapproval and regret. On the other hand, there were some, both in England and in India, who commended his action.

664. Gandhi and Civil Disobedience. — One of the results of the Amritsar massacre was the definite conversion from a friend

to an opponent of the English administration of a man who was already becoming widely influential in India. This was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, or Mahatma (Great Soul) Gandhi, as he has come to be almost universally called. He was born in India in the year 1869, of a well-to-do middle-class Hindu family of one of the stricter religious sects. When a young man, he went to England, studied law at Gray's Inn,

and was admitted to the bar. He then went to South Africa in connection with some legal business and remained there twenty years, becoming more and more deeply interested in the affairs



Mahatma Gandhi (writing)

of the Hindu workmen who had been brought there as laborers. In 1914 he went to India and did general philanthropic work. He had built up by this time a large income from his legal practice, but at the same time had come to be attracted more and more toward a life of simplicity, poverty, and service. Under the influence of his religious beliefs he gave away all his means, adopted the practice of wearing only a loin cloth and robe, of living on milk, fruit, and vegetables, avoiding liquor and all luxury of life, beginning and ending every day with an hour of prayer, and practicing complete silence for one day in every week. From this way of life nothing has since turned him aside. He anticipated, when he returned to India, settling into a life of obscurity and religious contemplation, but was stirred by what he considered the oppression suffered by the Indian people to enter into an active life of agitation. His ascetic life, his complete devotion and self-sacrifice, and his shrewdness made him for a while one of the world's most influential leaders. Millions of people followed him unquestioningly, and he won the respect, at least, of all classes. In 1922, when he was brought into court for punishment for some voluntary offense against the law, the whole court, including the British judge who was about to sentence him, rose in respect.

Gandhi had two main objects: first, to secure self-government for India, by what he called "non-coöperation," "civil disobedience," or "non-violent resistance" to law; secondly, to restore the old native industries which had been destroyed by the competition of machine-made goods. The six or eight years immediately succeeding the war were a period of constant agitation for these objects. But Gandhi's non-violence often degenerated, in his followers, into riot and attacks on persons and property. Dramatic scenes occurred of men and women lying down on the tracks to prevent trains from running; some resigned their positions rather than work under the government; others made salt from sea water in defiance of the govern-

ment salt industry. There were instances of the burning of government buildings, the cutting of telegraph wires, the seizure of arms, the burning of imported cloth, the picketing of private dwellings, the beating and even the murder of officials. Gandhi protested against this violence of his followers and grieved over it.

As a matter of fact, great as was the influence of the Mahatma, and admirable as was his character, his plan of forcing the government to yield by peacefully resisting it broke down every time it was tried. It simply increased the amount of lawlessness and disorder in the country, and the problems of India remained unsolved.

665. The Government of India Act of 1935. — The act of 1919 had provided that at the end of ten years a parliamentary committee should investigate its working and suggest any desirable changes. In 1928 therefore a committee under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon, a member of the ministry, was appointed, made a series of journeys of observation, held many conferences with prominent men in India, both native and British, and made a full report. This report created so much discussion and difference of opinion that a series of "Round Table" discussions was held in India and London in which Indian leaders, including Gandhi, took part. In 1935, as a result of these investigations, a new bill was introduced into parliament and carried by a large majority. It repealed the act of 1919 and a long list of previous laws, and substituted for them a general code, or constitution, for India. It provided almost complete self-government for the eleven provinces into which British India was divided; and although the appointed governors had certain reserved powers, it was generally understood that they would exert no more control over the ministry and the elected assembly than similar officials exercised over the assembly of a province in Canada, or the king over parliament in England.

The central government would be less completely in the hands of the people, although the Viceroy would have more native members in his cabinet than before and the Central Legislative Assembly would have a larger number of elected members. Government was to be responsible to the people here also, except in the two fields of military and foreign affairs; just as in the American system those powers are exercised by the Federal government at Washington alone, not by the states. As a matter of fact, the new central government has never come fully into existence. The part of the act of 1935 which provided for the autonomy of the provinces came into force April 1, 1937. But its remaining provisions met other difficulties.

666. The Federation of India. — It was intended in the British scheme that India should become a confederation. The act of 1935 undertook the long-delayed and difficult, but necessary task of including the so-called native states in the constitution for all India. Within the boundaries of what we usually call India were really two Indias; one was British India, the eleven provinces just described, which were under the government of the Viceroy. The other was the semi-independent native states, each under its own native ruler, subject directly to the British crown. When, in 1858, the rule of India was taken over from the East India Company by the British crown, the period of conquest was considered to be over; and the native states of India not yet annexed were left as they were, except that the government of Great Britain kept control of their foreign affairs and exercised supervision over much of their internal government.

It was these 562 native states, large and small, with a population of about eighty million, that the act of 1935 undertook to bring into a confederation with the rest of India. The difficulties were great, indeed so great that the introduction of this part of the act was deliberately postponed and, in fact, as already stated, has not yet been brought into operation. Many of the native states were as large as European countries or American

states: for instance, Hyderabad, as large as Italy and with a population of about eighteen million; or Mysore, as large as Belgium and with about the same population; or Baroda, with its two and a half million people. Many of them, on the other hand, were small mountain or plains countries, sparsely populated and politically unimportant.

There were among them very different forms of government. Some, like Travancore, were modern, enlightened, and progressive, with some degree of representation of the people and good school systems, and with armies, tariffs, and coinage of their own; but for the most part they were autocracies of an Oriental type. Several of their rulers had been educated in English or American universities or colleges and held Western views of life. But most of them were by birth and training typical Oriental despots, though supervision by the British government prevented any extreme barbarism toward their subjects or tyranny over them. Some of the princes were Hindu, some were Moslem. These princes, or at least the more backward of them, feared the loss of their prerogatives as sovereigns in the confederation proposed. The leaders of the Congress party were equally opposed to including the native states in the union, because the representatives of these states would be the personal appointees of the princes and thus would weaken the democratic principle which the Congress party hoped would rule India.

But little had been done or seriously considered about certain other Indian problems. One of the most serious of these was the question of religion. The Congress party was predominantly Hindu and had a rival in the Moslem League. Of the approximately three hundred and eighty-eight million population of India, some two hundred and fifty million were Hindus; one hundred million were Mohammedans; the remainder were distributed among smaller sects. Between the main religions there was the greatest bitterness, frequently flaring up into riot or actual warfare. There were, besides, the depressed classes on

the fringe of Hinduism, the "untouchables," of whom there were some fifty millions, excluded from the social life of the community except for the efforts of reformers, and from political life except for the compulsory provisions of the act of 1935. No satisfactory plan for the settlement of the problem of the political position of Sikhs and untouchables, of the differences between Hindu and Moslem, or of the claims of Congress-party men to reorganize India without recognition of the powers of the princes had been found when the act of 1935 was placed upon the statute book.

There had been much difference of opinion in the Congress party as to their acceptance of the act of 1935. At a meeting in 1936 they had determined to reject it and to demand the calling of an Indian convention to draw up a constitution for themselves. But when, in 1937, the new law actually went into effect, the more moderate leaders of the party put themselves up as candidates for the provincial legislatures and ministries, and in six of them obtained majorities. In the large sphere of government carried on in the provinces, corresponding closely to the American states, native assemblies and ministries came into control, and proceeded to carry on the affairs of their countries and to adopt measures mostly of a liberal and reforming character.

Yet it was in the central government, with its control over the large national fields of foreign affairs and such matters, that the Hindu leaders were especially interested and in which they felt that independence lay. They were dissatisfied also with the arrangements for representation in the central government and with others of its features. The Congress party therefore refrained from taking part in the elections for the Central Legislature, which continued its old membership, although with some liberalization. It was still possible for the Viceroy to take independent action if he considered it necessary.

In August, 1937, a conference was held between Gandhi and

the Viceroy, at which the latter made some concessions, and Gandhi, after five years of agitation, agreed to withdraw his civil-disobedience campaign. For a while it seemed that moderate counsels might bring about peace in India. The quiet practice of the routine of government under enlightened and freely chosen native ministries in the provinces might habituate the Indian people to self-government, even if their independence was not complete. This hopeful condition of affairs subsisted for two years, from 1937 to 1939, when it was brought to a close by disputes arising from the war.

667. Civil War in Ireland. — The mistrustful treatment of the Irish by the military authorities during the war; the harshness with which the rebellion of 1916 had been put down, the effort to force conscription, and the disappointed hopes of greater freedom for the Irish people led to a rapid growth of the Sinn Fein party, which wanted, not home rule, but entire separation from England — an independent Republic of Ireland. At the election of 1918 this party carried seventy-three of the southern Irish districts, while the old Home Rule, or Nationalist, party carried only six, and the Unionists in the north of Ireland twenty-six.

In accordance with their election pledges that they would no longer recognize the British government, the Sinn Fein representatives of Irish constituencies refused to attend the parliament at Westminster. Instead they met at Dublin, took the name of *Dail Eireann*, or Irish Assembly, and on January 21, 1919, passed a Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. They sent delegates to the Peace Conference, which was sitting in Paris, and representatives to the United States and other countries, seeking recognition as an independent republic. Their independence was not acknowledged in any of these quarters, and their separate organization was not, of course, accepted by the British government. They proceeded to act however, as far as they could, as the government of Ireland; appointed

voluntary Sinn Fein courts, to which the Irish people took almost all their disputes; and recruited a "Republican Army," which, though necessarily secret and without uniforms, soon rose to considerable numbers.

The British parliament in 1919 ordered the dissolution of the Dail, all the organizations that it had created, and the Sinn Fein party itself. In 1920 a fourth home-rule bill was passed. This divided Ireland into two parts, provided that each should have its own parliament with many powers of self-government, and called for a special election in Ireland to accept or reject the plan. Ulster, which comprises the six northern counties, accepted immediately and was recognized by the British government as "Northern Ireland," with its own government for its internal affairs, almost as independent as one of the self-governing dominions. A parliament was elected, and in 1921 the king went to Belfast to open its first session.

In the remainder of Ireland, on the other hand, the people, at the election, overwhelmingly rejected the proposed home-rule parliament and supported the rebellious Dail Eireann. There followed in 1920 and 1921 a miserable civil war. There were fighting, murders, a series of burnings, raids on dwellings and post offices, lootings of banks, and other outrages. Many of the Sinn Fein leaders, even those who were members of the Dail Eireann, were suspected of encouraging the riots and were therefore imprisoned. English officers were dragged from their beds and murdered before the eyes of their wives. By the middle of 1921 some 395 police had been murdered and several thousand separate outrages of one kind or another had been reported. English officers were assassinated on their way to or from church. Country houses and public buildings were burned down, and trees that had adorned the parks of the gentry for centuries cut down. The treatment of the rebels by the soldiers was almost as bad. Irish prisoners were allowed to run away and then shot in the back. There was little to choose in treachery and sav-

agery between the two sides. When the police, — the constabulary, as they are called in Ireland, — many of whom were Irishmen, proved unable or unwilling to put down the lawlessness, the government introduced troops for the purpose. These amounted to more than 60,000 men. They were recruited largely from the lately discharged soldiers, who had kept their khaki uniforms and wore, with these, new black caps; they were usually known as the "black and tans" and were naturally hated by the Irish people.

668. **The Treaty with the Irish Dail.** — Conditions finally became so bad that in December, 1921, the prime minister, who was then Lloyd George, called a conference in London with a number of leading Irishmen, some of whom had to be released from prison to come. This conference broke down on the refusal of the Irish to accept anything less than full independence, whereas what the ministry offered them was only "dominion status," such as Canada and the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations possessed.



Ireland, indicating the Two Divisions

A second conference was held, at which more moderate leaders, especially the popular young Commander in Chief of the Irish Republican Army, represented Ireland; and in January, 1922, a treaty was entered into by the representatives of the government and the Dail. This provided that all Ireland except the six counties of Northern Ireland should become the

Irish Free State, with somewhat more independence than the other self-governing dominions of the empire. This was felt to be, and really was, a great concession by Great Britain, reversing her policy of many centuries and leaving Ireland to control her own destinies, whether her action should be favorable or unfavorable to the former leading partner. It was entered into with reluctance even by some of those who signed the treaty.

The constitutional plan thus agreed upon was ratified by the British parliament without serious opposition; but in Ireland it split the Sinn Fein party, one part still refusing anything short of complete independence. The more moderate party, however, was successful in a popular election, and in January, 1922, the Dail accepted the agreement by a vote of 64 to 57. A few days later there was a dramatic scene at Dublin Castle, when the English troops marched out, ending an occupation of more than six hundred years and turning all powers over to the new Irish government. A constitution for Ireland was soon drafted and accepted by the British parliament, and William Cosgrave became president. But De Valera, the leader of the extreme party, claimed that the Irish Republic still existed, and, with a number of adherents, refused to accept the decision of the majority in the Dail. Guerilla warfare again broke out, not now between English and Irish but between the new Irish government and the rebellious Republicans. Though short, it was a bloody and destructive conflict. The leading minister of the Free State, Michael Collins, was murdered by a shot from ambush; and Arthur Griffith, the founder and one of the most devoted of the Sinn Fein party, died in sorrow.

De Valera's rebellious party gradually abandoned him, and he gave up the contest and went abroad. Later he resumed attendance at the Dail, taking the position of a leader of a party in opposition to the ministry. The balance of power between the two parties was close; and at an election in March, 1932, De Valera's party won a majority, and he became president.

669. The Irish Free State. — During this time the Free State, which officially is known as Eire, lost no opportunity of insisting on the status of an independent nation, not merely of a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The ancient Irish language was introduced in the schools and in debates in the Dail as an official and, in some cases, as a compulsory alternative to English. In 1923 membership in the League of Nations was asked for and obtained. In 1924 Eire appointed a minister to the United States and in return an American minister was sent to reside in Dublin. In 1928 embassies of the Free State were established in France and Germany and at the Vatican; and ministers from all three have been sent regularly to Ireland. In 1933 the Dail abolished appeals from Ireland to the British Privy Council and the oath of allegiance to the king. These were of course violations of the treaty and went beyond dominion status, but Great Britain made no protest. Ireland simply went further in the direction of independence than the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

There have unfortunately been several periods and forms of disorder and political chaos in Ireland. The rebellious habit of centuries and the lawlessness of the early days of the Free State have not been easy to outlive. In 1927 a Public Safety Act was passed giving the president larger powers of arrest and military trials. The I. R. A., the Irish Republican Army, was dissolved, and secret membership in it was made a special offense. In 1935 the Blue-Shirts, a semifascist organization, was formed; and the government of De Valera is itself inclined toward fascist provisions somewhat similar to those of Italy.

A successful step in strengthening the economic position of the country was the development by government action of the waterpower of Ireland's one large river, the Shannon, by which electrical power was provided for many industrial, domestic, and municipal needs.

De Valera and his party remained dissatisfied with the sepa-

ration of Northern Ireland from the Free State. As has been pointed out, the two parts of the island differ in racial origins, the south being predominantly Celtic and the north having been mainly settled from England and Scotland. They differ in religion too, since the north is mainly Protestant, the south Catholic; and the Protestants of Northern Ireland positively refuse to live under the same government with the Catholic south. Yet Eire continued to demand that the northern counties be united with it. In 1925 an official joint committee established the boundary between the two dominions, but De Valera and his party did not accept it and still insisted that the whole island should be one.

Disputes arose with England over tariffs, those of Eire being among the highest in the world, and over old claims for repayment to England of money lent to Irish tenants for purchase of land from their landlords. In 1936 better relations were established by a new trade pact with England and the adoption by Eire of a new constitution. In 1938, to complete the conciliation of Eire, Great Britain turned over to her, against much opposition in England (including a vigorous protest in parliament by Mr. Churchill), the three principal Irish coast defenses, Queenstown in the south, Bearhaven in the southwest, and Lough Swilly in the northwest, — harbors which were to be sorely needed for the defense of both Great Britain and Ireland but a few months later.

670. The End of the Coalition Government, 1922. — While these attempts were being made to settle the troubled relations with Britain's restless dependencies, her internal affairs were no less troubled. The coalition government of Lloyd George had been well suited to carry on the war; it was not so well fitted to govern in time of peace; it contained too many diverse elements. Although, as has been seen, it supported the League of Nations, favored the growing independence of the dominions, and secured the treaty with Sinn Fein that finally led to a settle-

ment of the old troubles with Ireland, disputes among its members and their parliamentary followers led, in 1922, to its dissolution and the resignation of Lloyd George. Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative party, became prime minister; and when he resigned on account of ill-health a year later, Stanley Baldwin, Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, became prime minister.

Instead of the old two-party system, which had long characterized English political life, three parties were now striving for control. The old Liberal party, which had been responsible for so much of national progress and reform in England, was now going downhill. It was split into two divisions, those who accepted the leadership of Lloyd George, the late war prime minister, and those who supported Mr. Asquith, the more cautious leader he had superseded. On the other hand, the Labor party, the most recently formed political party in England, was growing rapidly. In 1900 it had received but 60,000 votes and had only two members of parliament; in 1910 it secured 500,000 votes and had forty members of the House of Commons; in the election of 1918 its candidates received more than 2,000,000 votes and won fifty-seven seats in the Commons. During the period covered by this chapter its vote rose at one time (in 1929) to 8,000,000, more than one third of the whole body of voters; and in parliament it had two hundred and eighty-seven members, almost half the membership of the House of Commons. It included a large proportion of the trade unionists and other workingmen, and, notwithstanding its name, appealed to many persons in the middle and upper classes who were attracted by its liberal and progressive policy. It did not use the word "socialism" in its party platforms, but it was practically a socialistic party. Within this period several of its members were raised to the peerage and became members of the House of Lords.

But on the whole it was the Conservatives, in a succession

of Conservative cabinets or as members of coalition governments, or indirectly by their opposition to the more advanced proposals of other parties, that controlled the policy of government during this period of twenty years. The Conservative party, however, accepted the earlier reforms for which the Liberal party was responsible and indeed introduced some progressive legislation on its own account. Mr. Baldwin's ministry lasted from 1923 to 1929, with an interruption of a few months in 1924 during which a Labor government was in office.

671. Unemployment: The Abandonment of Free Trade.—The most serious internal problem of England during this time, one which all ministries alike had to cope with, was widespread unemployment. Great numbers of the working classes — and, to an only slightly less extent, the middle classes also — found no work for which they could get wages or salaries, no matter how industriously they sought it. In some degree this had long been a problem; after the war it was a rapidly growing one. In 1918 there were about a million regularly unemployed; by 1924 there were two million. At the close of the year 1931 more than two and a half million out of England's fourteen million working men and women were unable to find themselves a job.

On its policy toward unemployment and proposals for relieving it the Conservative party lost its control of government for the first time since the war. England had been a free-trade country since 1852.¹ During the First World War, however, controls had necessarily been placed over the import and export of goods; and in 1921 a Safe-Guarding of Industries Act had permitted the ministry, with the consent of parliament in each case, to place a duty of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent on goods of certain kinds. In the meantime Prime Minister Baldwin, like many other Conservative leaders, had become convinced that there would be more employment if a protective tariff were adopted. It was thought possible also that the self-governing dominions would

¹ See pp. 641-644.

unite with the mother country in a system of preferential tariffs among themselves, thus broadening the home market. In an effort to obtain the approval of the country for this policy Mr. Baldwin dissolved parliament, and new elections were held in December, 1923. The people, however, were afraid of tariffs, which would probably increase prices, and the majority of those elected from all three parties proved to be against them. Therefore, since the main point of his policy had been defeated, Mr. Baldwin, with his colleagues in the ministry, resigned.

672. The Labor Party in Office, and Conservative Reaction, 1924. — The election of 1923 made the Labor party the second in numbers in parliament, and since the Conservative ministry had resigned, Ramsay MacDonald, the acknowledged leader of the Labor party, became prime minister.

There had been widespread fear of what might happen when the Labor party, with its platform of socialism, came into office; but comparatively little change was perceptible. The same old problems of unemployment and lack of prosperity remained, and the country was in no mood for experimentation. Many members of the Labor party, in fact, regretted the absence of any genuinely socialistic legislation and complained of the faithlessness of their leaders to their principles. The ministry, however, were liable to be turned out of office at any time by a combination of the Conservatives and Liberals and could hardly be expected to carry through any far-reaching plans.

In foreign affairs their policy was more active and more successful. The personal relations of Mr. MacDonald with the prime ministers of Germany and Italy were cordial; and he was successful in bringing about a series of agreements for peace known as the Locarno treaties, from the name of the little town in Switzerland where they were signed. With Russia also MacDonald formed close ties. It was indeed the charge that the Labor ministry in England was unduly sympathetic with the Communist government of Russia that forced the ministry to

dissolve parliament and hold elections in the fall of 1924. In the midst of these elections a letter was published, purporting to be from Zinovieff, a Russian Communist, addressed to British Communists, urging them to create disloyalty in the British army. The genuineness of the letter has been generally doubted; but it was enough to rouse widespread fear of Communism, and the Labor party was defeated by a great majority. Mr. MacDonald resigned; and Mr. Baldwin, head of the Conservative party, which had won a great victory, began his second ministry, which lasted five years. It is of interest to note that at this election the Liberal party almost disappeared, having been cut down to 40 members in parliament. The Labor party had only 151 members; the Conservatives, 413. Four women were elected to this parliament — three of them Conservatives, one Labor.

This Conservative victory over the Labor party indicated the fear so widely felt that the working classes favored the Russian system and that, moderate as their action in parliament had been so far, they really wanted to make some such economic, social, and religious changes in England as had been made by the Communists after the Soviet Russian Revolution of 1917. From this arose much bitterness of feeling between parties in England.

Negotiations with Russia therefore were carried on with less sympathy by the Conservatives; disputes were more frequent; and, in 1927, on the ground that Russian representatives in England carried on Communistic propaganda calculated to overthrow the government, all British diplomatic intercourse and much of the trade intercourse with Russia were brought to an end. A few years later MacDonald again became prime minister, and trading and, eventually, diplomatic intercourse were resumed. But fear of Russian Communism remained strong in England, especially among the upper and conservative classes; and cordial relations between the two countries, which

were to be so important a few years later, were but poorly maintained.

In 1927 the ministry made an effort to carry out old pledges, given in the Parliament Act of 1911,¹ that the House of Lords should be reorganized and then given back some of the powers taken away from it by that act. But it was discovered that the ideal of democracy and purely representative government had progressed far, even in the Conservative party, and therefore the proposal was dropped.

The Conservative government had always paid much attention to finance. In 1923 it had agreed, after long negotiations, to repay to the United States, at the rate of £43,000,000 a year, the vast sums England had borrowed from that country in the First World War; but financial troubles intervened, disputes arose, and, although one payment of £10,000,000 was made, the arrangement broke down and the remainder of the debt remained unpaid.

In 1925 the ministry declared a return to payments in gold, which England, like most other countries, had been forced to abandon during the First World War. The old valuation of the pound sterling was reestablished, but its full value in exchange with other countries could not be preserved. Prices were brought down in England, but foreign trade was made more difficult and export still further declined.

673. The General Strike of 1926. — There was no doubt that the old manufacturing and trading prosperity of Great Britain was declining. As a result of the war, the spread of invention, and the competition of other countries, the sale abroad of manufactures of iron and steel, textiles, coal, and many other commodities was diminishing.

Of all lines of industry the mining and transportation of coal were suffering most severely. They had long been England's

¹ See pp. 696-698.

largest industry. The black smoke of British coal ships was seen on every sea; the coal-mining regions of the north and west of England, of Wales, and of the south of Scotland were some of the busiest and most thickly settled spots in the world. In the years after the war this industry was declining steadily. More than 98,000,000 tons had been exported in 1913, less than 44,000,000 tons in 1920. Other countries were mining their own coal; oil was taking the place of coal as fuel; some countries were now too poor to buy. As a result there was great irregularity of employment. In no other part of England or Scotland were poverty and suffering so widespread as in the coal regions. Disputes between the miners and their employers were frequent and bitter.

Wages were kept down to the standards of the poorest mines. The organization of the industry was antiquated. There were some manifest injustices. The owners of the land through which many of the mines were sunk received royalties from the mining companies though they made no contribution to the production of the coal. This made it more difficult for the companies to pay fair wages or give regular employment. Successive committees of investigation were appointed by parliament and efforts were made to get conditions improved, but nothing was done. Conditions were so bad that the Prince of Wales, on a visit to the mining regions, was led to promise measures of improvement, though he had no authority from the ministry to do so and was exceeding his constitutional powers by making commitments that only parliament could carry out.

In 1925 the coal owners gave notice of decreases in wages and changes in working conditions. To avoid a strike and the closing of the mines, the government paid to the mine owners, for nine months, a subsidy equalling \$10,000,000 a month, to enable them to continue paying the old rate of wages. It was expected that during that period some reorganization of the industry would take place, but nothing was done.

When the subsidy ceased, on May 1, 1926, no agreement had been reached, and a great strike followed. All mining of coal came to an end; and the miners, after a period of struggle, appealed to the other trade unions for support. The sympathies of practically the whole working class were at first with the miners, and at the Trade Union Congress authority was given to the Council to call a "sympathy" strike of as many of the trade unions as should be considered necessary to enable the miners to win their strike. On May 4, 1926, certain unions were ordered by the Trade Union Council to stop work, and others were ordered out progressively within the next few days until some 2,000,000 men and women in the leading industries were staying away from work. Railroad trains, trams, and busses for the most part stopped running, the newspapers did not appear, and business in general ceased. The leaders of the strike offered to look after hospitals and dependent persons, but there was no need to carry out these plans; for the government, which had been long preparing for such a crisis, took prompt action, as it would have done in wartime. It called for volunteers to bring milk and food into the cities by government trucks, and used troops as guards to protect volunteers from being interfered with and to keep order. There was, however, practically no disorder; and the general discomfort was endured, in the main and for a while, good-naturedly. The large number of men and women who had been already for a long time unemployed furnished a labor supply which was used by the government and by private employers to do some of the most necessary work, as in many cases all union workmen stayed away.

The great body of the middle and upper classes and many in all classes were opposed to the general strike. There was a widespread feeling that the whole community was being made use of and inconvenienced by the trade-union leaders for the sake of their own class interests. The strike was also felt by many to be an effort to bring the government into the struggle

to force the coal owners to yield to the miners ; to make use of what was called "direct action," to which England was not used. To many persons came thoughts of the Russian revolution and other risings by the common people.

There was very little class feeling in England, but what there was came to the surface in this strike. Many men and women from the upper classes volunteered to do work necessary for the community, and at the same time to help break the strike. Students from the universities and public schools, officials and clerks, business and professional men, acted as conductors and as omnibus and even locomotive drivers — much to the risk of the passengers. They served as railroad porters and dock hands, and did other kinds of manual work so that many public services were kept going. The loss and inconvenience, however, were great, for the strikers as well as for others. It became clear that in a closely knit modern community injury cannot be brought upon some and not upon all. After eight days of confusion, loss, and altercation, and after the union leaders had obtained, as they thought, assurance from the ministry that the difficulties of the coal miners would be sympathetically considered, the general strike was called off. It had made a deep impression on all classes and caused severe criticism of the trade-union leaders. There was equal bitterness among the miners. The ministry was unable or unwilling to carry out its promise to force on the coal owners a settlement of the strike ; so the men felt that they had been betrayed by the government and by the other trade unions. They therefore continued the conflict as a miners' strike for six months more and did not succumb until November, 1926.

To prevent the recurrence of such an event and to limit what was felt to be the rising power of the trade unions, for which the Conservative party had no love, in the next year, 1927, a new Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act was passed. It declared "sympathy strikes" illegal. Strikes for the purpose of coercing

the government or for intimidating the people of any large region were likewise made illegal. Picketing of the homes of individual workmen was forbidden. Unions of government employees were forbidden to affiliate with any other unions or with any political parties. The dues of a member of a trade union were not to be put into a fund for political-party purposes unless he expressly asked that it be done.

This measure, introduced by the Conservative ministry in April, 1927, was fought step by step by the Labor party, which threatened to repeal it as soon as that party returned to power. It was carried nevertheless by a large majority. It was the first in the long line of statutes concerning trade unions, enacted since the beginning of the nineteenth century, that was not favorable to them.

674. Unemployment Insurance and Social Security. — Many modern governments have established some form of insurance to support working men and women during periods of unavoidable unemployment. The system introduced in England in 1911¹ was successful during its early years, the payments being adequate and a reserve accumulating in the treasury. About 2,500,000 men and women were insured under this scheme.

The war introduced new conditions. In 1916 it was realized that the war had drawn temporarily into munitions work many men and women who later would have to be returned to trades many of which were not included in the existing insurance scheme. To give them protection the law was extended to include new and less well-established industries. This brought 1,250,000 more persons under its provisions, but strained its resources correspondingly. In addition to this an arrangement was made at the close of the war which, though temporary, proved to have lasting results. This was a donation equalling \$5 to \$7 a week from the national exchequer to all ex-service men

¹ See p. 691 and *Readings in English History*, pp. 772-774.

and civilian war workers not in insured occupations and unable to get jobs. It was expected that their unemployment, caused by the troubled times, would be only temporary; and, as a matter of fact, the donations were discontinued after a year in some trades, after two in others.

As it proved, the problem of unemployment remained unsolved, and these government emergency gifts left behind them an unfortunate name. Since they were free gifts from the government they were somewhat ill-naturedly spoken of as "doles." The whole system of unemployment insurance was frequently confused with these and called "the dole." This was of course an incorrect term. More than two thirds of those receiving payments from the Unemployment Insurance Fund were "covered" persons who had regularly paid in their share of the premiums from which the insurance fund was created, as in any other form of insurance.

The continued unemployment that existed after the war necessitated frequent loans to the Insurance Fund from the National Treasury. In 1924 an act was passed repealing earlier laws, extending the insurance plan to many other industries, and establishing a rate of payment of insurance for unemployment equalling about \$3.75 a week for men and \$3 a week for women for a period of fifteen weeks. About 11,000,000 persons were thus covered by this form of insurance, including the great majority of working men and women and others receiving low incomes. About 1,500,000 of those insured were drawing out-of-work payments at any one time.

New laws were passed from time to time extending the system. At the same time efforts were made to guarantee that those receiving payments should be genuinely seeking work and, since these payments were partly charitable in character, that they did not have adequate means of support from other sources. For the latter purpose what was known as the "means test" was instituted.

In 1930 the subject remained so pressing, since there were some two and a quarter million unemployed and receiving payments under the act, that a Royal Commission on Unemployment was appointed to investigate the whole question. Two years later this commission reported in favor of a continuance of the system, and a new and more extensive act was passed. Since then it has become a permanent part of the work of government and a main branch of the whole system of social security.

675. The Labor Party again in Office. — Because of the law restricting the length of a parliament to five years, a new parliament had to be elected in 1929. In anticipation of this the Conservative ministry, in speeches inside and outside parliament, laid stress on the stability that the party had given to the country and on its resistance to socialistic proposals, and claimed that if it were continued in office the country would gradually grow more prosperous. The other two parties made more definite appeals. In February, 1928, appeared a report by a committee appointed to devise an industrial policy which the Liberal party would carry out if it were put in office. It was published under the title *Britain's Industrial Future*. It laid great stress on the evils and misery of present conditions and advocated strengthening the social legislation of the period 1906-1914, for which the Liberals had been responsible. They were now ready to give government much greater control of industry. This publication represented the ideas of the more advanced Liberals, but by no means of the whole party.

The Congress of the Labor party, in October, 1928, issued a pamphlet, *Labor and the Nation*, which made proposals for legislation of a still more socialistic nature. The Labor party promised to obtain this "not by force or revolution but with the consent of the majority of the electors and by the use of the ordinary machinery of democratic government."

It was on these statements of the intentions of the three parties, reiterated in preëlection speeches, that the election, the

last that was to be held on a purely three-party basis, took place on May 30, 1929. The result was a defeat for the Conservatives, who had not brought to the country the prosperity they had promised and who had no new legislation to propose, such as both Liberals and Labor offered. The Labor party won what the Conservatives lost. They had 287 members of the House of Commons, the Conservatives 261, and the Liberals 59. The Labor party thereupon took office for the second time, and Mr. MacDonald became prime minister in June, 1929.

The reform measures of the Labor party were only moderate in character, since the Labor ministers were dependent for their majority on the constant coöperation of the Liberals. Besides, Mr. MacDonald and most members of the ministry represented the more moderate wing of the party.

They signed the "Optional Clause" in the constitution of the World Court, promising to submit all disputes with any other country concerning the meaning of any treaty, and all disputes on questions of international law, to the Court for settlement; they at last ratified the Washington agreement, originally entered into in 1920, that eight hours or less should, with some exceptions, be the length of a day's work. Steps against militarism were taken in 1930 by the withdrawal of grants for the military training of boys in the schools, by restoring the conscientious objectors of the late war to full civil and political rights, and by the abolition of the death penalty for desertion or cowardice of soldiers.

A law raising the age for compulsory education to fifteen years — partly with the object of carrying the education of the young people further, partly to diminish unemployment by postponing the entrance of boys and girls into the labor market — was carried in 1932, though it was not to come into effect immediately.

Early in 1930 a new Coal Mines Act was passed which carried the control of government over that industry much further than

before. The mines in each of the fields were required to amalgamate for certain purposes, and a compulsory marketing scheme was introduced. Changes favorable to the working classes were made in the Pensions Act and, as already said, in the Unemployment Insurance Act. A new Trades Disputes Act, reversing many of the provisions of the act of 1927, according to the party's promise, was passed. This series of moderate acts of reform was brought to a close, for the time at least, and the Labor party deprived of its control of government by a crisis in the financial affairs of the country.

676. The National Ministry. — By the middle of 1931 the weight of an unexampled business depression had settled heavily down on all countries of the world and on Great Britain perhaps most heavily of all. In addition to a steady decline in her export trade, diminished home demand, extremely high taxation, and unemployment of vast numbers of her people, it was suddenly brought home to the government that the gold reserve, on which were based the value of her paper money and the credit of government for purchases and exchange abroad, was being rapidly drawn out of the Treasury. In order to save the government's credit, it was necessary to take immediate steps to balance the budget by increasing income or decreasing expenditure. The plan submitted to the cabinet by Prime Minister MacDonald and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Snowden, proposed, along with many other economies, to cut down the payments for unemployment insurance. Other members of the cabinet were unwilling to do this, refused to follow their chief and his supporters, and agreed that the ministry must resign. Mr. MacDonald, however, believed that the crisis was too serious for him to leave the helm, and on August 25, 1931, he presented to the king the resignation of the ministry and at the same time, with the consent of the king, resumed his position as prime minister and proceeded to construct a new ministry made up of members drawn from all parties. This he described as a "Na-

tional" ministry, formed to carry the nation through a great crisis, similar to a coalition ministry formed to carry on a war. The Labor party, acting as an organization, expelled Mr. MacDonald and his associates from the party, proceeded to elect Arthur Henderson leader, and went into opposition in parliament.

On September 10 the ministry, now no longer a Labor but a "National" ministry, introduced and carried a new finance bill, including cuts in wages of government employees and reduction in unemployment-insurance benefits. The claim of its sponsors was that it called for equal sacrifices from all. The Labor party, on the other hand, claimed that 90 per cent of the savings were at the expense of working people, and only 10 per cent at the expense of those to whom the sacrifice would be but a small one; and it resisted the passage of the bill, though unsuccessfully.

The split in the party was not unexpected. As a matter of fact, the rank and file of the Labor party had long been impatient at the failure of MacDonald, Snowden, Thomas, and others of their leaders to bring any socialistic measures into parliament. Mr. MacDonald had drifted away from his former companions; he was eloquent and able, but he had ceased to be a genuine representative of the working classes. Feeling against him among workingmen was bitter. He was looked upon, though unfairly, as a turncoat. He believed he represented the nation, not a class, and was only submitting to the inevitable.

The passage of the bill produced serious disorders. School-teachers met to protest against the reduction in their salaries; gatherings of postal employees were held for the same purpose; there were processions and riotous meetings of unemployed in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and elsewhere. The most serious occurrence was the refusal, September 15, of the sailors on several warships to obey orders until their protests against their reduced wages were considered by the government. They gained their point.

The budget was now balanced, the government obtained some

loans, but its credit was not sufficiently improved. The gold reserve in the Treasury was being drawn out at the rate of several million pounds a day, largely for making payments in foreign countries. Therefore, on September 21, parliament repealed the act of 1924 which required it to issue gold at par. Great Britain thus went off the gold standard and so retained what gold was still in the Treasury. The market value of the pound, in terms of American money, immediately fell from about \$4.85 to \$3.50.

This was a crisis of the kind that in the British system calls for a new election to test the feelings and wishes of the people. Parliament therefore was dissolved, and new elections were held on October 1, 1931. The hopes of the Conservatives were more than justified. Candidates of the Labor and Liberal parties, both split by recent events, both lacking their most eloquent and persuasive leaders, and both for the most part opposing the "National" government, were overwhelmingly defeated. Conservatives, basing their appeal partly on a high tariff, partly on the necessity of supporting the "National" government, which promised to carry the country through its troubles, won more than 400 of the 610 seats in the House of Commons. The "National" government was thus given a majority of two to one. The ministry was immediately reorganized, several Conservatives taking the places of the few remaining Labor-National members. Mr. MacDonald still remained prime minister, surrounded by a few of his colleagues. In 1935, however, in ill health and disappointed at the failure of so many of his hopes and efforts, and depressed by his alienation from his old Labor colleagues, he resigned the prime ministership and retired to a minor position in the ministry. Mr. Baldwin became prime minister for the third time, presiding over a ministry still "National" in name but actually Conservative. After 1931 conservatism ruled in the British government.

The Conservative party had its way, notwithstanding some

opposition among its members, with the tariff, adding more protective duties to those already imposed until there were duties on all articles except a few foodstuffs. A tariff that would allow a price of about a dollar a bushel for some 50,000,000 bushels of home-grown wheat was provided for in a system of preferential tariffs among the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations at the Ottawa Conference of 1932. The free-trade policy of eighty years was thus abandoned, and Great Britain and the empire became, like other modern countries, protectionist, surrounded by tariff walls as high as those of the United States. In 1937 the veteran prime minister, Stanley Baldwin, resigned and was succeeded, May 28, by Neville Chamberlain, already a member of the ministry. Although the ministry was reorganized, there was little change of policy.

677. Death of George V, Reign and Abdication of Edward VIII, and Accession of George VI, 1936. — In 1935 George V had been on the throne twenty-five years and, in accordance with the precedent of the golden and diamond jubilees of Queen Victoria, his silver jubilee was celebrated in that year. It was an occasion of affectionate display, though the times were troubled and clouds were already gathering for even worse events. George had won the hearts and the confidence of the people. He was simple in his tastes, sincere, sympathetic, and devoted to his family and the duties of his office. He has been called "the people's king."

He was a typical English constitutional king, always willing to act on the advice of his ministers, but ready, when that advice was lacking or doubtful, to act according to his own best judgment. He lived less than a year after these festivities, dying in January, 1936, to the sincere sorrow of the British people and many others in all parts of the world.

The Prince of Wales, who succeeded to the throne immediately on his father's death, selected, from the long list of Christian names usually given to royal princes, Edward VIII to

be his name as king. He had been for many years well known and popular, and had already fulfilled many duties falling to him as his father's representative. He had visited officially Ireland, India, and most of the self-governing dominions, besides making more purely social visits to the United States and other countries. He owned and several times visited a ranch in Canada. He had spoken with good sense and usually with restraint. He was well aware of the difficulties of the time, and indeed had caused some worry to the ministers by his already mentioned promise to the people, while on a visit to South Wales, that something should be done by the government to improve the lot of the impoverished coal miners and of the unemployed — a promise which the ministers were not ready to fulfill.

But there was little opportunity for exercise of the duties of his office before the question of his marriage came up and led to a constitutional crisis that resulted in his abdication. He seems to have shown no inclinations to matrimony until he had actually become king. Then, soon after his accession, he informed his ministers that he wished to marry an American lady, Mrs. Wallis Simpson. Although there were no imputations upon her character, she had already been twice married and once divorced; and a divorce from her second husband was about to be completed. The marriage of a king or queen had always been considered, to some degree, a public matter; and the ministry now decided, and informed the king, that in their opinion marriage to a woman twice divorced would not be approved by the English people. Edward was determined to marry the woman he had chosen and to abdicate rather than give her up. This was announced by the ministers to parliament, and Edward read his abdication before that body. His brother George thereupon became king under the title of George VI, and was accepted by parliament. The legislatures of each of the self-governing dominions passed laws acknowledging the abdication of Edward and the accession of George.

George VI was crowned with much ceremony in Westminster Abbey on May 12, 1937, with his wife Queen Elizabeth. They and their two children, Princess Elizabeth, the heir apparent, and Princess Margaret Rose, have been a popular royal family, and the king has performed his duties without criticism.



George VI and Elizabeth

Keystone

678. The English Kingship. — The English kingship is now the oldest office in Europe. It is a valuable possession of the English people. The peculiar nature of the king's position in the English government and in national life during successive periods has emerged in part through the course of this history. A good description of its modern form was given in the eighteenth century by Oliver Goldsmith in his *Citizen of the World*. "The Englishman is taught to love the king as his friend, but to acknowledge no other master than the laws which himself has contributed to enact."

A more modern writer, Lord Tweedsmuir, made the comment "The king is of no class, being above classes; he is as much

akin to the worker in the mine and to the laborer in the field as to the highest nobility. . . . We have rebelled against kings but never against kingship ; which during the ages has shed much of its old power, yet maintains its central function and continues to be a primary instinct of our people."

679. Summary of the Period 1918-1936. — This period, notwithstanding its troubled character, its internal disputes, its social and economic difficulties, and the dark clouds of threatening war that were gathering around its close, must not be looked upon as an age of failure or decadence. Great Britain contributed more than any other country to the effort to make the experiment of the League of Nations a success. The reorganization of so large a part of the empire as a democratic, self-governing Commonwealth of Nations was brought to completion, and British ideals of government, justice, and good order were extended widely in the rest of the empire. England did even more than her fair share in the spread of education and enlightenment in the distant parts of the earth. British capital had done much — at a price, it is true — to increase comfort and well-being, by the building of railroads, canals, docks, and other conveniences in many parts of the world.

In internal affairs, the long process of converting England from an aristocracy to a democracy was brought to completion. Her government remained stable, and she did not suffer from persecutions of some classes by others or by any serious approach to a "red scare." The old laws for social security and improvement in housing were carried much further ; and her unemployment, which was at a maximum of more than two and a quarter million in 1933, began to recede in 1934, and after 1937 was little over one million.

The government kept its budget balanced, although with very great difficulty, and despite the burden of a national debt amounting at the close of the war to some thirty-eight billion dollars. Under the stress of diminishing exports and in the

effort to increase her home market, England's manufacturing, which had been largely confined to the north, became largely distributed through the Midlands and the south. This scattering and extension of industry was to prove of inestimable value in the great crisis which was to come.

More than four million new houses were built during this period, one third of the population of the country being rehoused. Britain weathered the storm of the great depression, which culminated in the banking crisis of 1932, better than most countries, and avoided any serious inflation.

Britain's relations with France remained close; and kindlier and more intimate feelings between Britain and the United States grew up with the passage of time and the frequency of mutual intercourse — a cordiality which was even more important for the future than the increase in Britain's economic equipment.

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Contemporary Sources. — CECIL, VISCOUNT, *A Great Experiment*, 1941, an autobiography, throwing much light on the failure of the League of Nations.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON, *While England Slept*, speeches in parliament, 1932 to 1938. Some of the most valuable sources of history are to be found in the speeches, letters, and diaries of prominent men, but they are often prejudiced. HITLER, ADOLF, *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), written in 1924, was translated into English, with many omissions, in 1933, and went through ten editions in the next four months. It has since been translated into various other languages, and several million copies have been printed and distributed in Germany. It contains his characteristic ideas, which have been also the familiar views of the Nazi party. HITLER, ADOLF, *My New Order*, edited by Raoul de Roussy de Sales, a collection of Hitler's speeches and proclamations from April 22, 1923, to June 22, 1941, with annotations giving dates and contemporary newspaper criticisms. BAYNES, NORMAN H., *Hitler's Speeches, April, 1922, to August, 1939*, 2 vols., 1943. This excellent edition is, unfortunately, expensive (\$15). It has the advantage of omitting many of Hitler's familiar repetitions.

Poetry and Fiction. — To list the immense body of novels and poetry illustrative of British history during this period of twenty years is evidently impossible; all that can be done is to give a few suggestions of literary material concerning England and her foreign alliance. After about 1935 the coming of the war brought in a new source of interest and sentiment. WELLS, H. G., *The Autocracy of Mr. Graham and Open Conspiracy*, came late, but still within this period. YEATS, W. B., *The Second Coming*, 1921, a poem, considering the events of the Second World War, almost prophetic in character. TOMLINSON, H. W., *All our Yesterdays; Galleon's Reach*. SHAW, G. B., *The Apple Cart*, a long play that raises some questions concerning modern democracy. GIBSON, W. W., *Neighbors, Krindlesyke, and I Heard a Sailor*, are three collections of poetry dealing with the life of the poor. BUCK, PEARL, *The Good Earth*, 1931, *Sons*, 1932, *A House Divided*, 1935, *The Patriot*, 1939, and *Dragon Seed*, 1941, are her best-known novels and have done much to interpret China to the rest of the world. CROW, C., *The Chinese are Like That*, 1939, a book of truthful observations rather than fiction, but with all the interest of a novel. The same is largely true of two other books by the same author, *Four Hundred Million Customers*, 1937, and *I Speak for the Chinese*, 1938.

Special Topics. — (1) Discovery of Radium, HOOPER, F. A., ed., *These Eventful Years*, Vol. II, pp. 449-454; (2) Last of the Great Geographical Discoveries, *ibid.*, pp. 652-654; (3) Czechoslovakia, The Making of a New Republic, *ibid.*, pp. 181-182; (4) Gandhi in India, GUNTHER, JOHN, *Inside Asia*, pp. 350-369; (5) Japan in Manchuria, *ibid.*, pp. 105-121; (6) The Dilemma of Palestine, *ibid.*, chaps. xxxiv and xxxv; (7) The Spanish Republic.

LANGSAM, W. C., *The World since 1914*, chap. xv; (8) The Soviet Union, *ibid.*, chap. xix; (9) The General Strike, SCOTT, J. F., and BALTZLY, A., *Readings in European History*, pp. 625-629; (10) The New Irish Republic, *ibid.*, pp. 612-628; (11) Egypt since the War, HALL, W. P., *Empire to Commonwealth*, chap. xiii; (12) Climbing Mt. Everest, RUTLEDGE, HUGH, *The Unfinished Adventure*.

CHAPTER XXIV

AGGRESSIONS, 1935-1939

680. Efforts to preserve Peace.—Through the first ten or twelve years after the Treaty of Versailles there was hope that a reasonably satisfactory settlement of the relations of European states to one another had been reached, and that England and other countries might carry on their national life in a peaceful world. The League of Nations made continuous attempts to settle international disputes and to ward off danger of war; and from time to time other efforts were made to guarantee peace among all the nations of Europe or to avoid threatened conflicts between certain groups of them. In most of these Great Britain participated; in some of them she took the leading part; they all influenced her history directly or indirectly.

The most general and promising of these peace proposals, the Geneva "Protocol," offered by the League of Nations in 1924 to all countries that would accept it, Great Britain did not ratify. She dreaded becoming involved too deeply in international complications. It was necessary also that she should consult the dominions before entering upon the engagements involved; and Canada, Australia, and the other states were even more averse to close relations with the Continental countries of Europe. Great Britain, however, took the initiative in summoning to meet at Locarno, a little resort in Switzerland, in December, 1925, representatives of a number of the governments of Europe, at which seven treaties were formed among different groups of these states. The most important of these agreements, and one which, if it had been kept, would have made all subsequent history different, was one by which Germany and

France agreed that they would never have recourse to war in any matter affecting the boundary between them, while England and Italy agreed to guarantee the carrying out of this treaty. Among other agreements entered upon at Locarno were treaties of arbitration between Germany and Great Britain, France, Italy, Poland, and other countries. These treaties were all registered with the League of Nations, and were finally signed in a conference at London the next year.

In 1928, when circumstances were particularly favorable, liberal-minded ministers being in office in France, Germany, and Great Britain, Mr. Kellogg, American Secretary of State, at the suggestion of M. Briand, who was prime minister of France, sent out an invitation, at first to the principal states of Europe, then to all countries, to sign an agreement outlawing war as a means of settling international disputes. On October of that year crowds on the boulevards of Paris watched the representatives of fifteen governments enter the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to affix their signatures to an agreement binding their countries not to have recourse to war in any of their international relations in the future. Later adhesions to the Pact of Paris, or Kellogg-Briand Pact, as it was generally called, were received from the governments of all civilized countries; some governments made reservations, but none of them important ones. It was the high-water mark in combined efforts for a peaceful world.

There had already been, and were to continue to be, bilateral treaties, or lesser treaties between pairs of countries, providing for arbitration of their disputes, or for avoidance of conditions threatening war. In 1922, the Nine-Power Pact was entered into by Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, China, the Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal, and Japan; it was intended to place limits to the extension of the aggressive activities of the last-named government and its army in Asia.

During this period it becomes more and more difficult to

distinguish British history from the general history of Europe, or even of the world; and it is still harder to date the period in which the tide of European, indeed of world history, in which Great Britain was inextricably involved, set definitely toward war. But after some such date as 1932 it became evident that there were three countries, Japan, Italy, and Germany, whose leaders were guiding them into paths that inevitably and fatally led to war.

681. Imperialism. — Imperialism, the control of more advanced over less advanced peoples, has been of great benefit to mankind when it has been benevolent in intention, when it has been accepted without resentment, and when it has been reasonably temporary. As practiced by advanced European and American peoples during the last generation or two, it has exercised on the whole a beneficial influence on the world.

The propaganda spirit of Christianity led the Christian nations of Europe to establish a network of religious missions among the millions of inhabitants of Asiatic and African countries. With missions were connected schools, hospitals, and other philanthropic institutions under the charge of men and women from the Western nations. Trade spread even more widely than religion. The products of the Asiatic and African countries were in unlimited demand in the rest of the world, and a demand for the products or the money of the Western countries existed or could easily be created in Asia and Africa. Many merchants, therefore, were living in Asiatic countries or coming and going in vessels engaged in trade. Protection for these foreign missions and this foreign trade was provided by agreements between the governments of western Europe and local rulers, especially in the East. The abundant capital and enterprising capitalists of the Western countries found occupation and reward by offering to Oriental peoples the special facilities and services of Western civilization — railroads, shipping installations, utilities, and the development of their natural resources. These were legally

established on the basis of government and local concessions. Their profits were drawn from payments by the natives who utilized them. Possession or control of these religious and economic interests, especially in the Asiatic and African worlds, by Western governments extended all the way from mere permission from native rulers to carry on trade to actual government of the country.

Great Britain possessed the most widely extended of modern empires. Her missionary establishments were most numerous, her trade was most widespread, her investments in utilitarian establishments and profitable concessions in China, in Africa, and elsewhere were more extensive than those of any other European power. Apart from the British Commonwealth of Nations, which, although of colonial origin, was now a group of allied states, she had actual possession of many larger or smaller pieces of territory, such as Hong Kong in China, Singapore and many other regions in Malaya, many islands in the West and East Indies, and the great dependency of India. The British Empire had long ceased to be increased either by force or by official negotiations. It gave to the various peoples under its control a certain degree of self-government, personal justice, and an enlightened administration. Yet it was unfortunately true that the British Empire was the object of much dislike in the world. Either from ignorance of its true constitution, from a somewhat misplaced sympathy with some of its peoples, from a failure to recognize its improvement in modern times, or from mere jealousy of its greatness and prosperity, hostility to the empire was easy to arouse.

682. Japan's Defiance of the League. — The first of the great powers to break the peace after the Treaty of Versailles was Japan, the most recent and most irresponsible recruit to imperialism. She was, it is true, far away, and her aggressions were only in Asia. But most of the Western nations had interests in that continent, and her actions there would necessarily affect

them. There was to be considered, besides, the outlawry of war, guaranteed by the Pact of Paris, to which Japan, like others, had acceded. The rest of the world could not be indifferent to the high-handed policy and warlike ambitions of this rising power in the Far East.

Even before the First World War, Japan had become one of the modern nations. She had in a remarkably short time adopted and adapted to her own needs most of the institutions which had made the Western nations powerful. She had become industrialized, had amassed capital and developed financial institutions, and possessed at least a semblance of popular political institutions. She had already a strong army and navy and an extensive foreign trade. This trade was necessary to her life. With a large population living on a restricted amount of cultivable land, she must sell exports abroad in order to have the wherewithal to pay for imported food for her people and raw materials for her manufactures. Although she had already had wars with China and Russia and, during the First World War, with Germany, and had extended her trade by violent methods during the decade following that war, her policy was generally one of moderation and peace. She signed the Nine-Power Treaty, in which she accepted the policy — advocated by the United States — of the "open door," that is, commercial access of all nations to China; she acknowledged the independence and territorial integrity of that country; and she agreed to a limitation of the strength of her navy.

But there was growing up in Japan a party, in close union with the army, that advocated a militarist and expansionist policy uncontrolled by treaty limitations or ideals of peaceful trade relations. The Japanese army is a peculiar institution. It is almost entirely separate from, and largely independent of, the civil government, and often controls it. Its officers, even the highest generals, are self-made men, sprung from the middle or lower classes and rising through the army to their elevated

and influential posts. The eyes of this party were from the beginning turned toward China as a field for conquest. China's vast territory, great population, and almost unlimited possibilities for conquest and profitable trade were an irresistible temptation to an aggressive militant party and the government which it influenced so deeply.

China had a population of 450,000,000, almost one quarter of all the people in the world. These people were industrious, orderly, enlightened, and socially well organized. The country had great natural resources, but it was old-fashioned in methods of manufacture and transportation, and, until a late period, politically disunited.

In 1912, however, under Sun Yat-sen and other young men, many of whom had been educated in the United States or Europe and, like the Japanese, were much influenced by Western civilization, China drove out the old line of emperors and became a republic. The party which had carried through this revolution was known as the *Kuomintang*, or "People's Party." There was, however, much resistance to the central government by "war lords" in the various provinces; and it was not until about 1928 that the power of the central government, with its capital at Nanking, became dominant. Its second head, Chiang Kai-shek, was a young man who had received a military education in Japan and, in the service of the *Kuomintang*, had risen to the head of the republic and of the army. He was known as the Generalissimo and had almost dictatorial powers.

In September, 1931, a detachment of the Japanese army stationed in Mukden, on the borders of the Chinese northern dependency of Manchuria, for the protection of Japanese interests there, precipitated a riot and then took advantage of the occurrence to invade and conquer the whole of the vast province. Manchuria had a population of about thirty million, and great mineral and agricultural resources. Its iron, coal, grain, soy beans, and other products would be of inestimable value to Japan.

The Chinese government appealed to the League of Nations, of which both China and Japan were members, against this forcible seizure of territory. The League, as it was bound to do, accepted the appeal and appointed a committee of investigation under Lord Lytton, an Englishman. This committee, after a thorough inquiry on the ground, declared that Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria should be restored, condemned Japan as an invader, and held that her troops should be withdrawn, though it conceded to her extensive commercial rights, which she had formerly obtained by treaty. The League, however, had no adequate means of enforcing the decision. Japan simply disregarded it, and shortly afterward, in 1933, withdrew from the League. This was the first defiance of the League's authority and the first defection from its membership. Japan reorganized her new conquest, poured money into it for development of its mines and other industries, renamed it Manchukuo, and placed over it a government nominally independent but practically under her own control. This kind of organization has come to be known as a "puppet" government.

China, as a protest, declared a boycott throughout the country against the purchase of Japanese goods. In an effort to force the withdrawal of this boycott the Japanese fleet bombarded Shanghai, the largest commercial port of China, and set the precedent, often followed since in China and elsewhere, of shelling peaceful cities, killing women and children, and destroying private property indiscriminately. This action also did much to bring world condemnation upon the Japanese.

683. War between Japan and China. — In 1937 actual warfare broke out between Japan and China, which Chiang Kai-shek had now unified in resistance. The Japanese fleet and army made rapid progress in the conquest of the Chinese coast and of the cities and open country along the courses of the great Chinese rivers. In 1937 they captured Nanking, the Chinese capital, and in 1938 the great cities of Hankow in the north and

Canton in the south. By August of 1939 they held all the important ports and were able to control Chinese trade. Still Chiang refused to surrender; withdrawing to a new capital, Chungking, 1000 miles inland, he continued to hold all the land except the areas that the Japanese army actually occupied, and to carry on the war, staunchly aided by guerilla bands. But the Japanese were firmly entrenched along the coast, between China and the rest of the world, and in 1940 they set up a puppet government at Nanking, under a prominent Chinese, Wang Ching-wei, who was willing to accept the overlordship of Japan. This had no effect on Chinese resistance.

By going to war Japan had disregarded the pact for the outlawry of war and the Nine-Power Treaty, and thus antagonized all the Western powers. The Japanese policy and the incidents of the dispute had conflicted with their economic and moral interests, injured their trade, and threatened the welfare of the thousands of Europeans and Americans living in China. The Japanese army imposed restrictions on trade and on freedom of action wherever it went. Tariffs, commercial controls, exclusion from harbors and rivers, and destruction of villages followed the footsteps of the Japanese army.

After China, Britain was the greatest sufferer. She had by far the greatest trade with China of any foreign nation. She had many investments in China, had made many loans to the government, and was enjoying many concessions in return. She had many religious missions there, and the institutions connected with them, as had other Christian nations. She held also, by treaty, the island of Hong Kong and the great city that had been built up there, largely by settlement of the Chinese. Protests, appeals, and threats were made by the British and other governments, but little attention was paid to them by the Japanese government, now entirely under the influence of the war party, or by the European nations living under the threat of war nearer home. The United States, in protest, abrogated its trade treatv

with Japan in July, 1939, but took no steps to limit Japanese importation from America of scrap iron and steel, which were necessary for her warlike preparations. In fact, Japan, to a far greater extent than was then known, or even suspected, by Western nations, was building up a vast army, navy, and air force and storing up metals, oil, and food for a long war — an equipment that was only later to be discovered by the rest of the world, to its sorrow and to Japan's final loss. This provision of military stores was doubtless the main cause of her persistence in a policy of antagonism that would bring her into war with the Western powers and expose her to a long period of suffering and loss and to the probability of final, complete humiliation. The whole Japanese people, naturally patriotic, were, to all seeming, now becoming reconciled to the war and even enthusiastic for it. The government, which represented the army, carried on assiduous propaganda among the people. This was called "national spiritual mobilization." Members of the cabinet and generals of the army broadcast appeals to the people. Those opposed to a war policy were silenced, and popular organizations which criticized the army or the ministry were dissolved. In 1938 the Diet passed the "National Mobilization Bill," which gave to the ministry complete control over almost the whole life of the people.

In the meantime the Western countries had gone to war among themselves, and in September, 1940, Japan entered into an alliance with the "Axis," that is, the union that already existed between Italy and Germany. Japan's ambitions so far had extended only to control over China. She spoke of the "Japanese-Chinese co-prosperity sphere." She began now to speak more and more frequently of a "Greater East Asia," of a "new order in Eastern Asia." This meant that Japan, as the leading state in the East, would extend her influence and (for the time, at least) her control, not only over China but over French Indo-China and independent Siam (now called Thailand), over

British-controlled Burma and Malaya, over the American Philippines, over the thousand scattered islands of the South Pacific, and perhaps over India itself. It was a fatal determination. It meant Japanese participation in a world war.

684. The Rise of Mussolini. — The second country to break the peace after the Treaty of Versailles, and the first European country to do so, was Italy, or rather the dictator who now spoke for that country. At the close of the First World War Italy was disappointed and depressed. She had won little territory and not much credit in return for her efforts and sacrifices. She was poor. She had beautiful mountains and valleys, but they contained no coal, no oil, no deposits of useful metals. She had no valuable colonies; she had not received those she believed had been promised her as reward for her share in the war. She was overpopulated; there was chronic unemployment. Although the king and royal family were popular, no one of the constant succession of prime ministers was successful in making the country prosperous or orderly or in giving it prestige in Europe. There were numerous political parties, each with its program, socialist, subversive, reactionary, or reformist, merely local or personal. Among these parties was one, destined to survive all the others, under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. Its members wore black shirts as a sort of uniform, and called themselves by the party name of Fascists.¹

Mussolini, an editor of a Milan newspaper, had gathered round him a body of restless young men attracted by his gift of eloquence, his vigor of speech, and his bitter attacks upon the other parties. He was strongly patriotic and appealed to his hearers forcibly but somewhat vaguely for a new and greater

¹ Pronounced "fash'ists." The Italian word *fascio* ("fah'sho") means a bundle, or heap, or group, or something tied together. The party name therefore simply means a group of men bound together for common objects. Later *Fascism* ("fash'iz'm") came to mean a body of principles believed in by this party.

Italy. The Fascists formed branches through the whole country. They had no hesitation in using violence to oppose other parties or to gain members; a favorite device was to administer castor oil to political opponents and to those who refused to join the Fascist party. By 1921 they had nearly a million party members. Mussolini and a number of other leaders were elected to parliament, where, although far short of a majority, they became conspicuous by their abuse of their opponents and their urgent demands upon the government for a more active national policy. Mussolini, the *Duce*,¹ as he came to be called, made violent speeches, both in parliament and outside, demanding that Italy should play a larger part in the world and that the Fascist party should be the rulers of a regenerated Italy.

On October 30, 1922, occurred what has been called the "March on Rome." There was no march; but there were more Fascists in the city than usual, and a number of them demanded from the king that their party should be placed in power. The prime minister, appalled by this disorder, resigned his position. The king, instead of calling in the army to put down Fascist interference, sent word to Mussolini offering him the prime ministership. Mussolini came to Rome by train the next day, was received at the station by applauding crowds, presented himself to the king, was appointed minister, and stood by the king's side as he reviewed the troops and the people in the street.

685. Italian Fascism. — This was the end of representative government in Italy, for although parliament continued to meet and the framework of government remained much the same, Mussolini as head of the state took the initiative in all legislative and administrative action. As the other ministers resigned or were removed, he took their positions himself, carrying on their duties through subordinates named from the Fascist party. At one time he held eight cabinet offices, besides his position as

¹ Pronounced "dōō'chay." Although the word simply means "leader," it soon came to be used as an official title.

prime minister. In 1925 a law was passed making the prime minister independent of any parliamentary majority, and giving his decrees the force of law. He thus became an autocrat, though supposedly in the decrees he issued he was speaking only for the party. The members of parliament were chosen by the Grand Council of the Fascist party from a list of nominees placed before them by subordinate party groups. One by one the other political parties were dissolved. The Fascists were the only party allowed to exist. The party and the nation were considered one. It is the principle of Fascism that the State is supreme. An individual exists only for the State. Fascism is the exaggeration of nationalism. All offices were put in the hands of the party. Italy had become "totalitarian."

Opponents of the system were punished or exiled to certain remote islands. Some men of eminence who could not bring themselves to submit went abroad. Although personal liberty largely disappeared under this form of government, many reforms were introduced and Italy seemed to become a more orderly and more prosperous country. These internal changes might have been made without troubling the peace of the world. But the man who had become dictator was restless and ambitious. He dreamed of controlling the Mediterranean Sea, of obtaining colonies which would give Italy raw material for her manufactures, food, and territory to which her people might emigrate. Italy was a "have not" power, in contrast with those countries like England, the United States, Russia, and others having colonies or greater space, which were "have" powers. Mussolini had a vague idea of obtaining greater power for Italy and restoring the old Roman Empire. By heavy taxation he built up the army and especially the navy and, the newest modern weapon, the air force. Fascism, by its very nature, advocated vigor, force, and, for a nation, military power. In their speeches Mussolini and other leaders glorified war. "Fascism . . . believes in neither the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace."

"Hostile to the spirit of Fascism . . . are all international leagues and societies." "Fascism combats democratic ideology and repudiates it." Mussolini besides was personally proud, even vain. He always wanted to be in the forefront, whether of a party, a government, or a military parade.

686. The Conquest of Ethiopia. — By 1933 Mussolini had made up his mind to increase the territory and power and glory of Italy by war. The region most accessible to her was East Africa, where she had long had possession of two colonies, Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and Italian Somaliland. Inland lay the ancient land of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, a country of some ten million inhabitants, semibarbarous, or, at least, poorly centralized and organized in government, undeveloped in modern industry, and unequipped with modern weapons and materials of war. Great Britain, France, and Italy had long been interested in the region and had received material concessions from its government. Italy had obtained various grants, but had made little use of them.

To prevent exploitation of this country, Italy, France, and England had at one time entered into a treaty, as the European powers and Japan had done with regard to China, to "make every effort to preserve the integrity of Ethiopia." Also, at the recommendation of France, Ethiopia had become a member of the League of Nations. She seemed, therefore, reasonably safe from intrusion and was, under her *Negus*, or emperor, gradually attaining a higher degree of civilization.

In invading Ethiopia, therefore, Mussolini must not only violate the Pact of Paris and his own treaties with that country, but brave the authority — such as it was — of the League. Yet by the year 1934 he had evidently determined on invasion. Seldom has a government more deliberately chosen the way of war when it might, without loss of honor or material advantage, have chosen to remain in the way of peace. He took advantage, in that year, of some boundary disputes, and of a chance maraud-

ing raid by uncontrolled tribesmen from Ethiopia into Somaliland, to pour troops into Africa and prepare for the invasion of the dominion of the *Negus*.

Since both countries were members of the League, Ethiopia, threatened by an overwhelmingly superior force, appealed to the League against the invader, as China had done over Manchuria. The League offered small help. It was doubtful of its powers after its humiliation before Japan, and disinclined to oppose its greater members, of which one, France, under the influence of her prime minister, Laval, had given secret assurance of support to Italy, and another, England, was half-hearted from her fear of a European war. The League hesitated and compromised through the year 1935 until, in December, the troops of Italy, heavily reinforced and well equipped, were scrambling across the ravines that separated the Italian colony from the high country that made up Ethiopia. The army of that country fought bravely and with unexpected unity; but, with no weapons or organization comparable to those of Italy, they were constantly defeated. There was much sympathy for the Ethiopians in other countries, but no help was given them. In fact, at one time, Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, and Laval, the prime minister of France, proposed a compromise by which Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian ruler, should abandon to Italy the larger part of his dominions and give her many concessions in return for the retention of his throne and the remainder of his kingdom. Both contestants refused this compromise, and its only effects were to produce an outburst of anger on the part of the English people at this abandonment of a victim of aggression, and to force the resignation of the minister who had proposed it.

Faced with actual defiance of its power, by warfare of one of its members against another, the League of Nations, on the motion of Great Britain, after condemning Italy as an aggressor and after Italy's refusal to withdraw from her attack on her

neighbor, invoked the mildest of its powers, the declaration of "sanctions" against her. Some fifty countries, members of the League, agreed not to sell any arms to Italy, not to lend her any money, not to buy any goods from her, and, with the exception of certain kinds of goods, not to sell her any. This seemed a complete boycott, but it was not complete. Four countries, minor ones, had refused to come into the scheme; there was much delay in enforcing the boycott; iron, steel, other metals, cotton, wool, and, above all, oil were among the exempted goods that could be sold to Italy. If Italy had not been able to buy any oil, the war would probably have been brought to an end; but Italy declared that if oil were refused her she would attack any vessel trying to enforce the prohibition. Great Britain had reinforced her fleet at Gibraltar and elsewhere in the Mediterranean; but she feared the injury Italy could do to it, and above all she feared the European war that might be precipitated.

The United States, though unfortunately not a member of the League, sympathized with Ethiopia and was willing not to send any increased supply of oil to Italy; but Italy suffered no real shortage. It was proposed to close the Suez Canal, which would have cut Italy off from the scene of the war, but international treaties prevented this. The "sanctions" caused much loss to Italy and the countries that usually traded with her. This loss has been calculated at something more than a hundred million dollars, and the Italian people were furious at the action; but it was not effective in halting the war against Ethiopia.

After some six months of sharp warfare, the Italians had captured the capital of Ethiopia, its army was scattered, and Haile Selassie had fled on a British warship. In May, 1936, Mussolini's government issued a decree placing the "Empire of Ethiopia" under Italy's jurisdiction. The English ministers made such lame excuses as they could for their abandonment of sanctions, which ended by decree of the League on July 15, 1936. Mussolini had succeeded in his conquest; but he had done so

only by unprovoked aggression, by a cynical disregard of his solemn engagements, and by bringing further humiliation to the League. His action contributed to the weakening of the League, and encouraged that conflict among the nations which eventually brought upon Italy and the whole world the unspeakable calamity of the Second World War.

687. The Civil War in Spain. — In July, 1936, a civil war broke out in Spain that did much to divide the democratic from the fascist governments of Europe. Many of the army officers, the higher clergy, and the large landowners had suffered from the revolution and the establishment of the Spanish Republic in 1931. They were further shocked and their privileges endangered by a policy of reforms being planned by a Liberal legislature and ministry brought into power in the elections of February, 1936. Fascism, such as had been introduced in Italy, was spreading among the upper classes in Spain. By these traditionally privileged groups the Liberal and reformist parties now in control of the government were charged with being "Red."¹

General Franco, secretly encouraged by the governments of Italy and Germany, raised the standard of rebellion in July, 1936, and called on the armies to rise. Others joined him; he established a provisional opposition government at Burgos and, with his troops, marched against the national government at Madrid. Outsiders soon gave him assistance. Mussolini, willing to give occupation to his army, and sympathizing with Franco's fascist principles, sent him planes from Italy and dispatched troops to Spain under the name of volunteers. The same action was taken, so far as airplanes were concerned, by Germany. Russia, on the other hand, sympathizing with the "Red" element in the Spanish government, sent airplanes to

¹ The red flag had long been the symbol of revolution and of the Socialist and Communist parties. "Red" applied to individuals or parties meant that they were regarded as sympathetic with communism and with Russia, which had a Communist government.

its support. An "International Brigade," made up of foreigners of various nationalities who sympathized with the republican government, also volunteered to fight alongside of the troops the government hastily recruited.

According to international law, the existing Spanish government should have been able to buy war materials in neutral countries. In England there was much sympathy with the Liberal Spanish republican government which was trying to introduce into Spain some of the free institutions which England had long been fortunate enough to possess. But the Conservative party was in power in England, and among them was widespread fear of communism and suspicion of Spain's Russian Communist friends. In France there was the same division of opinion. Both England and France dreaded that the Spanish war might spread and draw other countries into the contest.

France and England, therefore, both put on record their determination to allow no warlike equipment to be exported from their dominions into Spain, and called upon all other countries to unite in a nonintervention agreement. After some delay this was done by some twenty-five countries, including Italy and Germany. An international committee was appointed to sit in London and supervise this agreement. It was poorly carried out. Secretly or openly, aid was given to both sides, especially to Franco's party by Italy and Germany. Nonintervention was largely an excuse for giving no help to the hard-pressed Spanish government, which, for all its brave fight and the help given by foreign individual volunteers, was being gradually beaten. The Spanish foreign minister went to Geneva to protest to the League of Nations against the aid given to the rebels by Italy, Germany, and Portugal, but he received no help. The only excuse England and France could give for keeping up the pretense of international nonintervention was that it was preventing the war from spreading beyond the Spanish borders. Vast numbers of refugees made their way into France;

the government kept up a hopeless resistance. In November, Italy and Germany recognized Franco and the rebel government; and, one after another, other governments followed their example. Spain was now a fascist state under a dictator.

688. The Rise of Hitler. — The Japanese invasion of China and the Italian conquest of Ethiopia might have occurred, and rival powers have intervened in the Spanish civil war, and yet a world war might not have ensued. The disturbances were far from the center of Europe and need not have involved seizure of European territory or intrusion on European nationalities. There was abundance of inflammable material piled up, but the spark had not yet been applied. It was the aggressions of Germany under Adolf Hitler that started the Second World War. Seldom in history has so much sorrow and loss been justly attributable to the influence of one man.

Among the many small political parties that existed in Germany in the troubled period that followed the First World War was a group of young workingmen who called themselves the National Socialists, since famous as the "Nazis."¹ Their early growth was due to the personality and oratory of their leader, Adolf Hitler. He was an Austrian, brought up in poverty. He had picked up a common-school education and tried to become a trained artist, but failed to gain entrance to the art schools and was forced to make a living by house-painting and irregular manual work. During the First World War he was in the Austrian army but did not rise beyond the position of a noncommissioned officer. After the war he went to Munich, in Germany, and, although unknown outside his group of poor, embittered, and often unemployed workingmen, became in 1921 an elected leader² of this group. He was gifted with powers of speech which,

¹ Pronounced "nah'tseez." From the German word *Nationalsozialisten*.

² The German word for "leader" is *Führer* (pronounced, approximately, "few'rer"). The term *Der Führer* came to be applied to Hitler, exactly as *Il Duce* was to Mussolini, as if it indicated an official title.

in the unhappy conditions of the time, and directed to the discontented German masses, gave him remarkable influence; they secured him dominance in his party, and the party itself grew rapidly. In the one month of December, 1922, he addressed ten mass meetings, numbering altogether some 20,000 people. His oratorical style was unusual: he was nervous and excitable, he had not a pleasant voice or an easy manner, and his speeches were unduly long, often one or two hours, or even longer. But his passionate earnestness, his boldness, his self-confidence, his unmeasured denunciation of the government and of his opponents, and especially his violent attacks upon the Jews, who were often unpopular in Germany, drew great numbers to the meetings where he was to be heard and excited his hearers. He was bitter and condemnatory. He was not restrained by any considerations of moderation or accuracy. His interpretations of history were often quite fantastic. His unmeasured hatred of the Jews led him to accuse them of an evil influence that it was absurd to ascribe to them. His charges against his own government, at that time the German Republic, and against England and France, Germany's opponents in the late war, were equally extreme and inaccurate. He declared that Germany had not been defeated in the war but betrayed by a conspiracy of Jews, Communists, and other traitors at home.

He was equally unrestrained in his prophecies of what Germany would become if once delivered from the Jews and from the burdens imposed upon her by the Treaty of Versailles, and in his promises of a great and happy future for her. In thus appealing to the emotions of the masses of the German people he stirred them from their depression, inspired them with self-confidence after their defeat in the war, and with hope of future wealth and power. Apart from these condemnations and promises and the infection of his self-confidence, there was but little apparent plan in his speeches. Aside from their length, they were full of repetitions, inconsistencies and confusion of thought,

and, above all, reckless misstatements. They served, however, to provide the popularity that opened the way for his later activities as a shrewd party and, eventually, national leader.

At the meetings called by the Nazi party, at which Hitler was invariably the principal speaker, difference of opinion among the hearers at times showed itself; and there were interruptions, sometimes riots. To drive off these opponents Hitler appointed a special group of party members, who were called "Storm Troopers" and wore brown shirts, much as Mussolini had his "Black Shirts." The brown shirt became the regular uniform of the party, and the swastika was adopted as its special emblem.

By November 8, 1923, Hitler thought the numbers and strength of the party were enough to make a revolution possible. It was to be like Mussolini's "March on Rome." Hitler suddenly appeared at a meeting in a beer hall in Munich and declared to all who were present that the Revolution had already broken out. At the same time his Storm Troopers rushed through the city; but the police scattered them, and there was no general response. Hitler disappeared in the confusion but was shortly afterward arrested and confined for a few months in jail. An attempt was made to dissolve the Nazi party, but it was unsuccessful. During this period in prison Hitler wrote his autobiography, *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"). This book, in which he stated his principles and ambitions, ultimately became the Bible of the Nazi party and the German nation. A copy was sent to every newly married couple and millions were sold or distributed.

A year after the "Beer Hall Rebellion," as the riot of 1923 has been called, several Nazi candidates were elected to the Reichstag. As the party increased in numbers, and Hitler in boldness of condemnation of other parties, large manufacturers, businessmen, and landholders began to contribute funds to the Nazi party, believing that it would save their interests from the attacks of the Communists and radicals and put down the rising

power of the trade unions. The party was now well provided with money for propaganda, its meetings were protected by the Storm Troopers, and new material was provided for its orators by the world business depression and the rising tide of unemployment.

In the election of 1932 the Nazis elected more members than any other single party; and Hitler in a campaign for the presidency of the republic, or Third Reich, as the Nazis were to call the new Germany, received six and a half million votes, one-third of the whole.

689. Hitler becomes Chancellor. — On January 30, 1933, Germany went through what was practically a revolution; for President Hindenburg, now a very old man, on the advice of his friends appointed Hitler chancellor of the Reich, although, since he did not have a majority in the Reichstag, or parliament, he would have to govern largely by decrees, a procedure permitted by the constitution in time of crisis, and indeed habitually made use of for the last two years by Hitler's predecessor. As chancellor, Hitler's first decree was for dissolution of the Reichstag and the holding of a new election. In the midst of the election campaign, the great Reichstag building at Berlin was burned. For this spectacular crime the Nazis blamed the Communists; but it was widely held that the Nazis themselves had set the blaze to justify the acts of suppression that were to follow. The Reichstag fire intensified feeling and served as an excuse for the chancellor to use the police and his "Brown Shirts" to enforce his own idea of order. The Nazi party was given a favored position in the elections. Opposition newspapers were suppressed, criticism of the chancellor was forbidden, and promises of prosperity and greatness were made if that party should be given control.

Even yet the Nazi party did not have a majority in the Reichstag; but its numbers were greatly increased and it was still the largest single party. It increased its relative power by voting

for the expulsion of all members who were Communists. Then it proceeded to grant for four years to Hitler, as chancellor, wide powers of government, including the power to issue laws without consultation with the Reichstag or the president. Hitler thereupon decreed the dissolution of the Reichstag, and it practically disappeared from the German system of government, being called only to register and approve some action of the chancellor. In August of the next year, 1934, President Hindenburg died. No new election was held. Hitler issued, under his new powers, a decree conferring upon himself as chancellor all the powers formerly exercised by the president.

The year 1934 was, however, a year of threatened reaction against Hitler, not from outside but from inside his party. The brown-shirted Storm Troopers, the private army of the Nazi party, under their leader, Captain Roehm, showed signs of dissatisfaction with the course of events. Hitler precipitated a showdown by ordering the arrest of a number of the leaders of that wing of the party. In the process of arrest he shot Roehm dead with his own pistol, and the other leaders were executed — or murdered, whichever it might more properly be called. This "blood-purge," as it has been called, left Hitler in as complete control of his party as he now was of the country.

690. German Nazism. — From the very beginning of his power as chancellor, Hitler began the process of reorganizing Germany in accordance with his own ideas and those of the Nazi party. Free speech and freedom of assembly were abolished, and all forms of publication placed under censorship. A press law was issued by which newspapers not only were forbidden to publish anything without the approval of the government but were bound to print anything ordered by the government. All political parties except the National Socialist were outlawed. The trade unions were dissolved and their funds confiscated under the pretext that the government would perform by other methods the work they had done. Similarly, all business and

industry and all professions were subjected to government regulation. Education, from the universities down to the common schools, was placed under government control, and from all teaching were excluded any ideas that the Führer or the Nazi party leaders considered objectionable. Education must include propagation of the ideas and conceptions of society advocated by the Nazi party. Control by the State was more and more widely extended, and the State became identical with the party.

Concentration camps, which were large prisons, mostly outdoor space, surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police or soldiers, were established to hold those opposed to the government: Communists, Socialists, liberals, recalcitrant university professors, teachers, and literary men, troublesome trade-union leaders, and others who would not willingly accept the new regime. A special branch of the government, the *Gestapo*,¹ was created to seek out and prosecute opponents of the new system. Men and women were often sent to concentration camps without notice of the charges against them and without any information about them being obtainable by their friends.

The Jews were shamefully persecuted. Resistance by individuals, whether of Jewish or German blood, was difficult. The Nazi party penetrated everywhere and made any open disobedience or challenge to the system almost impossible. Germany, to all appearance, had become a "totalitarian" state, with one political party, one organization of business and society, one leader. Either because there is something in the character and traditions of the Germans that makes them peculiarly ready to submit themselves to authority or because, as a nation, they were made desperate by recent events and ready to accept any system of government that promised a greater prosperity and a dominant position in Europe, after 1933 they accepted the same system as Italy; that is, they had become fascist.

¹From the German words *Geheime Staatspolizei*, meaning "Secret State Police."

691. The Rearmament of Germany. — As already mentioned, the Treaty of Versailles forbade Germany to create a standing army or navy of any threatening size or force; and it was implied in the wording of the treaty that its other signatories would also disarm, or at least reduce their armaments to proportions suited to the preservation of permanent peace. But, as described in an earlier chapter, the nations were suspicious of one another and unable to reach a common agreement in the matter; it followed that year after year passed without their doing so. In fact, it was calculated in 1935 that almost every country in Europe had a larger army than at the outbreak of war in 1914. Since the other countries had not carried out the terms of the treaty in this respect, Germany claimed to be freed of the requirement to remain unarmed.

There were more fundamental reasons than this why Nazi Germany should rearm. The whole fascist philosophy glorified fighting. War was supposed to bring out the best in man's nature. The way of nature, the hope of the race, consisted in the control of the strong over the weak; Germany must be strong in order to have self-respect. With the ideals of the League of Nations and the Paris Pact, and the arrangement of the Locarno Pact that international disputes should be settled by peaceful means only, Hitler and his party had no sympathy. A nation must be armed in order to fulfil its destiny — "might is right." Secondly, rearmament was a part of the whole Nazi campaign for a great Germany. Germany must be lifted from the humiliation of her defeat. In hundreds of addresses by the Führer and other leaders, appeals had been made for national military strength; and these speeches had not fallen on deaf ears.

Now that Hitler was at the head of the state, the Nazi party in control of the government, and all the liberal and peace-loving elements of the people in exile, in concentration camps, or silenced, the transformation of Germany from an unarmed

nation to an armed camp went on rapidly. Disregard of the military terms of the Treaty of Versailles had begun secretly even earlier; now it went on openly. Cities and whole regions were covered with vast establishments for the forging of cannon and for the building of tanks, airplanes, and other equipment. Shipyards grew up in the ports. Steel, oil, and other materials, as well as food, were stored. Vast sums of money were appropriated for these purposes; and when some cried out against such expenditure, when food prices were high and wages were low, Hitler said it was "more important to have cannon than butter."

In March, 1935, Hitler let it be known that he was building an air force, of which Goering, his principal adviser, was to be the head. In the same month he surprised the world by announcing that he had restored compulsory military service, and that the peacetime army would be 530,000. Italy, France, and Great Britain protested to the German government and to the League of Nations against this violation of the treaty, but Hitler made no reply and the League took no action. The old military traditions and spirit were revived; such trained soldiers and army organization as survived from the First World War were included in the new army. Although statistics were not published, there is reason to believe that more than four billion dollars a year were being spent in Germany for military purposes. She was again a military nation. Organized with German efficiency and the German military spirit, Hitler had no doubt an excellent army, probably the best in Europe.

692. German Aggression against Austria. — Germany, under her fanatical and all-powerful leader, with an army believed to be invincible, all her other ambitions submerged in the dream of military greatness, entered early upon the road of aggression that led inevitably to war. In the tortuous diplomatic intercourse of the period between 1933 and 1939 Hitler frequently gave assurances of his desire for peace. But these were illusory,

either not sincere, or subject to his general intention to win a great position in the world for Germany, no matter at what cost. His patriotism was an obsession. He was a man without precision of thought, and he might well have intended to have peace if it suited German interests, as he understood them, but it would not have been a peace in the usual sense. In his speeches he constantly used threatening expressions, and it became evident that he intended to reach his desired ends whether by peace or by war.

In March, 1936, he astonished the world by suddenly marching German troops into the demilitarized zone along the Rhine and proceeding to fortify the strong points on the border of France. This action not only violated the Treaty of Versailles, which had definitely provided that this strip of Germany, fifty miles wide, should never be "occupied" in a military sense, but it broke the agreement of Locarno, in which Germany had agreed anew to respect that arrangement of her border with France. Great Britain and Italy had been guarantors of that agreement; it was now doubtful what action they or France herself would take. Even Hitler's advisors and generals of the army had taken the step reluctantly and were ready to retire if there was resistance. But Italy was by this time so close an ally of Hitler that she was not likely to oppose his will. Moreover she was engaged in the war in Ethiopia. France and England were both seriously affected, the former by the diminished protection against a German invasion, the latter, not only by her interest in the balance of power, but by her honor. Yet neither took any action. There were discussions among the other Locarno powers and in the League of Nations. Hitler offered a new treaty, of which some terms were impossible, others manifestly insincere. France was afraid of war, and England, as usual, hesitant; so once more protection against an aggressive Germany was abandoned.

Among the leading ideas of Hitler and the Nazis was the

fantastic belief that there was some innate superiority in the German race that set it apart from others and made it by nature a superior breed, a "master race," who should all be united under one rule. This delusion was shown not only in their barbaric hatred and contempt for the Jews, but in their disregard for the claims of other governments over their German subjects. Practically all subjects of the Austrian Republic were of the same blood and language as the Germans, but they were not National Socialists, nor was the Austrian government sympathetic with the principles of the Nazi party. However, in 1937 and 1938 an Austrian "Fifth Column" of Germans and German sympathizers was established, and pro-Nazi propaganda in Austria was extended. Hitler in his speeches offered protection to the "ten million Germans outside of Germany" and made threats of intervention and of their all being "brought home" to Germany unless the men he recommended were put in office. So a new cabinet was constructed in Austria, without reference to the people, disloyal to the chancellor of the country and to the president, but prevailingly favorable to Hitler. On March 11, 1938, under the threats of Hitler, the Austrian chancellor, fearing invasion and civil war, resigned after a pathetic and patriotic speech, and the president of the republic followed him.

On March 14, Hitler rode into Vienna with the German troops, and the next day was proclaimed commander in chief of the combined German and Austrian armies. The same day Austria was declared to be a province of the German Reich. One of the oldest independent states in Europe had fallen to Hitler's aggressive policy.

693. Hitler's Intervention in Czechoslovakia. — The next country to fall was Czechoslovakia. This republic, constructed at the council of Versailles out of the old kingdom of Bohemia and some adjacent provinces, contained a large number of inhabitants of other racial origins, among them the Sudeten

Germans, so called because most of them lived among the Sudeten mountains. This population of German origin numbered over two million and made up almost one fifth of the population of Czechoslovakia. They were mostly engaged in industrial pursuits; they were not generally hostile to the government, although influential men among them demanded that they should have separate representation in the national parliament and that they should in other ways be recognized as a group distinct from the Czech majority. One of these leaders, Henlein, a Nazi in opinion and secretly desirous of belonging to Germany, worked up a party which made demands for semi-independence from their own government, and, when these were not immediately granted, appealed to Hitler for intervention.

Hitler had repeatedly declared that Germany had no desire to take away any part of the territory of any other state, now that Austria had been brought back to its old home, but he could not withstand this appeal. He therefore received Henlein in repeated interviews and encouraged the continued complaints of the Sudeten Germans. The Czechoslovakian government offered them every concession in the way of provincial self-government short of dismemberment of the country; but Henlein and some of the other leaders had made up their minds that they wanted actual separation, and continued their agitation. September 12, 1938, Hitler made one of his wild, fierce speeches, exaggerating beyond all reason the difficulties of the position of the Sudeten Germans, whom he spoke of as "tortured creatures," and as "victims of oppression." He declared that he would offer them protection and boasted of the military strength and readiness of Germany. It was obvious that he intended, notwithstanding his promises, to seize the German-speaking provinces of Czechoslovakia and add them to Germany unless he were prevented by some stronger power.

Czechoslovakia, however, was protected by her membership in the League of Nations and bound in addition by special ties

of alliance with France and Russia. She was, moreover, a prosperous democratic republic, with an especially enlightened, progressive, and peace-loving government, situated in the very center of Europe in a position of great strategic importance, and many of her German-speaking inhabitants had no wish to be annexed to Hitler's state. England already had made one attempt to fulfil her duties. In August, 1938, she sent a represent-



International

Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, and Mussolini in Munich, September, 1938

ative, Lord Runciman, to Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, to try to bring about better relations between the government and its dissatisfied subjects, but the Sudeten Germans, relying on Hitler's promise of intervention, refused the concessions offered them. France and the League offered no assistance.

694. The Humiliation of Munich. — On September 15, 1938, Mr. Chamberlain, in the effort to dissuade Hitler from violent action, took an airplane from London for Germany and had a long personal interview with Hitler at his country place in Bavaria. At no time in his career, even after the military vic-

tories of his armies, might Hitler have been so proud as when the governing head of the great British Empire came to his home to beg for the peace of Europe. The British prime minister obtained nothing from his visit except the promise of a few days' delay. These were utilized for a private conference between the English and French ministers. They decided that there was nothing to be done except to advise the Czechoslovak government to give way and to surrender the provinces to Hitler, though they expected to require safeguards and a guarantee of the remaining territory of Czechoslovakia.

On a second visit to Hitler to report this determination, Chamberlain learned that the demands had risen: surrender was to be more immediate and there were to be fewer guarantees. To these the Czechoslovak government, stirred to a desperate courage, refused to agree. Eventually, at the suggestion of France, the whole matter was referred to a meeting, to be held in Munich, Germany, on September 29, 1938, by representatives of Germany, Italy, England, and France. The representatives of Czechoslovakia were invited to hear the results of the conference. Of these there could be no doubt. Hitler insisted on practically immediate occupation of the disputed regions and gave only the flimsiest of guarantees. England and France declined to run the risks of war; Italy supported Germany, her permanent ally; Czechoslovakia could do nothing but accept, though the president and the prime minister resigned in protest. President Beneš became a resident of the United States and a lecturer in various American universities.

Without waiting for formalities, German troops marched into those districts of Czechoslovakia which had been surrendered. The usual persecutions in German-occupied territory followed. Jews, men of liberal views and free intellectual thought, Communists, and all others under Nazi disapproval went into exile or were sent to concentration camps or suffered immediate punishment. Czechoslovakian citizens of other racial origins

took this opportunity to follow the example of Henlein and the Sudeten Germans; they claimed separate treatment by the government, rioted, and appealed to Hitler. A few months saw Czechoslovakia, as a separate European state, reduced to a small area, entirely subjected to Nazi policy, and uncertain of continuance. It was but a small change when, on March 15, 1939, German troops marched, amid the sullen looks and the tears of the Bohemian people, into Prague, the capital, and then stormed through the country to spread everywhere the tyranny of German occupation. Hitler's often repeated claim that it was only Germans he wanted to bring into their homeland was forgotten, and regions were added to Germany whose populations included no Germans and which were annexed, as by other conquerors, only for the increase of power. By the middle of 1939 a large part of southeastern Europe, whatever its racial elements, had been brought by processes of aggression under Hitler's control. It was evident that Hitler was determined to have not only a strong and independent but an all-controlling, dominant Germany.

A week after the seizure of Prague, on March 23, 1939, the Führer forced the little state of Lithuania to cede to Germany the free city of Memel, formerly German, it is true, but now detached by him from Lithuania by force in violation of treaties. A week later Italy, pursuing the same policy, suddenly attacked the little kingdom of Albania, across the Adriatic, and, after the flight of its king and queen, added it to the kingdom of Italy. It has the doubtful distinction of being the last piece of territory transferred by aggression before all aggressions were defended on the plea of war requirements.

In the middle of the year 1939 the air was filled with rumors of the next aggressions. It was said that Hitler had his eyes on Switzerland or Rumania, that German troops were on the march toward Holland and Belgium, and even that there was to be a joint attack on France by the totalitarian allies, Ger-

many and Italy. But the demands of the Germans for Danzig in the autumn of 1938 and for a part of the Polish Corridor early in 1939, and an invitation to the Polish Foreign Minister to visit Berlin to discuss political questions, suggested that Poland would be the next victim of Nazi aggression; and so it proved.

695. Appeasement. — These aggressions by the totalitarian governments, which violated the Treaty of Versailles, the Pact of Paris, the Locarno Pact, and a host of minor engagements, were successful only because the other countries of the world allowed them to occur. The policy of permitting these violent actions to take place in the hope of avoiding war, rather than opposing them to the limit, was known as "appeasement." It was based on the belief that if Mussolini, Hitler, and the Japanese expansionists were allowed to have their way to a moderate extent they would be satisfied and would settle down to the internal development of their own countries, fulfil their obligations to other countries for the future, and become peaceful members of the world's group of nations.

There were advocates of appeasement in every country. The French government frequently followed a policy of appeasement; but the most conspicuous and influential statesmen representing this policy were a group of British statesmen, especially Neville Chamberlain, who was chancellor of the exchequer for many years and prime minister from May, 1937, to May, 1940. Although his administration necessarily covered many fields, only his responsibility in foreign affairs is referred to here. He was sincerely devoted to peace and dreaded a European war as the greatest calamity that could overtake his country and the world. In the long course of Hitler's aggressions, Chamberlain repeatedly, under the influence of these feelings, accepted Hitler's word, when he knew from experience of the many times it had been broken that it was worthless.

The disinclination of Mr. Chamberlain and the other ministers

to take a firm stand in opposition to Italian and German aggression was accentuated and partly excused by the relative weakness of the English army and air force. Great Britain alone of all the European signatories of the Treaty of Versailles had taken seriously its provisions for a reduction in military equipment, and in the early years of the peace had let all branches of her service, except perhaps the navy, run down. Therefore, while Italy, after 1931, was building up her army and navy, and Germany, after 1933, was being turned into an armed camp and storing war equipment destined to be used to ravage Europe later, Great Britain was falling far behind in the modern military race. It was not till 1934 that slowly and partially she began to take up the work of rearming herself. It is true also that not only the ministry but large classes of the people and certain influential newspaper editors in England were willing to stretch a point in concessions to Mussolini and Hitler. Among the nobility and upper classes generally there were many who did not seriously disapprove of Italian and German fascism and were therefore inclined to excuse the aggressions of its representatives.

The whole body of the British people, like the ministry, were opposed to war and, except when their sympathies were strongly roused for the victims of aggression, were easily induced to approve what a member of the House of Lords once described as "a practical victory for peace." At one time a "Peace Pledge," protesting against war as an instrument of policy, was signed by millions of English men and women. Pacifism, that is, opposition to war under any circumstances, was prevalent in England. While the House of Commons was debating the desirability or undesirability of intervening in the Spanish civil war, pacifist pamphlets were being scattered to the floor from the gallery. Except at certain times, therefore, from 1933 to 1939 the ministry might have claimed that in a policy of appeasement they were representing a great mass of popular feeling.

When Japan invaded Manchuria and an English representative of the League of Nations reported the illegality of that action, the English government made no serious opposition; when Italy threatened to go to war if the League imposed sanctions on her importation of oil, England refrained from any further action and, after a reasonable delay, moved for the removal of all sanctions. When Germany broke with the Disarmament Conference in 1933, withdrew from the League of Nations, and declared her intention of rearming, England accepted her action as final; when Hitler began militarizing the Rhine border, she allowed the breach of the Treaty of Versailles to take place; and when he occupied Austria in 1937, England made only a mild protest. The culmination of this policy was in the conference at Munich in March, 1939, when Mr. Chamberlain humiliated himself by accepting Hitler's demands to be allowed to seize a large part of Czechoslovakia. Always, after what were sometimes long negotiations to retain the present conditions, to take a liberal attitude in favor of some nation's independence, or to preserve treaty rights, Chamberlain and his colleagues yielded and allowed aggression to have its way.

696. Summary of the Period 1935-1939. — This period had seen the establishment, at least for the time, of autocracy in many states in the world. With the few years that preceded it, it has been known as the "totalitarian decade." Russia, Turkey, and Spain, and, for shorter or longer periods, Poland, Hungary, Greece, and other states, both in Europe and America, as well as Italy and Germany, put their national life into the hands of individual leaders. Even in other countries there was considerable centralization and an increase in the powers and functions of executive government. Democracy was on the defensive.

The period was one of dread, indeed of anticipation, which was only too well founded, of a renewal of the First World War. But apart from internal conflicts, there were only three countries inclined to break the peace: Italy, Germany, and Japan.

It was their rulers or ruling classes only, not the people themselves, that wished war. It was the spirit of aggression and the willingness to adopt military means to carry it out that marked the policy of those three governments. Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, and others, including Russia, were apparently ready, some of them enthusiastic, for the policy of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. They all had disputes with other nations, but they were all willing to settle them through diplomatic negotiation or the means provided by the League of Nations.

The governments of the three aggressive powers, however, had no desire for peace; both their forms of government, which required the prestige of military success, and their political philosophy, which approved war as an ideal, demanded a military settlement of disputes. Over and over again international disputes were capable of settlement by peaceful means; where settlement was not reached, it was because one of the aggressive governments wanted war, not peace. Against this desire, appeasement was of no permanent avail. After Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1939, the excuse that only Germans were to be drawn into the Reich ceased to exist. When, later in that year, it became evident that Poland was to be the next victim, and that there was no apparent limit to aggression except military power, resistance to aggression, unless complete acceptance of national humiliation were to be accepted, became inevitable.

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CHAPTER XXV

BRITAIN'S PART IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939-1941

697. The End of Appeasement. — For a few weeks after the conference at Munich, Great Britain rejoiced that the threat of war had been removed. But as it was realized how complete had been the surrender, how untrustworthy had been the previous engagements of Hitler, and how entirely without guarantee against further aggression were other countries, feeling changed. The belief that Hitler could be satisfied by a policy of appeasement faded away and gave place to a belief that resistance would be necessary. The tone of his speeches was still belligerent, his attitude menacing. The submission of the German people to the rule of the Nazi party, their persecution of their political opponents in each newly annexed country, and their barbarous ill-treatment of the Jews showed the impossibility of counting on any other influence in their international relations than that of the Führer. His word had been proved over and over again to be worthless. His mind and temperament were such that he forgot or disregarded his engagements, however formal and recent, whenever they proved to go counter to his few primitive obsessions: hatred of the Jews, the superiority of Germany, force as the only proper means of determining rights. Whenever exaggerated and largely mendacious stories appeared in the controlled German press concerning atrocities committed against Germans in other countries, they were recognizable as a part of Hitler's policy of preparing the German people for a new aggression and justifying it to the world. The German press was full of such stories, after as well as before the Munich agreement. When, in March, 1939, the German army marched into Bohemia

and occupied Prague, its capital city; and when, less than a year after Hitler had agreed to guarantee the boundaries of Czechoslovakia, he annexed it to Germany, all confidence in his promises disappeared. His old claim that he was only bringing Germans back into the Reich was meaningless when he united to Germany regions virtually all of whose inhabitants were Czechs.

Even Mr. Chamberlain lost faith in the appeasement policy and described this action as obviously "an attempt to dominate the world by force." Such an attempt must be resisted. It was too late to save Czechoslovakia or Britain's credit in what had occurred; against the next aggression Britain and her ally, France, must take action. There could be no safety for Europe, even for Britain and France, with a Hitler going swashbuckling through the world, endangering its peace, disturbing the nations, and doing what he could to destroy democracy.

The new policy of preparing for resistance was reflected in the British budget of 1939. In 1937 it had been determined to spend sums equal to about one and a half billion dollars a year for military equipment. In 1939 two billions, and the next year three billion dollars, were appropriated for purposes of defense. In March, 1939, the army, navy, and air force were increased; and in April compulsory military service, never before practiced in England in peacetime, was introduced. It was evident that the government was preparing for an emergency.

At the same time Great Britain drew closer to France. The two countries had been bound not only by alliance but by a common foreign policy — long one of appeasement, now one of common defense against threatened further aggressions. In February, 1939, Mr. Chamberlain declared that their two governments had determined that in case of war all the forces of each country would be at the disposal of the other. In March it was announced that a British expeditionary force of 300,000 men could be sent abroad at any time.

698. The Outbreak of War, September 3, 1939. — The emergency was soon to come. Britain and France would no doubt have preferred for their first trial of armed resistance to aggressive Germany a more favorable field than that which Hitler had chosen for his next territorial advance, cut off from them, as it was, by the whole width of Europe. But they had no choice. Poland was the next victim. Hitler, while he was completing the absorption of Czechoslovakia and, by his threats, extending his economic control over most of southeastern Europe, was obviously preparing for the conquest of Poland. He had demanded that the Free City of Danzig be "returned" to Germany and that a strip of land be ceded to her, through which she could build a modern road across the Polish Corridor to connect the two parts of her dominions. He also demanded special protection for men of German race living in Poland, who, he declared, were being badly treated.

These demands were not in themselves unreasonable; they were a fair subject for negotiation, and concessions might have been expected from Poland in the course of normal dealings, especially under pressure from her allies, Britain and France. But Hitler's habit of creating a difficult situation and then using his army to cut the Gordian knot was now well established, and the Polish government, suspicious, refused to meet the demand and asked the support of Britain and France in case she were attacked. The days of appeasement were over; and in March, 1939, Chamberlain gave Poland the required promise and declared in open parliament his intention that if Poland's independence were threatened Great Britain should aid her in resistance with all available forces. France gave a like assurance.

The same offer was made to four other countries that, they had reason to fear, lay in the German line of march. It was a combined effort to "stop Hitler," to nip in the bud, as far as was still possible, his attempt to dominate Europe and possibly the world, which he had long before indicated, in his book, as

his ambition. Britain tried to draw Russia into this network of resistance to the aggressor, but the old British suspicion of Russia's communism made her half-hearted in her offers; and Hitler, by giving better terms, secured a ten-year mutual non-aggression pact by which Germany and Russia agreed to abstain from acts of force against each other.

Hitler now denounced his ten-year non-aggression pact with Poland, although it had been renewed but a few weeks before and had still five years to run. There was a succession of threats, protests, and complaints. Hitler increased his demands and his pressure for their immediate acceptance. Britain more than once urged the Führer to settle the dispute by peaceful negotiation, for which Poland was quite ready. The king of Belgium and Mr. Roosevelt both urged negotiation, and even Hitler's ally, Italy, suggested delay and negotiation. The British ambassador was kept busy carrying messages, and in one day Chamberlain telegraphed five times in a desperate effort to bring about a peaceful settlement.

At one time Hitler made a somewhat veiled offer to keep the peace with England and guarantee the security of the British Empire if Chamberlain would give him a free hand in Poland. The prime minister refused unless a fair settlement were first made with Poland; he declined to receive advantages in return for abandonment of his agreements. This was afterwards described by Hitler as a refusal of an offer of peace, which made Great Britain responsible for the Second World War. But nothing is clearer than that Hitler was bent upon war with Poland. His armies were already on the frontier. The weeks in which a settlement might have been made were reduced to days, the days to hours, until at dawn on September 1, 1939, Germany's troops were streaming across the frontier and her airplanes bombing the Polish railways and border cities. In a last hope of avoiding a general war, Great Britain and France urged a withdrawal, waited two days, and then set an hour after which

they would consider themselves at war. The hour, 11 A.M. for England, 5 P.M. for France, passed without any word from the Germans. A few minutes after eleven Mr. Chamberlain reluctantly declared in parliament that Great Britain and Germany were at war. A few hours later the French government made a similar declaration for France. So the world was set on fire for many years.

Although begun for the defense of a distant ally, the war soon became one for the survival of Britain itself. From the very beginning it had also, for the British people and their leaders, a wider and higher significance. The aims of the war were to be frequently restated during its continuance. Never were they to be more simply and correctly stated than by the prime minister in its early days: It was "to redeem Europe from the perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression, and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties." It was, besides, a war against Hitlerism, against the principles and practices of the Nazi party, as well as a war against German military power. This was broadly and eloquently stated by another of the ministers on the very day war was declared: "This is not a question of fighting for Danzig or fighting for Poland. We are fighting to save the whole world from the pestilence of Nazi tyranny and in defense of all that is most sacred to man. This is no war of domination or imperial aggrandizement or material gain. It is a war to establish on impregnable rocks the rights of the individual; and it is a war to establish and revive the stature of man."

699. The Polish War. — There was little that England could do in a military way for Poland. Germany's new air force, her navy, and the mined waters of the Baltic and much of the North Sea lay between them. While England was making preparations to meet the enemy nearer home, the Germans were overwhelming Poland. The Polish army fought bravely and, if it could have prolonged the struggle, might have avoided the complete

defeat that came upon it. But the German air force was incomparably stronger than that of Poland. Moreover, the German army had been raised to great perfection and was ready for immediate attack; while that of Poland, because of her uncertainty as to what Germany would do, had been only partially mobilized. In two months, therefore, in what the Germans described as a *Blitzkrieg*, a "lightning war,"¹ the whole country was conquered, except for the capital, Warsaw, which held out for two more weeks against constant bombing. The president and ministers gave up the struggle and crossed the border into Rumania, where they were interned. Polish leaders, however, elected a new president and appointed a prime minister who went first to Paris and later to London and became, with others of their nation, the first of the "governments in exile" which, as the war progressed, appealed to the hospitality of England and made London their temporary capital.

In the midst of the war, on September 17, 1939, Russia, claiming that the Polish government no longer existed and that her treaty with Poland therefore was no longer valid, invaded the country from the east. The German and Russian governments then divided the conquered state between them. Shortly after this Russia increased her territory still more by a victorious war with Finland and by the virtual absorption of the three Slavic states to the east of the Baltic Sea.

With Poland conquered, Hitler, in a long speech of self-justification in the Reichstag on October 6, 1939, hinted that a general peace might now be made. It would of course provide for the retention of all his conquests and was indefinite in its promises for the future. Naturally this did not commend itself to the Allies, as was indicated in a speech by Mr. Chamberlain in parliament a few days later. The prime minister called attention to Hitler's vagueness and the uncertainty of his proposals,

¹Pronounced "blits'kreek." From the German *Blitz*, "lightning," and *Krieg* "war."

and to his failure to consider the wrongs he had done and to give any guarantee that he would keep his pledges in the future any better than he had kept those of the past. The proposal was not carried any further, perhaps it was not meant to be taken seriously, but it served as another basis for the claim Hitler often made later, that he had frequently offered, even advocated, peace.

700. Organization of the British Empire for War. — In the meantime most of the British dominions had swiftly followed the mother country into war with Germany; Australia and New Zealand on September 4, the day after England's declaration; Canada on the 10th, a week later. South Africa hesitated, and the division of opinion was considered sufficient to call for a new election. This election gave a large majority for the war and placed at the head of the country as prime minister General Smuts, a veteran statesman of the First World War.

Two British dependencies, however, behaved differently. Eire stood aloof and declared her neutrality. The position of India was peculiar: with her population of four hundred million, her resources, and her geographical situation midway between East and West, she must be protected as part of the empire; yet, because of the ignorance of a large proportion of her population and the dissatisfaction of many of the rest, her people could not be counted on for enlightened judgment or for national support of the Indian or British government. On September 3, on receipt of news of Great Britain's declaration of war, the Viceroy immediately made a corresponding declaration. He was within his constitutional rights in doing so. Foreign affairs and questions of war and peace belonged to the central government of India, as they belong to the Federal government in the United States; and the Viceroy as chief executive spoke for the central government. Moreover, popular feeling in India among the classes interested at all in public affairs was overwhelmingly antagonistic to Germany and the ideas she repre-

sented. Yet in the excited feeling of the time this neglect to discuss the matter of the war with the party leaders hurt their pride and their sense of independence, and put them in a position to say that India had been dragged into the war without her own consent.

The Congress party members therefore refrained from attending the session of the central Legislative Assembly at which the declaration of war was announced; and the Defense of India Act, which gave the government the usual extraordinary war powers, was passed. Gandhi took a pacifist stand and therefore gave no help to the government.

The Congress-party leaders could not withstand the temptation to make use of the opportunity, when the needs of the empire were so great, to insist upon their demand for complete and immediate independence. But the existing government would promise only dominion status, and even that must wait till the close of the war. Under these circumstances a caucus of the Congress party called on the provincial ministers belonging to that party to resign their offices. In the seven provinces in which that party had a majority they did so; in the other four they retained their positions.

The appointed governors of the seven provinces thus left without ministers to carry on the work of administration exercised the powers which had been reserved to them by the act of 1935 to be used in times of crisis, and carried on the government as best they could through appointees under their own authority. Thus the promising plan of self-government in the provinces, which had existed since 1937, broke down in 1939. The attempt to form a new Federal government also was given up for the time, though the princes of the native states generally volunteered their own services and those of their subjects for the war.

701. The Cripps Mission to India. — In the meantime the British ministry made another attempt to satisfy the Indian

leaders. Early in March, 1942, they sent Sir Stafford Cripps, a lifelong friend of Indian self-government, to India, authorized to make a new proposal. The plan was that immediately after the close of the war the Indian people should elect a constitutional convention to draw up, along with representatives of the native princes, a form of government to suit themselves. The British government promised to accept what they agreed on. Although this new government was not to be formed till the close of the war, an Indian member would be appointed immediately to the British War Cabinet and another to the Pacific Council of the United Nations.

A month of negotiations followed, in which Sir Stafford Cripps was allowed by the home government perfect freedom to make any concessions he wished. It was widely believed that, if not prevented, he would have agreed to still more complete and immediate independence, but this was officially denied. Indian leaders made many objections to the plan, but few efforts to improve it. The attempt therefore was given up and the offer of the home government was thereupon withdrawn.¹

The defense of India consequently remained the entire responsibility of the British government, represented by the Commander in Chief for India, who during much of the war was Sir Archibald P. Wavell. The Indian army consisted mostly of volunteers enlisted for the duration of the war and for a year after its close. It rose in numbers during the war until in the year 1943 it consisted of more than two million men. About two thirds of its commissioned officers were British; the other third were native Indians. All the noncommissioned officers, who had mostly risen from the ranks and held what were called "Viceroy's commissions," were native Indians as, of course, were all the privates. Something over 300,000 of these men

¹The text of the British proposals, the replies of the Congress party and the Moslem League, and the withdrawal of the offer by Cripps, speaking for the home government, are printed in *Current History* for May, 1942.

served abroad and made part of the British armies in East and North Africa, in Ethiopia, in Iraq and Syria, and in Sicily and Italy. The large proportion of the Indian army kept at home were there to defend the country from the threatened invasion by the Japanese. The soldiers during the time of their service learned English and received other education.

The industry of India, like that of all other countries engaged in the war, was more and more diverted to war production. It furnished many kinds of weapons, ammunition, and textile goods (including millions of garments and blankets) for the Allied armies. In one year India produced four million pairs of boots which were used by the British, Indian, American, and Russian armies. India became widely known during the war as the "arsenal of the East."

The participation of the even less independent portions of the empire was necessarily taken for granted. Quite apart from their support of the empire, they were subject to attack by its enemies. It was one of the excuses made by the Axis countries for their aggression, that they intended to "release the subjects of the empire from British oppression."

702. War Measures. — For the sake of efficiency, as in the First World War, a small war cabinet was constructed within the British ministry. It contained two members not previously in the ministry. One was Winston Churchill, who was, as in the First World War, First Lord of the Admiralty, but now took the additional office of Defence Minister. His ability in these positions and, later, as prime minister, his devotion, his energy, his vitality, and his eloquence made him one of the greatest of national leaders. The other was Sir Anthony Eden, who had left the ministry shortly before because of his disapproval of its policy of appeasement and was now restored to share in its policy of vigorous action. Later in 1941, to obtain still greater concentration of authority, the war cabinet was reduced in number from nine to seven.

The two allies, England and France, drew closer together. A French general was placed at the head of both the French army and the British army that was immediately sent across to the Continent. A British admiral was given control of both British and French fleets, and an English commander was appointed chief of a combined air force. A joint War Council was appointed and an Anglo-French committee was established to pool all supplies of food and other equipment.

The war was slow in moving westward. The autumn and winter months of 1939 and the early spring of 1940 saw little of warfare. There were artillery duels between the two defensive walls, the French "Maginot Line" and the opposite "Siegfried Line" protecting western Germany, and scattered bombardment from the air and sinkings at sea, which, as they are looked back on, seem in comparison with later events as if they were but some rough game. The war was spoken of as a "bloodless war," a "white war," and, notwithstanding the shocking events that had happened in Poland, a "phony war."

Great Britain's first, and what was expected to be her most effective, weapon for the winning of the war, her blockade of the western approaches to Europe, was promptly established, a blockade which her numerous small war vessels were able to maintain from the latitude of Ireland to that of Gibraltar, while her main war fleet guarded her North Sea and Channel coasts. She early established for her own commerce the system of convoys, by which fleets of twenty, thirty, or more merchant ships crossed the seas protected by accompanying warships. At the beginning of the war, Britain had some 5000 ships at sea or lying in harbor in various parts of the world, so that this convoy duty was no light task.

Parliament passed laws giving special powers to the ministers and placing the usual war restrictions on individuals. A special appropriation equal to two and a half billion dollars was placed in the hands of the government, and industry and agriculture

were adapted as rapidly as possible to war requirements. Rationing of butter, bacon, sugar, and many other commodities was introduced in January, 1940, and of all meat soon afterward. Shelters for the anticipated bombings were prepared, and children in large numbers were evacuated from London and the large cities and placed in the country or in small towns.

703. German Seizure of Denmark and Norway. — With the coming of spring the war took on greater activity. The countries lying on routes between Britain and Germany — Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium — were practicing an uneasy neutrality. England was dissatisfied with the opportunity Germany had to secure goods through them, which weakened England's embargo. Germany looked with envious eyes on their western harbors, possession of which would make her attacks on Britain much easier. In April, 1940, Great Britain sent notes to Norway and Sweden, complaining of the importation by Germany of Swedish iron by a route which led along the coast and through the inland waters of Norway. Inasmuch as she was fighting the war largely for the independence of small countries, it seemed hard that they should give advantages to her enemies. She proceeded to lay mines along the Norwegian coast to prevent this trade.

Germany was ahead of her. She had made up her mind to seize Denmark and Norway and was already secretly preparing an expedition by land and sea for the purpose. At dawn on April 9, 1940, her troops marched across the border into Denmark and her ships appeared in six harbors in Norway. Denmark, because of her small size and undefended frontier, was powerless and made no opposition to the invader. Hitler was, as usual, breaking his word. The year before, Germany and Denmark had signed a treaty agreeing that the two countries would never go to war or use any kind of violence against each other. The German troops nevertheless occupied the country and subjected it to complete control, although King Christian

was allowed to hold his throne and the legislature to meet under Nazi control.

Entrance into Norway was secured partly by force, partly by the aid of traitors. The German government had, within its own ports, filled the holds of some merchant ships with German soldiers and dispatched the ships, as if on a commercial voyage, to lie in Norwegian harbors. When, on April 9, 1940, invading German troops landed in Norway they were aided by their fellow countrymen released from the holds, and so were able to overcome such resistance as they met. Resistance, however, was at first slight, because false instructions had been sent out by Nazi confederates within the country. The leader of the Nazi party in Norway, Major Vidkun Quisling, won for himself the hatred of his countrymen and introduced a new word into the language. "Quisling" has since come to be used as synonymous with "traitor."

The German minister presented to the Norwegian ministry and king a demand for acceptance of the position of a protectorate of Germany, on the claim that only in that position could the country be saved from an invasion said to be planned by England and France. The king refused the German demands, left Oslo, the capital, with the royal family and the ministry, and summoned the army to drive out the invaders. In the next few weeks, and while the Germans were pouring reinforcements into the country till they had an invading army of 50,000, the Norwegians fought what was, although a gallant fight, on the whole a retreating campaign northward. When the fight became hopeless, the King and Crown Prince and Princess left the country and made their way to London. Quisling became for the time the head of a government supported by the German minister and the invading army.

Great Britain could not afford to stand idly by while the Germans occupied Norway and obtained a nearer foothold from which to attack her. The Norwegian minister in London also



Wide World

British Troops disembarking, Namsos Fjord, Norway, 1940

asked help for his countrymen against the invading Germans. Britain therefore sent to Norway a naval and land force of considerable strength, but it was too late and insufficient. The advantages of closer location, superior air power, and surprise attack were all with the Germans. The British were outnumbered almost ten to one by the Germans in Norway, who were being constantly reinforced by sea and by air. So, in order to avoid destruction, the British troops from all Norway except Narvik were brought back home. King Haakon himself acknowledged that it was impossible to hold Norway any longer and advised acceptance of the German occupation, although he promised to return when the victory of the Allies was gained

and to work for Norway in the meantime. Far the greater part of the large merchant fleet of Norway, the fourth largest in the world, and thousands of her hardy sailors had slipped through Hitler's hands and now traded in Allied or neutral ports, under the general direction of the Norwegian government in exile in London.

704. Churchill becomes Prime Minister. — Confidence in Mr. Chamberlain as prime minister had been declining for some time, and now the failure in Norway completed the popular impression that he did not have the energy and capacity to wage the war satisfactorily. His long record of appeasement in the past rose up to shake faith in his determination in the present. Therefore, although there was no change of party, the Conservatives indicated their dissatisfaction with Mr. Chamberlain and, in May, 1940, he resigned. He died a year later. There was no doubt that Winston Churchill should succeed him as prime minister. Although recent events had reflected little credit upon Churchill in his office at the Admiralty, the lack of success was attributed to the weakness of the navy, against which, for long years, he had protested. He had held at one time or another, during the last quarter century, almost every office in the government; and there was good reason for the popular confidence in his clearness of judgment and vigor of action, while his well-known eloquence had those qualities of moderation and of candor which especially appealed to the English people.

The words he used in his request to the men he asked to join his ministry have become famous, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat." And when he met the House of Commons for the first time after his appointment, he said, "You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land, and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God has given us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark lamentable catalogue of human

crime. That is our policy. You ask, what is our aim: I can answer in one word: Victory — victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realized, no survival for the British Empire; no survival of all that the British Empire has stood for; no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward toward its goal."

705. The Conquest of Holland and Belgium. — On May 18, 1940, — just a month after the seizure of Denmark and Norway, and on the very day Churchill took office as prime minister in England, the German armies swept down like an avalanche on Holland, Belgium, and the little Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. It is true that these countries had declared their neutrality, and that Belgium was especially protected by the Pact of Locarno, which had been renewed in 1937. But the world was getting used to Hitler's disregard of treaties and law and of his own engagements, and both Holland and Belgium had long been dreading just such a sudden attack. It is true also that they were partially defended. Holland had an army of half a million, Belgium one of six hundred thousand, and both had some fortifications. But the German army for some time had been gathering at points on the frontiers of the two little kingdoms, and now its overwhelming numbers, its equipment, its tanks and armored cars, its airplanes, its military spirit and training, required but five days to crush Holland and occupy much of Belgium.

Unfortunately there were in both countries Nazi parties. In Holland a numerous fifth column was ready to betray its own country and guide and help the invaders. The Dutch troops tried hard to hold their canal and river defenses, but airplanes were not deterred by such surface obstacles. Parachutists passed beyond them to attack, from behind, the guards who should have opened the flood gates in the canals and blown up the

bridges; they held these positions till the German engineers could build new bridges, over which their armored cars rushed on with a rapidity that made the whole invasion a *Blitzkrieg*. Rotterdam, Amsterdam, the Hague, and Utrecht were attacked furiously from the air. The first of these, the largest city in the Netherlands, was heavily bombed anew after it had surrendered, as if to give an example of the punishment attending all resistance to the Germans. On May 13 Queen Wilhelmina, Princess Juliana, her husband and children, and the Dutch ministry left Holland on a British warship and took refuge in England, leaving the powers of government in the hands of the commander in chief of the army. The next day he was forced to surrender, and the country came under the rule of a German governor.

The invading army was already pressing into Belgium. The king appealed to Britain and France to send as quickly as possible the aid promised in the treaty of 1937. It was evidently to the interest of both countries to prevent the Germans from pouring into France. Their troops moved immediately; the British Expeditionary Force took up a position between the Belgians and the French. But the Germans encircled the greater part of Belgium, broke through all defenses, and pressed on till they reached the coast, thus separating the defending troops from their supplies and from any reinforcements. For a few days there was hard fighting, but the Belgian king, recognizing that the position of his army was hopeless, ordered them to lay down their arms. For this surrender to the Germans and abandonment of the Allies, King Leopold was long bitterly blamed, and his ministers at the time protested against his action, taken without their advice; but as the facts became better known, it was recognized that he could not have acted otherwise. However, it left the British and some of the French shut in and unsupported on the shore of the Channel, with the French city of Dunkirk their only place of refuge.

There followed the famous retreat from Dunkirk. A vast

number of craft of all sizes, probably almost a thousand, from the largest warships to little fishing and pleasure boats manned by civilian volunteers, made their way to Dunkirk to save the men of the army. In five days, while a rear guard of troops was keeping back the Germans and the British Royal Air Force fought German planes that were attacking the crowded beaches and the shuttling boats, some 335,000 men were brought across the Channel. It was said that 30,000 were lost, and all the heavier equipment of the army had to be left behind.

The surrendered Belgian army was dissolved; King Leopold remained confined in one of his castles, and Belgium was taken under German control.

706. The Fall of France. — Hitler's conquest of France, amazing in its rapidity and completeness, was merely an extension of the campaign in which he had defeated and occupied Holland and Belgium. After the First World War, France had built on her German border a great series of underground and above-ground fortifications, known as the Maginot Line. It was constructed in the belief that by it France could be protected forever from another invasion. It was built on the advice of the older generals. General Charles de Gaulle and others opposed its construction and advocated rather a policy of adding mechanical equipment to the army. Germany had built, confronting it, a somewhat similar line of forts, known as the Siegfried Line. But neither of these played any considerable part in the Second World War. The art of warfare had changed entirely in the meantime. The warmakers of this period were to rely upon the rapid movements of masses of armored vehicles driven by gasoline or Diesel engines, plunging through the bodies of troops facing them and — together with their own infantry, that could pour through the gaps thus pierced for them — killing, capturing, or throwing into confusion their opponents. It was a warfare of motion, of capture and destruction of men, not primarily of walled defenses. Add to this the

air force, the greatest military development of the last twenty years, and the vast amount of equipment which had to be ready for use, and it is evident that the armies which were provided with such armament and trained to its use could at the beginning of a campaign almost surely attain an early success, provided their opponents were not similarly equipped and trained. Afterward a hundred other elements would come into play to bring about the final decision.

As in 1914, the Germans suddenly attacked France by way of neutral Belgium; by passing through Belgium and Luxemburg they were able to cross the French frontier beyond the north-western terminus of the Maginot Line. As soon as they had caused one army, the British Expeditionary Force, to save itself by headlong retreat from Dunkirk, forced another, that of Belgium, to lay down its arms, and penetrated the northern provinces of France, they were in a position to march on Paris, far behind the Maginot Line. The German army was hardly weakened by its conflicts in the Netherlands. Consisting of more than a million when the campaign began on June 5, 1940, it was increased in number till it consisted of perhaps a million and a half troops. The French armies, supported by new British troops, were approximately equal in numbers to the Germans, but were outmaneuvered and outfought by them. To prevent the destruction of Paris by bombing and other attack, the government left it on May 10, and the French army two days later. On the 14th the German army marched into the city and sent columns on southward, in pursuit of the constantly withdrawing French army.

Italy chose this moment, when victory for her powerful ally seemed certain, to declare war on Great Britain and France, but even without this the French armies were already doomed. On the night of June 16 France made an appeal to Britain for more troops. It brought forth the rather startling proposal from the British Ministry that the two countries, Britain and France.



The Division of France

should be merged into one, their two parliaments combined, and a united appeal made to the United States to join with them in a continuance of the war. The British agreed that France, if this proposal should not be satisfactory, might separate herself from them and make a separate peace with Germany, despite her treaty obligations, provided she arranged to keep back the French fleet and have it sent into British ports. But the next day the French prime minister resigned and Marshal Pétain became prime minister, and soon afterward Chief of

State, with Pierre Laval as his most active minister. On June 17 France asked Germany for an armistice. Three days afterward she had to make the same petition to Italy, now as much her adversary as Germany. On June 22, Hitler and the French delegates met in a railroad car in the Forest of Compiègne and the armistice was signed. Its terms are only remotely connected with English history, for the alliance of Britain with France now ceased. However, it must be noted that the armistice divided France into three parts — "Occupied France," which was, like Norway, Holland, and Belgium, under a German governor and German rule; "Unoccupied France" (with a nominal capital at Vichy), which had a shadowy independence while awaiting a final treaty with Germany; and a small section in the south-east, subject to the influence of Italy, with whom an armistice had been signed on June 24.

707. The Threat of Invasion. — All the countries on the opposite side of the Channel having been occupied and overrun by the Germans, and England's only ally, France, having been conquered, Hitler seems to have taken it for granted that England herself would acknowledge defeat and be willing to make peace. In a speech at the time he said, "As the victor, speaking in the name of reason, I see no reason why this war should go on," and frequently afterward he referred to this statement as a second offer of peace rejected by Great Britain. But Hitler had always been a poor judge of the sentiments of other nations, and neither the government nor the people of England had any such idea. Mr. Churchill declared in parliament, "What has happened in France makes no difference in British faith and purpose." Nor was there among the English people any desire for peace under these circumstances. Trained for a thousand years in a tradition of liberty, they could not accept the denial of it. They believed they had entered into the war to prevent the extension of arbitrary power in the world, under the form of Nazi aggression, and were willing to fight it through to the end.

The ministry, therefore, set about preparing further defenses against possible invasion of England. Invasion indeed was imminent. Hitler began preparations for it as soon as he was convinced that England would not, on the fall of France, yield without actual conquest. He ordered the assembly, in the ports of the Netherlands, Belgium, and the north of France and along the rivers running into them, of a vast number of barges and other craft, armed and provided with power. A German army of half a million men, afterward increased to a million, was held ready for embarkation and transport across the Channel — the “ditch,” as Hitler disparagingly called it in one of his early speeches. It was even rumored that the invasion might occur on one particular day, July 19, 1940; and the British, although skeptical, were relieved when the time passed without special incident. However, they recognized, and assured the people, that an invasion might be launched at any time from any of the ports now in German hands, from Brest in Brittany to Rotterdam in Holland, possibly from Hamburg, even from Norway.

Hitler knew that a successful entry into the island fortress could not be made so long as its naval and air forces were undefeated, none of its harbors made defenseless, and no part of its coast laid open for a relatively unresisted landing. He therefore launched a series of attacks from the air directed to these ends. The ensuing struggle through the latter half of the year 1940 was what has been called the Battle of Britain, though in one sense this battle was never completely suspended and air attacks of greater or less strength and destructiveness continued to be made through the whole period of the war. England was by no means defenseless, and, as has been said, continued to strengthen her defenses. There were “pill boxes,” antitank obstacles, and machine-gun nests stretching approximately twenty miles back from the shore. Road signs everywhere were taken down to make it harder for invading forces to find their

way. Instructions were placed in the letter boxes, marked: "If the invader comes; what to do and how to do it." The government kept warning the people concerning invasion: "Perhaps it may come tonight, perhaps it will come next week, perhaps it will never come"; or again: "Tonight thousands of our soldiers will be on the alert, waiting for an attack which may come at several places at dawn." Mr. Churchill, with his usual eloquence, described the mighty army "crouching" on the other side of the Channel and the North Sea, kept back from invasion only by Britain's "unremitting vigilance by sea, air, and land." It was as though the days of the approach of the Spanish Armada or of an imminent invasion by Napoleon had come again.

There was one weapon of overwhelming importance that had come into existence since those times. This was the airplane. Underground air-raid shelters, both those already existing in the way of cellars and the tunnels of the underground railways, and those specially constructed, might protect some of the inhabitants, particularly of the larger cities. Captive balloons were anchored above the cities to entangle airplanes that might swoop low enough to be caught among them, and antiaircraft guns, the "ack-acks," as they were called, were placed and manned at all points liable to attack. Attack from the air on an island people, used as they had been in the past to being protected by a fleet considered impregnable, had been particularly dreaded from the very beginning of the war, and the British had already suffered from some early raids. Britain had, to begin with, a protective air force of considerable size, although not nearly so large as that of Germany. As the war progressed, more and more attention was given by the British government to airplane production and improvement; and her air force came to be recognized, as her navy had once been, as her first line of defense and her main offensive force against the enemy. English aviators developed a genius for their work, and an ad-

venturousness and achievement equal to that of the English seamen of Queen Elizabeth's time.

708. The Battle of Britain, June–December, 1940. — In June, 1940, German air attacks in preparation for invasion began in earnest. At first they were mainly on London and usually by daylight. Day after day the Luftwaffe¹ flew large fleets of



Wide World

Houses wrecked by Bombs, 1940

airplanes across the Channel to drop their explosive and incendiary bombs on docks, warehouses, and dwelling districts of the city, especially on the poorer districts of the East End. This campaign of the air was under the direct control of Marshal Göring, head of the German air force and next under Hitler in the German government. The air raids reduced whole streets and districts to ruin. For more than a month London was

¹ *Luft* is the German word for "air"; *Waffe* means "weapon" or "arm." The *Luftwaffe* was the German air force.

bombed every day, while at the same time airfields, shipyards, railroads, and other strategic targets were being attacked from the air. On one day in September 350 planes were sent over, on another more than 300, on another 180. Office buildings, schools, and churches were demolished. Many famous old buildings were destroyed or injured. The Tower of London, Westminster Abbey, and the Guildhall suffered greater or less damage. A bomb fell through the roof of the House of Lords; Buckingham Palace was struck three times, once when the King and Queen and royal family were in it. A number of the old churches of Sir Christopher Wren's time suffered injury. St. Paul's, by some chance, was only slightly injured, though the houses in several streets around it were demolished. But the worst destruction was of rows of poor dwellings whose occupants had nowhere to go and could only grieve over their homelessness while some public protection and help were being sought for them. Much destruction of life and much bodily injury and suffering inevitably accompanied all this, although many people, especially children, were evacuated from London and other cities.

In their early raids, which took place mostly by daylight, the losses of German airplanes by attack from the ground and from British aircraft had been staggering. In one raid 180 planes were lost, in another 144, in another 103, many of them even before they reached the city. In one day on which the invaders came in successive waves they lost 200 planes. It was calculated that in the month of August, 1940, over England and the Channel they lost more than 1000 planes.

These losses of the raiders by daylight were out of all proportion to the benefits they won from them, so that their later raids were generally made by night; the effort to destroy London completely was eventually given up. The German bombers ranged, however, more widely. One seaport after another, Southampton, Plymouth, Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and such inland cities as Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield

in turn suffered in property and life. On the night of November 12, 1940, the city of Coventry saw the climax of this policy of reckless destruction. Five hundred German planes bombed this city of 250,000 inhabitants in successive waves through the whole night and left the greater part of it in the morning a mass of ruins, its fine fifteenth-century cathedral only a shell. Some 200 of the inhabitants of the city had been killed or injured. The loss of life in these raids was not so great as might have been expected from the amount of destruction of buildings, owing no doubt, to the use of air-raid shelters and to bombs not falling where population was most congested. Nevertheless it was calculated that by the end of the period some 14,000 persons had been killed in England, Scotland, and Wales, and 50,000 had been injured.

The people endured their sufferings and hardships with courage, carrying on their customary life almost with equanimity, standing up bravely under their private and public losses, and working hard to restore as soon as possible after its destruction each house and neighborhood that was capable of restoration. The hospitals were full and there was much sorrow and anger, but there was no panic and but little complaint. The object of the raids had been partly to cause destruction, partly to break down the morale of the British people. Their fortitude and their continued adjustment of their lives to constant attack offered the enemy little prospect of such demoralization as would make the success of an invasion of England at all probable. The German losses of planes and men were serious, and by December the dark, misty weather of an English winter made continued air raids and the project of an invasion by sea more and more difficult, if not impracticable. Then the German raids on Britain were reduced to smaller proportions, and continued so during the further progress of the war until the development of flying bombs in 1944.

The conflict in the air had been by no means one-sided. The

Royal Air Force not only had acted as defenders of their own shores but had been active in offense. They kept the enemy's "invasion ports" constantly under attack, trying to break up any threatening assemblage of troops or of boats in their harbors. It was rumored at one time that troops and supplies were being loaded on barges for a desperate invasion effort when a strong attack by the Royal Air Force turned the scale and decided the enemy against the adventure. German-held Continental ports, Cherbourg, Havre, Hamburg, Bremen, and others, were frequently blasted by English bombers.

In addition to this and its regular duty of accompanying convoys and helping to enforce the blockade, the Royal Air Force was active over all the waters surrounding England, searching for and occasionally destroying German submarines and surface raiders and such German cargo ships as emerged from the protection of a friendly port. But active as the air force then was, its greatest days were still ahead of it when its arduous duties of protecting the country from the threatened attack in the summer of 1940 were largely over.

709. The Battle of the Atlantic. — Warfare at sea — on its surface, by airplane from above, and by submarine from below — was almost as large and critical a part of the war as warfare on land. On the very day war was declared, in the dusk of the evening of September 3, 1939, the British liner *Athenia* was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine in the open Atlantic some 250 miles northwest of Ireland. She was on the second day of her outward voyage from Liverpool to America. There were 1416 persons aboard, of whom 112 were lost, mostly by the explosion of the attacking torpedo inside the ship. The others were picked up by other vessels during the next three days.

Within the first two months of the war, the British aircraft-carrier *Courageous* and the battleship *Royal Oak* were torpedoed and sunk. In December, 1939, the fourth month of the war, three English cruisers met and fought with the German battle-

ship *Graf Spee* in the South Atlantic, off the coast of Uruguay. The German ship was much larger and more heavily armed than any of the English cruisers, but her speed was not so great. A running battle, using all the devices of skillful seamanship and modern naval equipment, was fought during a whole day. Darkness brought the contest to a close and gave the badly battered German battleship an opportunity to take refuge in the harbor of Montevideo, which she was forced to enter stern first. Here she sought permission from the Uruguayan government to dock for repairs, which would have required many weeks. But the local authorities, in obedience to the rules of neutrality, required her to leave within the next three days if she were going to leave at all. Unseaworthy as she was, she would have had to meet her enemies lying in wait for her just outside the shore limits or submit herself to internment for the duration of the war. Her captain sought telegraphic orders from home, and in accordance with those orders took his ship three miles out to sea, transferred the crew to the lifeboats, and then scuttled her. In his mortification, the captain, who with most of the crew had gone to Buenos Aires, committed suicide.

Equally early in the war began attacks from the air on surface fleets. In the opening days of the war British airplanes bombed the German warships lying at the entrance of the Kiel Canal. Within a few days of the sinking of the *Graf Spee*, a formation of British bombers attacked a squadron of German warships, protected by fighter planes, lying behind Heligoland. Although they did not actually sink any of the warships, they inflicted considerable injury upon them and shot down twelve of the fighters, with the loss of seven of their own planes. The coast of Norway was constantly haunted by British cruisers and destroyers, and occasionally by a battleship, watching to seize German vessels creeping down the coast with their cargoes of Swedish iron from the far north, if any of these should stray outside the few miles protected by Norwegian neutrality. In

February, 1940, a British destroyer, the *Cossack*, defied that neutrality by sailing directly into one of the fjords and releasing from a German ship, the *Altmark*, 299 British seamen. These were men who had been captured by a German sea raider from seven English merchant ships and put on the *Altmark*, herself a merchant ship, to be taken back to Germany. The *Cossack* headed out to sea again, acknowledging that she had violated international law, but rejoicing in her patriotic and humanitarian service.

During the German invasion of Norway in April, 1940, the fleets of both the contestants were even more numerous and active on that coast. The British home fleet, with its accompaniment of lesser vessels, strove to destroy the German vessels which had carried out the surprise attack, to head off those bringing reinforcements, and eventually to protect a British landing force. Four heavy German cruisers and several lesser warships were sunk in successive operations, and British submarines and surface vessels destroyed forty or fifty German transports and supply ships. The British losses in these engagements were less and the troops were finally withdrawn without naval loss.

Thus from the earliest days of the war, British warships, which were of course far more numerous than the German surface navy, and were even stronger than the united Axis navies, except for submarines, were seeking the war fleets and raiders of their enemies, as well as bombarding their harbors, seizing or sinking their merchant ships, protecting British convoys, and standing guard in a great arc around the western coast of Europe to enforce the embargo Britain had declared. The German fleet, the product of Hitler's efforts since his agreement with Britain in 1937, was similarly employed, though, except for its submarines, it was more and more driven from the sea by the superior British fleet. The fleet which was Italy's pride confined its operations almost entirely to the Mediterranean.

As the sphere of operations of the war widened, so naval warfare spread more widely till it covered all the seven seas; scores and even hundreds of vessels were sent to the bottom; the struggle of the shipyards to replace losses and increase the war and commercial fleets became a bitter and indeed a crucial contest.

710. Submarine Warfare. — The core of the Battle of the Atlantic, as the scattered sea warfare has often been called, was the destruction by German submarines of British and other Allied war and commercial vessels on their way over the wide expanse of the Atlantic. At the opening of the war Germany had but sixty-five submarines, and they were of limited range, being unable to remain long at sea without refueling, rearming, and returning to give their crews rest; but as the war continued, Germany, even more than her allies and her enemies, increased the number and improved the design and equipment of this branch of her navy till she had, at any one time, probably several hundred submarines, of vast range and able to remain at sea many months. Moreover, Germany was particularly well situated for submarine warfare, having a large number of ports on the open Atlantic or near it, from which these tigers of the sea could issue without being observed till they had reached their hunting grounds. Britain too, of course, had submarines, was building more of them, and was keeping abreast of improvements; but probably never until the United States entered the war, perhaps not even then, did the defenses against the German submarine equal its destructive power. Britain's position as an island, dependent for a large part of her necessities on importations by sea, the scattered dominions she had to defend, the commerce from which so much of her support was drawn, all made her especially subject to undersea attack.

The food supplies, the manpower, the munitions, and certain important raw materials she drew from Canada and later from the United States, and the supplies she sent to her forces abroad,



British Merchant Convoy

British Merchant Convoy

all had to run the gantlet of this undersea danger. Destruction of submarines by depth charges was, it is true, possible, and many were destroyed in this way and by direct attack.

The constant departure and arrival of convoys between Britain and their oversea destinations, and the enormous total of material transported notwithstanding these risks, testify to the vigilance and skill of the Royal Air Force and British Navy. The Battle of the Atlantic was not, like the Battle of Britain, an incident of a few months, however destructive, followed by a later period of less intense danger. It was to last as long as the war lasted, and there were periods, as in the First World War, when even the survival of Britain seemed doubtful.

711. Extension of the War to the Mediterranean Lands. — Italy had been a participant in the war since her declaration of war on June 10, 1940, and she entered more deeply into it by signing the "Pact of Berlin," the "Axis" alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan, on September 27, 1940.¹ Her part in the early events of the war — her single short campaign in France and a small part played by her air force in the Battle of Britain — gave little gratification to Mussolini's consuming ambition for the military greatness of Italy. He wanted glory nearer home. His principal goal was the domination of the lands around the Mediterranean Sea. He wanted to be able to call it, as the ancient Romans had, *Mare Nostrum*, "Our Sea." He had come within measurable distance of it. Italy had, in addition to her

¹The Axis, as already explained, originally meant the allied governments of Germany and Italy. The expression was first used in a speech by Mussolini at Milan, March 12, 1936, to describe the good relations then existing between Italy and Germany as something about which the whole of Europe could revolve. The alliance was due to Germany's prompt recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, and the joint action of the two countries in the Spanish civil war. It was the easier to form because Italy and Germany had similar totalitarian forms of government and the same antagonism to democracy. Japan joined it later, and it became a league for war purposes.

own 1500 miles of coastline, the African province of Libya, including Tripolitania, between the sea and the desert; Eritrea, along the Red Sea; Italian Somaliland, further south; her recent conquest of Ethiopia; her still later conquest of Albania, across the Adriatic; and a group of islands in the eastern Mediterranean. She had, scattered through these possessions, a million and a half men under arms, a large navy, and the second-largest air force in the world, which had just been receiving valuable training in Spain.

The possessions and power of Britain restricted the supremacy of Italy in the Mediterranean and adjacent lands, and it was largely the hope of weakening or destroying this power that drew Italy into the war. British naval power in the Mediterranean rivaled, perhaps exceeded, Italy's. The three main British stations on the way to India — Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria — were long-established bases of that power. Egypt, bordering the Suez Canal, was, so far as military use was concerned, a dependency of Great Britain. Britain, like Italy, occupied a portion of the Somali Peninsula; and possessed, besides, the vast tracts of Kenya and the Sudan in Central Africa. She had an air force in these continental possessions which accompanied her fleet, and, by a long flight across the mountains, the home air force could reach the mainland of Italy.

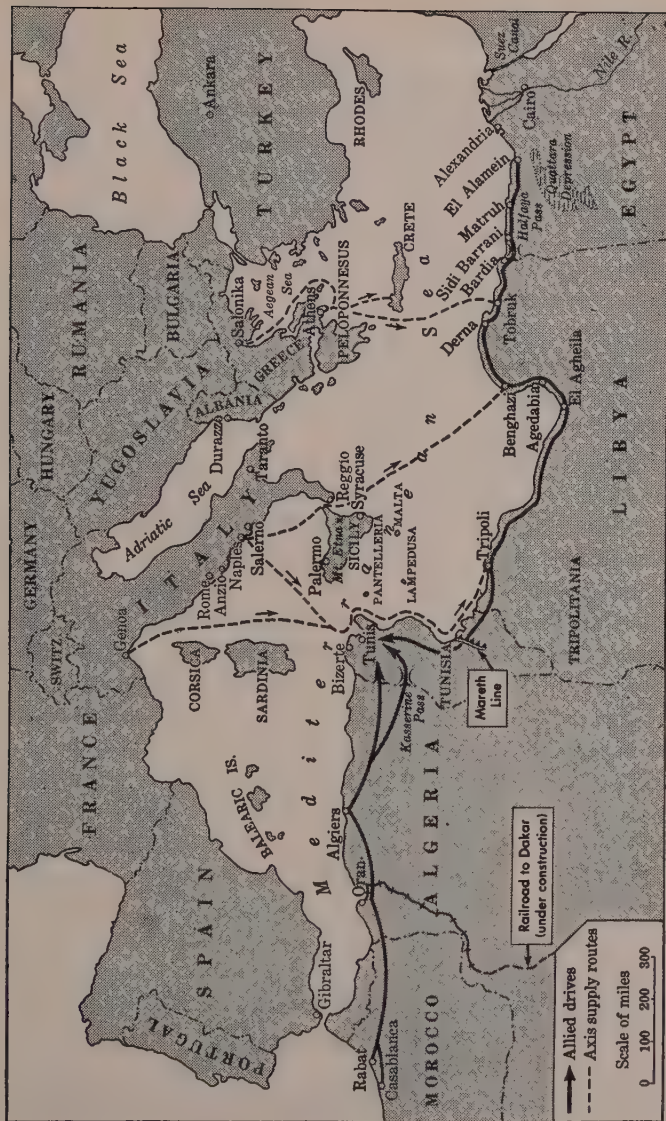
Her treaty with Egypt permitted her to keep troops in that country. She had in the Middle East, as these regions at the eastern end of the Mediterranean were called, about 150,000 men. These were drawn from the homeland, and from India, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In August and September reinforcements were sent from home by convoy through the Mediterranean, so that by October, 1940, Britain had some 260,000 troops available. Their headquarters were at Cairo.

Hostilities in Africa began with the outbreak of the war,

but for a year they were of a minor character. Border raids of troops and airplanes, invasions into and withdrawals from adjoining but now hostile provinces occurred. Towns on the border between Kenya and Italian Abyssinia changed hands. Troops from the Union of South Africa made their way north to defend beleaguered stations in East Africa. The British were forced by superior numbers to yield their part of Somaliland and withdrew by sea all their troops and equipment in a miniature "Dunkirk." The British fleet in the Mediterranean sought contact with the Italian fleet, but the latter, conscious of its inferiority, generally avoided it. On November 11, Armistice Day of the First World War, the British fleet made a sudden and destructive attack on the Italian war fleet right in the harbor of Taranto.

The main conflict in the Mediterranean lands now tended more and more to concentrate itself on that picturesque strip of territory of northern Africa, some 1500 miles long and but a few miles wide, lying between the desert and the sea. It stretches from the Isthmus of Suez through Egypt and Libya to Tunisia, where the coasts of Africa and Europe approach one another. Along this strip of land the forces of battle swayed to and fro for almost three years, in campaigns in which great armies drove one another back and forth between Egypt and Libya, in campaigns lasting months at a time and covering the whole 1500 miles of distance. It was one of the most important theaters of war of the great contest. The names of its capes and old cities, some of them scarcely known hitherto except to geographers, its desert stations, and the names and characteristics of the commanders of the desert armies became familiar, in the course of the war, to the whole world.

712. Conflict with the Italian Army. — In the early part of the war the supreme command of the British troops in Egypt, the Army of the Nile, as they were called, was held by Sir Archibald Wavell; the Italian forces were commanded by



The African Campaign

Marshal Graziani. The extended series of campaigns on this front began on September 13, 1940. After long hesitation before launching such a serious campaign, Marshal Graziani, with a fully equipped army provided with tanks and accompanied by airplanes, crossed the border from Libya into Egypt, following the coast highway toward Alexandria through Halfaya Pass (called by the English soldiers "Hell Fire" Pass) at Solum. They met little resistance on land, the British preferring to await a more crucial contest. The British fleet attacked their columns from time to time from the sea, and planes bombed them from the air. On reaching Sidi Barrani, from which the British had retired, Graziani settled down for three months, fortifying his position, building pipelines for a water supply, the prime requisite for warfare in the desert, preparing for a further advance to Alexandria and the Suez Canal, and perhaps hoping for news of a successful invasion of England.

But he delayed too long. While he waited, reinforcements from England were still pouring into Egypt and preparations were being made for what proved a crushing blow. On December 9, 1940, a British army of 40,000 men suddenly attacked and recaptured Sidi Barrani and all the coast towns that had been occupied by the enemy. The seaports of Libya as well were bombarded from the sea and from the air, so that no help could reach the Italian troops trapped in Egypt.

The British in turn crossed the Libyan frontier and made their way as far as Bardia. They captured in three weeks 38,000 Italian prisoners. So great were the Italian losses that Prime Minister Churchill thought it worth while to broadcast a Christmas appeal, on December 23, 1940, to the Italian people, urging them to disown Mussolini as the author of all their losses and suffering, and to withdraw from the war. This, like similar appeals to other contestants, was apparently without result. The whole sad tragedy of the war was fated to be gone through to the end. The aggressions of the Axis powers had initiated

a series of events that perpetuated themselves at the expense alike of their own people and those who resisted them.

After their great success in Egypt and eastern Libya, the British forces pursued their advantage farther. During January and February, 1941, they pressed on westward, driving the Italian army before them, capturing successively the whole line of coast cities. They took Tobruk on January 22, 1941; they captured Derna on the 30th and reached Bengazi on February 16. By the beginning of April they had seized all the Libyan coast as far as Agedabia and sent an advance column as far as El Agheila. It had been a triumphant campaign. The British had captured 133,000 prisoners, including nineteen generals, and had lost only 1744 casualties. But, for the time being, they had reached the end of their triumphs.

713. Conflict with German Troops. — At Agedabia their enemies turned on them. The British in North Africa were now to discover that it was the Axis they were fighting — Italy and Germany, not Italy alone. Since the beginning of February, German troops and equipment had been taken in constantly larger numbers from Sicily across the Mediterranean to Tripoli and other parts of the North African coast. The British therefore faced a larger and better-equipped army than their own; it was now their turn to retreat. The single brigade they left to hold their farthest advance was overwhelmed by German and Italian troops early in April. They began their retreat, fighting constant rear-guard actions, in one of which they lost 2000 men. One after another of their recent conquests they were forced to leave to the Axis troops, retaining only Tobruk, the one city on this long stretch of coast with a good harbor and with a defensible line of hills between it and the desert. The Germans, passing Tobruk by, pressed on with the pursuit of the British until they reached the Egyptian frontier. Here they dug in and for a year there were a succession of desert battles and successive captures and losses of the coast cities and a

swaying to and fro of conquest, with both armies looking for reinforcements. This period of alternate struggle and suspension of action culminated in a new advance of the German-Italian army under its general, Ernst von Rommel, early in the year 1942, an advance which had reached El Alamein, on the north coast road, only seventy miles west of Alexandria before it was stopped by the British Eighth Army under General Montgomery.

714. British Aid to Greece. — On October 28, 1940, while Graziani was delaying at Sidi Barrani and General Wavell was preparing the forces that were so soon to overwhelm him, Italy entered into another doubtful struggle, an attack upon Greece. She had two excuses: one was that the Greek government, although professing to be neutral, had given valuable information to the British fleet in the Mediterranean; the other was that it had permitted Greek outlaws to cross the border into her possession of Albania. Italy therefore sent her troops from Albania into Greece. Greece is a small country of great memories. So well did those memories play their part in encouraging a brave resistance that, profiting by their mountains and the bitter winter weather that soon set in, the Greeks were able first to block the progress of the Italians, then to turn them back, and finally themselves to invade Albania. They sent troops of prisoners back into Greece, captured several Albanian cities, and threatened the capital. Even when Mussolini, encouraged by a prospect of German support, sent a new and more powerful expedition across to Albania, accompanying it himself, it was repulsed by the Greeks and suffered disastrous losses, the Duce returning to Rome with small credit. The fact is that Mussolini had underestimated the spirit and independence of the Greeks, and had probably expected them to yield to his threats or to succumb after a slight show of force. So far was this from being the result of the first two campaigns that, by the end of the year 1940, there was not an enemy on the soil of Greece,

and her army was in control of a quarter of Albania. Such progress of so small a country as Greece against so large a country as Italy probably could not last, especially when Italy was but one of the partners of the Axis.

But Greece also had allies. She could count on the support of Great Britain, which was bound to Greece, not only by her admiration for her ancient history and by interest in her as a Mediterranean power, but by the treaty of 1939, one of those in which Great Britain offered help to all those countries which would resist Hitler. Greece was now resisting Hitler's partner, and both King George and Mr. Churchill sent messages promising her all the aid Great Britain could afford. The needs of Britain at home and in Egypt were too great for her to afford much aid by land at that time. But her naval attack at Taranto, already mentioned, and naval and air attacks on Durazzo and Avlona, the principal ports by which Italian reinforcements and supplies were sent to Albania, were of great value. In September, 1940, the British fleet in the Mediterranean was reinforced to double its former strength and gained frequent minor victories over Italian ships. It forced the main Italian fleet to remain in hiding in its own harbors. Never again was there any justification for Mussolini's use of the phrase *Mare Nostrum*. Here as elsewhere, however, Mussolini could count on assistance from his powerful ally. It was always the Axis, not either Italy or Germany alone, with which Britain, now allied with Greece, had to contend. When it was announced, in January, 1941, that a German air corps had arrived in Italy, Great Britain immediately felt its influence. On January 10, 1941, a British fleet protecting a convoy carrying supplies to Greece was attacked by a joint Italian and German air formation while passing through the Sicilian straits. In an engagement lasting two days the British cruiser *Southampton* was sunk, the aircraft-carrier *Illustrious* was gravely damaged, and a number of small aircraft on both sides were destroyed. These losses

of British ships, especially far from home waters, were felt as a bitter humiliation by the English people at home.

The fate of their soldiers in Greece had little to give in the way of compensation, however triumphant were British successes in other parts of the Middle East. General Wavell early sent a small body of troops, as many as he could spare from Egypt, to land on the island of Crete, halfway between Africa and the Greek mainland; later, when he had driven the Italians out of Egypt, he sent more troops and the cannon he had captured from Graziani. In February, 1941, Sir Anthony Eden, Foreign Secretary, and Sir John Dill, Chief of Staff of the British Army, made a visit to the Middle East to find at first hand what conditions were. At Cairo they were joined by Sir Stafford Cripps and went on to Ankara to strengthen the British alliance with Turkey, then to Athens to hearten the Greeks with the promise of more British aid. This aid in men and supplies was sent, and by the early spring there were in Greece some 30,000 British home troops and as many more from Australia and New Zealand.

As important as men, perhaps more so to poverty-stricken and beleaguered Greece, were the British supplies, from munitions of war to medicines. For fighting in the high mountains, in the middle of winter, from poorly provided bases, the Greek army had little in the way of equipment beyond its hand weapons and light artillery. Its sufferings were severe. The British made every effort by air, by pack mules (the standard method of transportation in that country), and in other ways to get medical assistance and relief to the troops, for which the Greeks never ceased to be grateful.

715. Expulsion from Greece. — The inevitable turn of the tide came when the flood of Nazi conquest reached Greece. Neither the spirit and courage of the Greeks, nor the justice of their cause, nor even the support of their British allies was sufficient to save them from defeat by Hitler's forces when once

these had been brought against them, or from near starvation and extermination by his oppression and that of the Italians afterwards. The Führer's policy of obtaining control over the Balkans by a mixture of threats and promises had extended by the spring of 1941 to Yugoslavia. This country of some fifteen million inhabitants, mostly peasants, under their young, English-educated king, Peter, defied Hitler and the Nazis, and was consequently invaded in April, 1941. Within a few weeks the German army, combined with that of Italy, forced the Yugoslavs to surrender and receive a German army of occupation. This left Greece with her British allies exposed to the full force of German invasion from the north and east, as well as Italian invasion from the west. The Germans entered Greece on April 6, 1941.

The Allies were greatly outnumbered. The Greeks, weakened by the efforts they had already made, fought gallantly as before, but their army was soon cut in two by a rapid advance of the German troops to the Aegean Sea, and week after week they were pushed back and defeated in successive battles. The Italians took advantage of the advance of the Germans to resume their invasion with more chance of success. The Greeks on the Albanian front, with the Germans behind them, had now reluctantly to withdraw from the positions they had won. While they were stubbornly resisting, step by step, fighting rear-guard battles with the Italians, the Germans in a series of rapid marches cut them off from all Greek and British support; and on April 20, 1941, this main Greek army capitulated to the Germans.

In the meantime, the British were fighting an inevitably losing campaign in the center of Greece. The German air force was much stronger than that part of the R. A. F. which could be spared from the defense of England and of Britain's other armies, which were by this time so scattered. German planes bombed and harried the British troops, destroyed the Greek airports, and bombed the Greek harbors to prevent the arrival

of reinforcements. Because of this inferiority in the air and the military defeat of their Greek allies, the part played by the British troops was a long retirement before the Germans, varied by battles that inflicted many losses upon their enemies but could not affect the final result. As they retired southward, fighting as they went, names famous to history, Mount Olympus, Thermopylae, Corinth, the Piraeus, Athens, the Peloponnesus, emerged for a few days in the news, only to be followed by an account of a British or a Greek defeat. Finally, on April 21, 1941, the Greek government sent word to the British that, exhausted, they were about to ask the Germans for an armistice and, as they could not give any further aid, advised the British to withdraw their troops from Greece.

Withdrawal was evidently necessary; so the Australian and the New Zealand brigades that made up a large part of the British army in Greece alternately protected the long defensive line of retreat of the whole body of British troops through the Peloponnesus. From the beaches there, through seven successive nights, they were evacuated to the island of Crete by ships sent by Admiral Cunningham. They were subject during this time to frequent attack by German airplanes, under which many men, four transports, and two destroyers were lost. Of the 60,000 men who were sent to Greece some 3000 were killed or wounded, 10,000 captured by the Germans, and 45,000 safely evacuated.

716. The Battle for Crete. — The British might not have considered this in itself too high a price to pay for keeping their word to the Greeks, for the time they had gained, and the losses they had caused the enemy. But there was still one more scene in this Greek tragedy. While the British army and the remnants of the Greek forces were in Crete, awaiting further operations, the Germans, now masters of the whole mainland of Greece and indeed of the whole of southeastern Europe, were organizing an air armada, which they proceeded, after some

three weeks, to throw upon the Greek island. Crete, so long as it could be held, was an excellent base for guarding British interests in the eastern Mediterranean, and a valuable outpost from which Italian possessions in the East could be attacked by sea and air. But its retention was difficult, and the effort to retain it proved disastrous. Its greatest weakness lay in the insufficiency of the British air force, not yet approaching Germany's in strength and scattered over many fields. For from the mainland of Greece, after long preparation, the Germans launched upon Crete what was probably the first serious invasion ever made by an air-borne army. Transport planes in great numbers filled with parachute troops and towing troop-carrying gliders, the men in them provided with machine guns and other equipment, swept over the island and dropped invaders at scattered points among the rugged mountains. Many were disposed of by the British defenders as soon as they reached the ground, but others, gathering into bands large enough to protect themselves from such troops as could reach them immediately, captured the main airfields. They were followed by dive bombers, which attacked British troop formations. Fighter planes protected the German bombers and machine-gunned the land troops. The numerical inferiority of the British air force was fatal. The R. A. F. gave a good account of itself wherever it met the Germans on equal terms, but in Crete it lacked the numbers and variety of the German aircraft.

German troopships arrived in the wake of the air force; and, although some were met and destroyed by English vessels, these vessels in turn were bombed from the air. Four British cruisers and six destroyers were sunk, and the two battleships that were the main strength of the fleet were so badly injured that they could not be worked in such a confined area. It was a long and savage struggle, the German air force being constantly renewed. Italian forces appeared on the scene and increased the preponderance of England's enemies. Her defeat

was inevitable, and on May 21 the evacuation of her remaining troops began. From the southern ports and beaches, without any adequate defense against a constant pounding by the enemy's air force during embarkation and during the 360-mile journey to Egypt, the heavily loaded ships succeeded in bringing to safety about half the British force that had originally landed in Crete.

717. The Reconquest of Ethiopia, January, November, and December, 1941. — England was especially interested in Ethiopia. It had been on England's motion that economic sanctions had been imposed upon Italy by the League of Nations in 1936, in the endeavor to save that ancient and independent, if barbarous, empire from extinction. It was at Khartoum, in British Sudan, that its exiled emperor, Haile Selassie, established himself in 1940; and from there he was taken in a British airplane to land in the western part of his old dominions in January, 1941. Here the natives were already carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Italian garrisons, supplied with munitions, and drilled and frequently led by British officers. The Ethiopian feudal chieftains gathered around the emperor, and in the early months of 1941 he was making his way gradually toward his capital of Addis Ababa.

In the meantime campaigns were being waged by the British in each of the Italian dominions that, with Ethiopia, made up what Mussolini had organized into Italian East Africa. General Wavell, as British commander of the Middle East, had been particularly successful in welding into a united and well-disciplined army troops from Great Britain, India, and all the dominions of the Commonwealth, Free French, and not inconsiderable units from British colonies and native dependencies. In a series of hard-fought battles, raids, and sieges of ancient cities and with the repeated loss and recapture of border towns, Italian authority by March, 1941, had been driven out of all these provinces. British Somaliland, surrendered the previous

year, was recaptured and South African troops advancing far beyond their own borders had made successful progress through Kenya and Italian Somaliland.

As each of these campaigns was brought to a successful end, the troops concentrated on Ethiopia. There they advanced over roads prepared for them by Mussolini, one of the few successful projects of the Italian occupation. On March 26 the ancient town of Harar, after heavy bombardment by the troops returning from the taking of Eritrea, was captured; on April 6 the Italian troops abandoned Addis Ababa, and on May 5, 1941, Haile Selassie reëntered his old capital.

Three outlying portions of Ethiopia, mountainous and difficult, were still held by Italian forces, and the Duke of Aosta, governor of Italian East Africa, continued the struggle. South African and Indian troops were specially prominent in the British forces that fought against these strongly fortified positions, which were eventually all taken, though from Italian troops whose gallantry was acknowledged by the British. These conflicts yielded 32,000 Italian prisoners. On May 18 the Duke of Aosta surrendered the troops and positions he had in the north, but not till November, 1941, after a long siege, was the last Italian position, the stronghold of Gondar, with its 23,000 Italian and colonial troops, carried by assault. Thus not only was Ethiopia cleared of all hostile troops but the expulsion of the Italians from all Mussolini's East African empire was completed.

718. American Aid. For a year and a half after the downfall of France the British Empire was alone in the war against the Axis, except for joint efforts with Greece in her short war, and the aid the "governments in exile" in London could give through such of their forces as escaped when their countries were occupied by the Germans. This support was by no means insignificant, as will be seen later. Far more important, however, in this period of trial and loneliness was the growing sympathy and

practical aid provided, though without an actual alliance, by the United States.

The first substantial instance of this assistance was the transfer to Great Britain in September, 1940, of fifty destroyers which had been laid up by the United States navy as over age.¹ Although the British fleet as a whole was still almost undiminished, the need for smaller vessels for convoy and blockade duty, and to replace the constant losses in the Battle of the Atlantic, made these destroyers more than welcome at this critical time. In exchange for these, Great Britain granted to the United States permission to establish eight naval bases on British territory in the Western Hemisphere.

Thereupon land was bought by the American government, and seven naval bases were established at various points around the Caribbean Sea, and an eighth, on a lease for ninety-nine years, in Newfoundland. At the same time the principle that the British government should consult Canadian opinion in its negotiations with the United States, and the common interest of Canada and the United States in the protection of the North American continent against invasion, were recognized by the formation of a joint Defense Board to sit in Ottawa to consider "the defense of the northern half of the Western Hemisphere."

719. Attitude of the United States. American disinclination to being drawn into the war was strong, but still stronger forces were acting in the other direction. There were at least four general influences that as the war progressed were driving the United States to make common cause with Great Britain. First was her kinship with England. Her origin, common language and literature, similar institutions, and long traditions, though overlaid in ordinary times by differences of interest and occasions of conflict and minor differences of social custom, were insensibly drawing her closer to the mother country in these times of stress.

¹At the same time seventy others were reconditioned and returned to active service in the United States navy, which was itself being strengthened.

The many Americans who had traveled in England and found nothing but kindness there had created sympathy for her and had made ties with her that were only less strong than those which bound them to their own country. Secondly, American opinion was shocked by Germany's aggressions, her unjustified invasions of peaceful countries, and her ruthlessness and barbarous policy in the countries she occupied. This feeling was strengthened when Japan, with her aggressive policy in China, adhered to the Axis on September 27, 1940. Thirdly, the whole ideal of totalitarianism, the principles and the system of government of the German Nazis and the Italian Fascists, of Hitler and Mussolini, was antagonistic to American democracy and hateful to American sentiment. America sympathized with England in her opposition to the extension of the ideals of Hitler. Lastly, the American government and the more far-sighted of her people did not fail to perceive that Great Britain was fighting their battle as well as her own, that there was reason to fear that the war of European conquest might spread across the Atlantic. Before long the aggressive leaders of European totalitarianism might interfere with American independence, and the United States be forced into a struggle for her freedom like that in which England was now engaged. A "fifth column" which would welcome such an invasion, and a body of "isolationists" blind to its possibility and unwilling to guard against it, made the danger a real one. Hitler took occasion to declare publicly that he had no hostile intentions toward the Western world, but he had frequently given proof of the worthlessness of such statements. The next logical step in his policy of conquest might well be an effort to include America in his "new order." Long ago, in *Mein Kampf*, he had prophesied world conquest by Germany.

Of this growing recognition of the desirability of giving aid to Great Britain, the only country then resisting fascism, the American government at the time was fully representative.

Both candidates in the Presidential election in the fall of 1940 advocated full aid to Britain. President Roosevelt, who entered upon a third term by this election, led rather than merely reflected the prevailing public opinion in the United States. He likened aid to Britain to lending your hose to a neighbor when his house is on fire. As early as December, 1940, he had advocated aid to Britain and made it the principal point of his broadcast to the nation at the close of the year.

In the meantime British need for American help was becoming desperate. Less than half-armed for war at the beginning of the struggle, as compared with the fully armed condition of Germany, losing great numbers of airplanes and surface vessels of the navy in the battles of Britain and of the Atlantic and in Africa, Britain's replacements to her air and sea fleets left her still at a disadvantage in the struggle. She purchased in America and elsewhere what there was for sale, but there were few shipyards and machine shops able to provide the vessels and airplanes which were the first requisite. By October, 1940, she had ordered 26,000 airplanes from American manufacturers; but they could be produced only slowly, and an American "Neutrality Act" required that they should be paid for as ordered, and that the purchaser must send to America to get them; and so it was with other supplies. This dire situation was described to America by the British ambassador before the year 1940 was over.

720. The Lend-Lease System. The leadership of the President and the willingness of most Americans to give England "all aid short of war" were indicated by the introduction into Congress, on the recommendation of the President, in January, 1941, and the passage on March 11, of the "Lend-Lease" bill. This provided that there might be raised or manufactured and sent to any country "whose defence the President deems vital to the defence of the United States . . . any articles of defence for which Congress has provided funds." The general terms and condi-

tions were to be "payment or repayment in kind or property or any other direct or indirect benefit which the President deems satisfactory."

This was recognized by the British government, and very generally by the British people, as not only a generous but a wise arrangement, since it made possible almost indefinite aid to Britain without immediate involvement of America in the war, and without repeal of the Neutrality Act, which embodied plans by which it was hoped to avoid war. Lend-lease might go far to help Britain defeat those who were responsible for bringing on the war. Although the lend-lease system applied to all countries with which the United States felt herself in sympathy, it was primarily intended to give aid to Great Britain. Immediately after its passage Congress set aside for the purposes of the act seven billion dollars, of which something over a billion dollars was allocated to supplies for Great Britain. But a few minutes — four, to be exact — after the President had signed the act, shipment was begun of the materials for England and for Greece which had been piling up in anticipation of Congressional action. The Lend-Lease Act was at first a controversial measure, bitterly fought by isolationists for the three months of its progress through Congress, but it came to be universally approved. According to its provisions, a report of what had been done under it had to be made every three months. Provision of war equipment, goods, and services continued to be made as Congress put more funds at the disposal of the Lend-Lease Administration. It was extended more and more widely as the war included more opponents of the Axis, until thirty nations were benefiting by lend-lease grants from the United States. These grants were recognized as a means of strengthening common action against the common enemy. By the end of the second year after the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, nine and a half billion dollars' worth of materials had been provided for the Allies, more than four and a half billion of which had gone to

Great Britain. The act, as originally adopted, would have expired in June, 1943; but it was renewed in March of that year, and was then passed by unanimous vote in the Senate and by a vote of 407 to 6 in the House of Representatives. Lend-lease aid rendered to England consisted almost equally of munitions, industrial items, and foodstuffs and other agricultural products.

721. Atrocities. — More and more it came to be realized in Great Britain that the war was a struggle not only for national survival but for the preservation of British ideals. To Nazism and Fascism as political and social ideals for Germany and Italy for the internal organization of their own nations had been added the ambition to subject surrounding peoples to reorganization on the same lines. This ambition involved plans for international reorganization. Mussolini's "Mediterranean Empire" was merely an extension of Italian ambitions to new fields of conquest. Hitler and the Nazis, however, planned a "New Order of Europe," a group of countries, with Germany as the predominant power, arranged according to Hitler's idea of fitness. Hitler, although gifted as a party leader, was essentially an ignorant, dreamy man, with a small outfit of leading ideas. These were little more than his belief in the natural superiority of the German race, in dictatorship as a form of government, in the weakness of all democracies, in the wickedness of communism, in the malign influence of the Jews, in military strength as a justification for the exercise of power. The people of the occupied countries, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Yugoslavia, except for a small minority in each country, showed little inclination to accept these beliefs and little interest in the "New Order of Europe." There was a possibility that the Nazis could build up a substantial party in each country from the minority who were not disinclined to their principles, or at least win the reluctant respect of a part of the people by moderation and some consider-

ation for local life; and certain elements might have met the Nazis halfway during the period of occupation.

The Germans made this impossible by their unwise, harsh, and often brutal treatment of the native populations. They levied on the food and other resources of each country not only for the support and comfort of the occupying forces, while the native population was put under the narrowest restrictions for the necessities of life, but for export to Germany and elsewhere. This amounted to plain robbery. They used the manufacturing facilities of the occupied countries to produce war equipment for their own forces. They antagonized the native churches and directed the educational systems, as far as possible, to the propagation of their own doctrines; in several countries they dissolved the universities. They took stern measures against freedom of thought and expression. Their treatment of the Jews, even in countries where the Jews were not unpopular, where they were socially prominent and generally enlightened, was stupid, vicious, and, in some countries, as in Poland, quite inhuman.

When these measures were disobeyed or met with resistance, punishments were of the greatest severity. The German secret service, the Gestapo, was introduced into the occupied countries and given special powers of investigation and arrest. There were frequent mass arrests, often of persons quite unconnected with an offense. One of the practices most universally condemned in other parts of the world was that of arresting prominent men or groups of citizens, holding them as hostages, and then executing them when sabotage or other offenses occurred for which it was not even claimed that they had any responsibility. Norway, the first victim of German aggression after the outbreak of war over Poland, became famous for the persistence of its resistance and the ingenuity of its sabotage. In retaliation martial law was declared, and efforts were made both by the Germans and their Quisling supporters to break down the whole national opposition.

In France acts of opposition were continuous. Sabotage on railroads and in munition factories was constant; assassinations of both German and disloyal French officials were attempted, sometimes successfully. There were riots in Paris and elsewhere. Trouble was constantly made and much property destroyed. Mass arrests and executions followed. Dutch and Belgian opposition was much like that of France and was met with the same harsh measures.

In regions farther east, in Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere, resistance was even more extensive and more embittered, and the vengeance of the Nazi governors more extreme. There were instances of a whole village or town being destroyed as punishment for some action only remotely connected with its inhabitants.

In Zagreb, in Yugoslavia, fifty persons were executed as the "intellectual instigators" of the bombing of a telephone exchange. In Bohemia, Heydrich, the assistant head of the Gestapo, was appointed "Protector" to restore order, and within four days brought about the execution of eighty-eight persons. When his bloody activities had led to his assassination by unknown persons, the government ordered what proved to be almost indiscriminate executions. A village named Lidice was one of the first to attain a tragic fame throughout the world by having all its male inhabitants shot and all its women and children taken away into captivity, a truly primitive and barbarous revenge. It was no wonder that an English statesman spoke of the Nazis in this connection as "the moral outcasts of mankind."

The Germans themselves acknowledged the execution in France alone of more than a thousand hostages; in all Europe, of 8000. But this fell far short of the hundreds of thousands who were shot in Poland, put to death in various ways in other countries, reduced to starvation, or brought to death in concentration camps. These actions built up a hatred of Germany and

of Hitler's government that probably excelled any international resentment recorded in history. A terrible bill of penalties was piling up against the leaders of the nation which thus tyrannized over the nations it had conquered.

Thoughtful men were striving to prevent an indiscriminate hatred extending from the German leaders to the whole mass of the German people, to keep alive in men's minds some distinction between the responsibility of the German and Italian governments and that of the German and Italian peoples, who let power come into their hands. They held that the war should be one of survival and of just punishment, and, for the sake of a happier future, not one merely of revenge.

In no countries in the world was condemnation of the actions of the Nazis and sympathy with the victims of these actions greater than in England and the United States, although neither of them suffered invasion. It was from the governments of these two countries that emanated the first great effort at a general declaration of the real object of the war, apart from the manifest and essential task of winning complete victory. This was the purpose of the "Atlantic Charter," issued August 14, 1941, almost exactly at the end of the second year of the war.

722. The Atlantic Charter. — The Second World War, against its background of deep tragedy, was rich in dramatic occurrence. Its whole progress was marked by surprises, secret expeditions, personal interventions, almost fantastic developments. Two such occurrences marked the summer of 1941, the second summer of the war. On May 10, the second or third most prominent member of the Nazi party after Hitler himself, Rudolf Hess, descended by parachute from a German airplane in a field near Glasgow, in Scotland. After Hess had been positively identified, the British government incarcerated him as a prisoner of war, and, so far as is publicly known, kept him in custody through the whole remainder of the war, without communication with Germany or any other part of the outside world.

Equally unexplained, for a few days early in August, was the absence of both President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill from their usual places. It later transpired that they had been engaged in a conference at sea, the first of several such personal interviews during the war. There were with them a number of officials of the two governments, including high officers of the military, naval, and air services of both countries; among them was Lord Beaverbrook, British Minister of Supply, who afterward went to Washington to discuss problems of lend-lease.

The principal outcome of the conference was the issue of a statement of the common national policies of the two countries. The extent to which it was accepted and the large part it played in the carrying on of the war justify the inclusion here of its provisions in its own words.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security.
6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. Such a peace should enable all men to travel the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
8. They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since

no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

723. Summary of the Early Period of the Second World War. — The British, for more than two years after the fall of France, at the beginning of the war, were alone in their resistance to Germany. The swift seizure of the western Continental countries had given no opportunity to build up any combined resistance. Soon the full force of German air attack was directed upon England with the expectation of bringing about her immediate surrender. Her brave and successful resistance had an immeasurable effect on the later course of the war, forcing Hitler to change his whole policy and to enter into a long and world-wide war instead of a single short campaign.

The Mediterranean and African campaigns were the result either of England's sympathies or of her efforts to meet the Axis where it was threatening her territory or her communications.

In the same way, the Americans, led by their sympathies and foreseeing the unavoidable conflict between German ideals and their own, were pursuing a policy which, quite apart from the possibility of developments which might involve them directly in the war, was tending to bring them to the support of Britain.

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CHAPTER XXVI

BRITAIN, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THE WAR

724. The Axis in the Far East. — The outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 had a deep effect on the local war in progress since 1937 in the Far East, and led to its ultimate extension throughout that hemisphere. It will be remembered that Japan's invasion of China, notwithstanding her two years of relentless pressure and constant series of victories, had bogged down; and her conquest had apparently reached its limits in the coastlands and along the lower courses of the great Chinese rivers. The remainder of the country, the great inland regions, now a unified republic under Chiang Kai-shek, with its capital at Chungking, refused to yield to the conquerors and kept up widespread if mainly guerilla warfare. Japan could not advance and would not withdraw.

Her alliance with the aggressive Western powers encouraged her to proceed with her larger ambitions. In 1934 her foreign minister had declared that Japan alone among foreign nations had the right to make commitments for China. In 1938 she went further. To the southward lay a vast region of mainland and islands, densely populated, wealthy but not yet industrialized, rich in products in special demand for purposes of war, — oil, tin, rubber, — and in the spices that have been desired in all ages. In 1938 Japan declared that her "new order" should include not only China but all Eastern Asia. Prince Konoye, the prime minister, asserted his country's determination "to proceed with the work of establishing a new order in East Asia." This ideal was still more clearly asserted in the Pact of Berlin, which Germany, Italy, and Japan signed on September 27, 1940.

The three governments concerned declared, first, that it was their object to "establish and maintain a new order of things." Japan agreed to respect "the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe." Germany and Italy in turn agreed to "recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia." Each was to give political, economic, and military aid to the other. Japan was to reorganize and dominate not only China but Indo-China, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, and the multitudinous groups of islands of the western Pacific. Her sphere of control included whatever possessions of other nations, such as the British crown colonies of Hong Kong and Singapore or the American-protected islands of the Philippines, lay within the vague confines of "Greater East Asia." The seizure of the Netherlands by Germany in the spring of 1940 left Java and Sumatra and the rest of the Dutch East Indies apparently subject to seizure by an ambitious great power, and offered further temptation to Japan. Did this list extend to India, Australia, and New Zealand? To the dreams of Japanese expansion, the logic of her claims, and her perverted sense of destiny there were no settled limits. In fact the Pact of Berlin was a challenge to the rest of the world, both West and East, to strengthen and mobilize its resistance if it was not willing to see itself subjugated to the three signers — the Axis powers.

725. Appeasement in the Far East. — For a while other governments followed, as they had in Europe, a policy of appeasement. In July, 1940, Great Britain yielded to the complaint of Japan that her permission for the import of war materials by China through Burma was unneutral, and agreed to close the Burma Road for three months. She made no opposition to occupation by Japanese troops of lands that obviously threatened Hong Kong. France agreed to cease the shipment of arms over the railways through her colony of Indo-China. Pressure on the

British settlement in Tientsin brought concessions. All commerce of Western nations with Manchuria, of course, had come to an end, although neither Britain nor America had yet acknowledged it as a Japanese possession. When a British warship stopped a Japanese vessel and took off twenty German sailors, on protest from the Japanese government Britain released them. Although at the end of the three months, Britain reopened the Burma Road, she allowed Japan to seize the island of Hainan, opposite the principal port of French Indo-China, without effective protest.

From this center Japan pressed her southward progress. The authorities of French Indo-China were under the control of the French government at Vichy, which, although nominally a government of unoccupied territory under an armistice, was constrained to follow the wishes of the Führer. In September, 1940, Japan was allowed by French Indo-China to establish a garrison and air bases within its borders, on the excuse of using her influence in the settlement of a dispute with Siam, or Thailand. This took 40,000 Japanese troops far up into the interior and gave Japan a practical monopoly not only of trade but of political control. Both England and the United States protested against this monopoly; but, although they looked with disapproval on the advance of Japan southward, they were for the moment powerless to prevent it. England could not, with the burden of the war in the West upon her, take the risk of war in the East, if it could be avoided. Relations between the United States and Japan were still amicable, and in 1940 the United States was becoming more and more deeply engaged in sending lend-lease contributions to the European war, and therefore less inclined to seek trouble in Asia.

726. American-Japanese Relations. — Japan's alliance with the Axis, England's supreme enemy, and her efforts to obtain exclusive control of Eastern Asia, where England had so many interests, were bound to bring the two countries into conflict

sooner or later. The break came in December, 1941, as a consequence of Japan's break with the United States. For a long time the Americans had looked with disapproval rather than with antagonism on the aggressions of Japan in China and the East. Their interests were not at first directly affected, their feelings toward the Japanese people were traditionally friendly, and they had the same disinclination to concern themselves with the affairs of other nations that had kept them generally aloof from entry into European affairs. So they continued to sell Japan oil and the steel and scrap iron that were necessary to her shipbuilding program and, as it afterward transpired, for the great stock of reserves she was piling up for future war. They bought from her readily her silk, her tea, her textile goods, and the numerous small articles that come so abundantly and so cheaply from her mills.

In their war in China, the Japanese were constantly obstructing American commerce, abusing American citizens, and causing loss of American property, all of which were guaranteed by China and protected by international law. They bombed American mission hospitals, churches, and schools. They destroyed the newly built, finely equipped, and well-endowed university at Tientsin. The American doctrine of the "open door," that is, equal opportunity of trade to all nations in China, had been guaranteed by Japan, along with others, in the Nine-Power Treaty of 1921, which was now being openly disregarded by Japan. The United States felt in duty bound to carry out as far as possible her established policy of refusing to recognize territorial changes brought about by violence, and to strive to establish peaceful relations among nations in the Pacific lands.

On the other hand, Japan had her own grievances against America — some of long standing, such as the American laws excluding Orientals from immigration into the United States. American criticism of Japan's effort for control in the East roused the anger and resentment of those classes in Japan who

were responsible for that effort. More moderate Japanese felt that America did not understand or sympathize with her difficult position as a nation with a rapidly growing population on a restricted area, and her consequent need for new land as a source of food and raw materials. Intensifying all other difficulties was the apparent belief of Japanese leaders, comparable to that of the Nazi leaders in Germany, that the Japanese were in some way a superior people, destined by heaven to the hegemony of Eastern Asia. Disputes between the American and Japanese governments were therefore constant. America adopted a stiffer attitude, continued to lend money to Chiang Kai-shek in his struggle for the independence of China, and opposed wherever possible the Japanese career of violent progress in Asia.

727. Hostile Negotiations between the United States and Japan. — On July 26, 1941, the United States denounced her long-established treaty of commerce and navigation with Japan. In the same month it "froze" Japanese assets in the United States. In August it placed an embargo on the export of high-grade oil. The possibility of war in the East could not be disregarded, and even in 1940 President Roosevelt had advised all American citizens in Japan or the occupied parts of China to return home as soon as they conveniently could. The President also thought it prudent to call the militia in the Philippines into service; and, early in November, 1941, gave orders to the few American troops on stations at Peiping, Tientsin, and Shanghai to be ready for withdrawal at any time.

By October, 1941, extremist influences had finally gained control in Japan; the comparatively moderate prime minister, Prince Konoye, resigned; and General Tojo, the minister of war, became prime minister. There was an outburst of violent articles by the Japanese against the United States and expressions of Japanese "immutable determination" to conquer China and carry out her mission of creating the new order in East Asia. Nevertheless a special envoy, Mr. Saburo Kurusu, was sent to

Washington to join Ambassador Admiral Nomura in continuing negotiations with the American government. Whether this was a genuine effort to conciliate differences or a mere interlude to permit the Japanese government to make further preparations for war is not clear. Certainly no conciliatory terms were offered by the envoy. On the contrary, on November 15, the day Kurusu arrived in Washington, 50,000 additional Japanese troops were despatched to Indo-China. President Roosevelt telegraphed to ask why this action, which seemed in direct opposition to the proposed agreement, was taken. He received an evasive reply.

There is some reason to believe that neither Admiral Nomura nor Mr. Kurusu knew, during the next three weeks of negotiations, that war had been already determined upon and that preparations for war were being made by the home government. At least, when negotiations seemed likely to break down, on November 20, the Ambassador asked for their continuance, stating that he did so on orders from his government. It was apparently not quite ready. There seems no doubt, judging from later events, that Japan had already made up her mind to precipitate a war with the United States and was only playing for a little more time.

When negotiations seemed still to drag, Secretary of State Hull, on November 26, asked the Japanese delegates to call, read them a statement, and handed them an outline of a plan which, if adopted, he believed would settle all differences between the two governments and preserve the endangered peace in the Pacific region.

Mr. Hull's outline of a proposed agreement affirmed that the two nations were desirous of a lasting peace in the Pacific area, that neither of them had any territorial designs, that they did not intend to use any threats or aggressive military force, that they did not believe in interfering in the internal affairs of any country of the Pacific, and that they supported peaceful settle-

ment of all controversies; it advocated equal access of all nations to raw materials, proposed that both governments should withdraw their troops from China and acknowledge the government of Chiang Kai-shek, and offered many other altruistic suggestions.

The United States no doubt would have accepted and fulfilled these League of Nations principles and proposals, but Mr. Hull can hardly have anticipated their acceptance by Japan, as they were the exact opposite of her prevailing policy, which by this time apparently had the support of the Japanese people.

However, the contents of the paper were cabled to Japan on November 26 and are said to have been considered by the Privy Council. On December 6 President Roosevelt, hoping against hope that negotiations would not break down, wrote a personal letter to Emperor Hirohito, as he had to Hitler and to Mussolini on critical occasions, but with no better results. It may be doubted whether the emperor ever saw the letter. A purported answer, received some days later, simply referred the President to the answer of the Japanese government to the American proposals of November 26. This answer was handed to Mr. Hull by the Japanese ambassador in Washington at a quarter past two on the afternoon of December 7. It was long, but the secretary read it through at the time. It consisted alternately of serious discussion, self-defense, sarcasm, denial, ridicule, charges of war propaganda, and mere abuse, closing with the statement that no agreement could be reached and therefore no further negotiations were possible. This was no doubt true; the ideals and fixed intentions of Japan were incompatible with American standards of public justice and morality, with America's national interests, and with her sense of responsibility as a nation with interests and attachments in the Eastern world. Yet it was observable that the reply contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack. The dignified secretary, after reading the paper, so far forgot his usual formality as to say to the ambas-

sador, "In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions." He later referred to Japan's declaration that it desired peace as "false and fraudulent."

728. Pearl Harbor. — Neither the matter nor the manner of the Japanese reply nor the secretary's remarks upon it were of much consequence, because, at the very hour and minute at which the document was being presented and read at Washington, at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands (the principal naval station of the United States in the Pacific), in the Philippines, in the British colony of Hong Kong, and in Burma the whole affair was being transferred from the field of discussion to the barbarous realm of treacherous attack. During the last few days or weeks or months, it is not possible now to say which, preparations had been made, airplane-carriers and airplanes gathered, and ammunition loaded, spies had been gathering and reporting their information, and now these preparations culminated in a shameful attack by Japan, without warning, while search was still being made for a friendly settlement of differences.

The surprise was complete and the destruction great at all the American and British points attacked. At Pearl Harbor bombs were dropped from airplanes and torpedoes fired from submarines, resulting in the sinking or complete disablement of nineteen war vessels in the harbor, the destruction of 127 airplanes, the burning of the buildings of the station, and the killing or wounding of some 4500 American soldiers, sailors, and marines, most of them in their beds. The other Japanese fleets may have been delayed, for it was not till a few hours later, but still on the same day, that they attacked Guam, Wake Island, and the island of Luzon in the Philippines, and a few hours later still, on the morning of December 8, that they attacked Midway. On the same morning Hong Kong was bombarded and Burma invaded by Japanese troops.

729. War declared between Japan and Great Britain and the Netherlands, and between the Axis and the United States and South American Countries. — As the news of the Japanese action spread through the United States it brought that country instantly into the war. All doubt, hesitation, and uncertainty immediately disappeared. America had been attacked; it must defend itself. "Remember Pearl Harbor!" long remained for Americans an answer to every doubt concerning the war and a phrase with which to stir flagging spirits in its prosecution.

The next day, Monday, December 8, 1941, the President called the two houses of Congress in joint session at 10.30 A.M., gave them a résumé of recent negotiations with the Japanese representatives, recited the events of the day before, — "a date which will live in infamy," as he said, — and asked for a declaration of war between the government of Japan and the government and people of the United States. This was immediately given by a practically unanimous vote, and was signed by the President at half-past four in the afternoon of the same day. Whether or not there was any significance in the declaration's being between the "government" of Japan and the "government and people" of the United States, the American people gave immediate and universal support to the declaration and felt a certain satisfaction in the fact that indecision was over, and that it had been ended by the action of Japan herself.

Three days later, on December 11, Italy, Germany, and Japan jointly issued a document placing responsibility for war on the United States and Britain and stating their determination to fight a common war against them. They still insisted that their object was "to establish an equitable new order in the world." Germany and Italy, as they were bound to do by the Pact of Berlin, and doubtless in accordance with their own inclination, each declared war upon the United States, presenting the declarations to the representatives of the American government in Berlin and Rome and to the government itself in Washington.

(Japan had announced on the morning of December 7 that a state of war existed, although the fact was not made known to the United States government until the attack on Pearl Harbor had already begun.)

On the same day, December 11, Congress, at the recommendation of the President, made identical declarations of war against Germany and Italy. In the meantime the British prime minister, in fulfilment of a promise that, if the United States were involved in war with Japan, England would become an active ally within the hour, had communicated by telephone with President Roosevelt and then called parliament together for the purpose of declaring war. But learning that British territory also had been invaded, Mr. Churchill, in session with the cabinet, which met at half past twelve (before there had been time for parliament to assemble), directed the British representative in Tokyo to present an immediate declaration of war to the Japanese government. Since English time is six hours ahead of American time the prime minister not only redeemed his promise but actually made his declaration of war with Japan before that of the United States. War with Germany and Italy was already a story more than two years old.

The Queen and ministry of the Netherlands, exercising the functions of government although in exile in England, at the same time sent word to Japan that, in view of her hostile acts perpetrated against two powers with which the Netherlands was particularly closely associated, the Netherlands government considered itself at war with Japan. Since the Netherlands Indies lay directly across the path of Japan in her proposed advance southward, war could have been postponed only for a short time, at best.

The South and Central American countries came next, but their final position in the Second World War, which was becoming so nearly a war of the whole world, was reached only after many months.

730. The United Nations. — The action of Japan and her associates not only brought a number of new nations into the war; it drew the adversaries, new and old, of the Axis powers into a closer alliance among themselves. It was to be a veritable world war against the original three disturbers of the peace of the world, and it was highly desirable that all those who fought against those three aggressors should act in unison. On December 22, with the usual element of surprise, Mr. Churchill and a number of the British chiefs of staff, military leaders, and other ministers appeared in Washington. Long conferences followed, in which presumably all phases of a combined war effort were discussed. The only new arrangements announced were a united command of Great Britain and the United States in the Pacific and in China.

On January 2, 1942, a broader, if looser, alliance was agreed to at Washington by twenty-six "United Nations," as they now called themselves. The representatives of this world-wide group signed a "Joint Declaration" — a document rather less binding than a treaty, but one which pledged them nevertheless to common action while allowing adaptation to varied conditions. The principal participants were the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China; then came, in alphabetical order, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, and so on through the alphabet. Greece was there, as were India, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and others, each name suggesting some tragic experience or dread of attack or strong sympathy with their common ideals. The twenty-six nations acknowledged, in the first place, their adherence to the principles of the Atlantic Charter. They stated that victory over the Axis was necessary for the defense of life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and for the preservation of human rights in all lands against "savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world." They promised therefore to employ their full resources, military and economic, in coöperation with one another, and

not to make a separate armistice or peace in their struggle for victory over Hitlerism. The declaration was signed in person by President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, the Russian ambassador to the United States (Mr. Litvinoff), who had arrived in Washington the very day of the Japanese attack, the Chinese foreign minister, then in Washington, and representatives of the other countries entering into the engagement. Probably never before in the history of the world, considering that the declaration included the Atlantic Charter, were such liberal principles so widely acknowledged. General as these statements were, the common name, the "United Nations," and the common agreement, the "Declaration of Washington," gave a unity to the common cause against the Axis that it had never had before.

731. The Governments in Exile. — A common statement of principles was much easier to reach than common action, which was only gradually and partially attained. One form of such action, however, was the work of the governments in exile, which had their centers in London. One after another, as their countries were submerged under the German flood, the sovereigns or executive heads or responsible ministries of European countries had taken refuge in England. The Polish ministers, King Haakon of Norway, Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, Mr. Beneš (ex-president of Czechoslovakia), General de Gaulle (representing the Free French), and others organized headquarters in London. Certain of these refugees, such as the Norwegians and the Dutch, being seafaring peoples, were able to play a large and useful part in the common cause. For instance, the Norwegian government, the king and the ministry, after keeping up the contest for two months in Norway itself, established themselves in London and issued orders to all Norwegian vessels then on the high seas or in ports not in Nazi control to come to British or other friendly harbors. With its 25,000 sailors, under a Norwegian committee, this merchant marine of about a thousand vessels, the fourth largest in the world, provided England during

the Battle of Britain with half her fuel-oil supply and a third of her other imports; its vessels helped in the rescue of the British army from Dunkirk and from Crete; and its tankers, trawlers, cargo ships, and even smaller fighting ships were of inestimable value to British defense, — of more value, as it was testified, than an army of a million men. As young men and others escaped from time to time from Nazi-controlled Norway, they volunteered in the British navy, Royal Air Force, and coast guard, or formed considerable units of their own, under the command of their own king and officers, much as if they were in their own country.

Similar participation in services for their British hosts and for their own governments, and in preparation for eventual recapture of their homelands and reestablishment within their own boundaries, has been constantly performed by these groups of citizens of temporarily enslaved countries. In some cases the sojourn of a foreign ruler in England was marked by the proclamation of some political development for their own country that bears the mark of the influence of British example. For instance, the announcement by Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, in a broadcast from London, December 6, 1942, of the outline of a plan for a Dutch confederation of four independent parts of her empire, the Netherlands, the Netherlands East Indies, Curaçao, and Surinam, suggests strongly the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A somewhat similar development, perhaps presaging an extension of the system of federal organization after the war, occurred in Russia two years later. The sixteen constituents of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics were given responsibility for contributing their own separate units to the combined Russian army and the option of exchanging diplomatic representatives with foreign powers.

732. The Battle of the Pacific; Hong Kong. — In the war in the Pacific that began so suddenly on December 7, 1941, Japan

was in the beginning on the offensive. It was on her part a war against the *status quo* — a war partly for visionary ends, such as the "new order in Asia," dreams of greatness, and the gratification of her spleen against the United States, the government which was blocking her conquest of China and her advance to the southward; partly for the substantial gains she hoped to get by the conquest of rich territories. In any case it called for immediate attack on all who opposed her advance in the Pacific Ocean and on its shores.

It became evident immediately that Japan was better equipped for a war of conquest than anyone had supposed. She had secretly fortified the islands which she held under mandate and was bound to leave open to the inspection of the world, but actually had hidden from all oversight. Since she had denounced the naval treaty in 1934 she had immensely increased the size and equipment of her fleet. She had built shipyards and amassed reserves and supplies that would last for many campaigns. She was strong in airplanes and in establishments for their further production in apparently almost limitless numbers. With perhaps two and a half million men under arms, she still had, besides those immobilized in China and on the Russian border, some 600,000 or 800,000 available for new adventures. The boldness, courage, devotion, and endurance of her officers and soldiers were unlimited, and in some forms of fighting, especially in the infiltration tactics of jungle warfare, her men were incomparable. She had the advantage of surprise and the choice of where and when to strike. Above all, she was already at war in the region where the war must be fought. Ever since the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 she had been on a war footing. She did not need to make preparations — she was already prepared; her officers were experienced, her soldiers were veterans.

The Japanese army, supported by a strong air force, laid siege to Hong Kong and began its bombardment from the air promptly



The War in the Far East

on December 8. Hong Kong was a city of some 24,000 Europeans, mostly British, around whom had gathered a population of nearly two million Chinese, nearly half of whom were refugees from other parts of China; it was protected at that time by a garrison of 12,000 British, Canadian, and Indian troops. The siege lasted two weeks; there was brave fighting, but the odds were overwhelming; and the reservoirs on which the city depended for its water supply were one after another exhausted or destroyed. On Christmas day the governor of the colony surrendered to the Japanese. Unfortunately atrocities were committed upon the garrison who became prisoners and one more mark of dishonor was incurred by the Japanese. Their code of honor apparently did not apply to their treatment of their enemies.

733. Singapore. — The capture of Singapore came next. It was the great barrier of the East. So long as Britain held it, no other power could obtain control in the East Indies. It was supposed to be impregnable, and probably was so from the sea or by frontal attack; but it had to meet an assault of a new kind. This came by way of Thailand, or Siam. The first fruits of Japanese conquest, even before the capture of Hong Kong, had been the occupation of Thailand. It consisted of little more than sending across the border from French Indo-China those troops that Japan for some months had been sending there against the protests of Great Britain and the United States. There was little resistance. Thailand surrendered to Japan much as some of the Balkan states had surrendered to Germany, and an alliance was signed at Bangkok a few days later. This country, with its air bases and outlook on the Gulf of Siam, became the Japanese springboard for the conquest of Malaya and Singapore, and eventually of Burma.

A few days before the war broke out, the *Prince of Wales*, the newest British battleship, and the *Repulse*, a heavy cruiser, were sent to Singapore, partly with the hope of deterring Japan

from declaring war. That hope was not fulfilled and a few days after the warships arrived at Singapore a Japanese fleet appeared in the Gulf of Siam, ready to attack Malaya. The two warships, although unprovided with airplane protection, sailed to meet the Japanese fleet, but were attacked by bombers from the shore, which the Japanese had first seized; and two of the finest of British ships, with the admiral and most of their crews, were sent to the bottom.

The siege of Singapore came not from the sea, as had been expected and long provided against, but from the land. Between the border of Thailand, on the Gulf of Siam, which the Japanese must cross, and the island fortress of Singapore lay Malaya, or the Malay Peninsula, about as large as England. It was largely covered with tracts of tropical jungle but contained, alternating with these, the most productive rubber plantations and most valuable tin mines in the world. Its larger places were controlled by British planters and administrative officers, with greater or less authority over the native rajas and population, and occupied by a small British army. The English underrated, as they so often did, the numbers and skill of their enemies, in this case the invading Japanese, and had felt somewhat the debilitating effect of life in a tropical colony and among a subservient population. Moreover, since they had regarded the jungle as an impassable barrier to invasion, they had neglected to fortify adequately the landward approaches to Singapore. Japanese troops succeeded, however, in making their way through the jungle in great strength.

Although the British soldiers fought, as usual, with dogged courage, they were pushed back step by step by their determined and resourceful enemy in a series of engagements until, by the end of January, 1942, they retired to the island of Singapore, the southernmost extremity of the long peninsula. Both the defenders and the attackers had been frequently reinforced; but, at the end of the two months of fighting, the Japanese had

available between 80,000 and 100,000 men, with overwhelming superiority of air power, and were flushed with the victories of the campaign through Malaya, while the British, although they had the protection of the island's defenses, had fewer than 70,000 men, all, except recent reinforcements, discouraged by their long succession of failures. There could be but one end. On February 8 the Japanese army crossed by boat and causeway into Singapore itself; and, after a week of fighting for the harbor, the strong points, and the reservoirs, on February 15 the governor of the station unconditionally surrendered his "impregnable" city, with the garrison of 70,000 men and the ships in the harbor, to Lieutenant General Tomoyashi Yamashita, the Japanese commander. The Japanese renamed Singapore Shonan, or "Light of the South." It was one of the few great surrenders in English history. The Japanese troops involved in this campaign could now be released for use elsewhere.

734. The Philippines. — Both Britain and the United States must be expelled from the East if Japan's "new order" were to be introduced; and the Philippines, America's protected group of islands, were the first barrier between Japan and the south, where that order must be principally established. It is true that by the act of 1934 the Philippines would become entirely independent in 1946, but for the present they were defended by a joint American-Filipino army. They had besides become so Americanized and so independent in spirit that Japan could not look forward to their willing acceptance of her domination; their conquest might as well be undertaken now as later. The epic struggle to accomplish this was taken up the day of Pearl Harbor. Almost immediately, by a bold surprise, the Japanese made use of their superior air power to attack the great number of air fields throughout the islands and thus make that superiority greater and more permanent. The practically unlimited number of troops also that could be brought from Japan and her relatively near-by possessions enabled the invaders, notwith-

standing the losses that the Americans imposed upon them, to establish themselves within the first three months at several points on shore.

On December 22, for instance, eighty transports at one point, and the next day forty at another, set ashore, although pounded by American bombers and by artillery from the shore, some 150,000 to 200,000 troops; and additional reinforcements were landed while these pushed forward along the good roads which were one of the products of the American occupation. General Douglas MacArthur, the military governor and a soldier of long and varied experience, fought the invaders at every step and by every means, but in order to avoid encirclement on January 2 he abandoned the capital, Manila, and the destroyed naval base, Cavite, and withdrew with the 40,000 troops, most of them native Filipinos, and a handful of fighter planes to the rugged province of Bataan. Manila, notwithstanding its having been proclaimed an open town, had to endure a savage two-day bombardment. The troops on Bataan, however, occupying one side of Manila Bay, protected by the heavy guns on the fort of Corregidor and themselves striking out in all directions, endured repeated and continuous attack and steady infiltration by vastly outnumbering Japanese forces through the whole of January, February, and March.

The long and successful defense had so far disappointed the invaders that the Japanese commander, General Homma, resigned or was removed, and according to rumor committed suicide in the old way, by hara-kiri. He was succeeded by General Yamashita, who had just won his brilliant victories of Malaya and Singapore and was also able to bring to the Philippines the forces released from Singapore. There were but a few weeks more of brave resistance. Although the Americans refused more than one demand for their surrender, they were weakened by the steady depletion of their forces and supplies, and by disease and hunger. By April 9 all resistance in Bataan ended.

Although there was still resistance to attacks in other parts of the islands, especially by the natives, who remained invariably faithful to their American connection, the conquest of the Philippines by Japan could be considered complete.

735. The Netherlands Indies. — If the Japanese dream of a great East Indian sphere of influence of which she would be the center were ever to be realized, she not only must drive the British and the Americans out of their possessions in the East but must get under her control a vastly more extensive, more firmly established, and more valuable possession, the Netherlands Indies. These were the large islands of Java and Sumatra, the greater parts of Borneo, Celebes, and New Guinea, and many smaller islands close under their shores and equally defended, such as Bali and Timor; and any conqueror of the Dutch islands would in the course of his conquests scarcely refrain from seizing others of the scattered groups of islands which fill the South Pacific. The Dutch colonies were supposed to have some seventy million inhabitants, and were richer in native production than any other part of the world. Especially the three great needs for modern warfare, oil, rubber, and tin, without which Japan could not possibly carry her ambitious career of conquest much further, were there for her seizing, if she could take them. Besides having the rich resources characteristic of that region, the Netherlands Indies had been in an ambiguous political position ever since the German seizure of their mother country in May, 1940. They were, however, being administered for the Netherlands government in exile at London, and their power to oppose Japanese aggression had lately been reinforced, although only with the small means now at the disposal of the Dutch government. Apart from some British and Australian troops that were occasionally available, the Netherlands Indies possessed an army of 30,000, besides a native force of 100,000, an air force of 400 planes, and a small fleet, supplemented from time to time by British and American vessels in accordance with

the alliance of December 10, but still painfully inferior to the Japanese forces.

The Japanese began hostilities on December 17 by the occupation of the British-protected state of Sarawak, on the north-west coast of Borneo. From that time forward, for two months, there was an infinite number of engagements through the whole island and sea region extending some three thousand miles from east to west. There were some considerable victories for the Allies, but the net result was always Japanese seizure of new places, until in the early days of March the invaders finally landed on Java, the center of the Netherlands' whole colonial realm; and on March 5, 1942, they captured Batavia, the capital. There seems to have been no formal surrender, but some 98,000 troops were captured, killed, or scattered, so that Japanese control was complete.

Japan was never sparing with her troops. Reinforcements were continually coming in, no matter how small the losses; and the same was largely true of ships and airplanes. At one time she dropped some seven hundred parachute troops to try to prevent the destruction of the oil wells of Palembang; but they were all killed, and the oil installations were burned before the Japanese could seize them. The garrison this time escaped. There were scores of engagements in the air and on the sea, especially in the capture of the scattered stations that the Dutch had established in the three centuries of their occupation of the Indies. The places conquered had been devastated, in accordance with the "scorched earth" policy, which by this time had become nearly universal among those who wished to leave as little of value as possible to their conquerors. But the Japanese are an ingenious, industrious, and determined race; and probably, within a few months, they would make the Indies productive again, at least sufficiently to supply their needs for the continuance of the war.

736. The Threat to Australia and New Zealand. — In the three months from Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, to the cap-

ture of Batavia, March 5, 1942, Japan had performed the wonderful work of conquering and occupying the whole southeastern coast of Asia, establishing control of French Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula, and taking the island groups of the Pacific; she was now knocking at the gates of Australia, New Zealand, and India. There seemed no nearer limit to her aggressive ambition. Her demand for entrance was not as yet insistent, the way had to be prepared first, but there was no doubt of her intention. Rabaul, in New Britain, far to the eastward and within striking distance by air of the Australian mainland, was occupied at the end of January. Japan's possession of the islands of Timor and Bali placed her within 400 miles of Australia's north coast at Port Darwin, and the first of many air raids on that poorly defended and thinly populated coast was made on February 19, but four days after the capture of Singapore. Early in March substantial Japanese forces were established on the northern coast of New Guinea, which threatened the more thickly settled and industrially developed part of the continent of Australia. If Japan could capture Port Moresby, on the southern coast of New Guinea, the object of repeated but always unsuccessful attacks, she might at any time bombard or perhaps even invade Australia. Through the month of March, 1942, Japanese bombers came repeatedly over the Australian coast; on the last day of May Japanese submarines entered Sydney Harbor, but were promptly destroyed.

Yet there were indications that this was to be the limit of Japanese conquest in the southwest. For one thing, the Australians were vigorously, though not very effectively, striking back. They were building up an air force and using it to attack Japanese shipping in the harbors of the occupied islands. Secondly, American air assistance was beginning to arrive; and, after the early days of March, American troops in larger and larger numbers came as reinforcements to the newly organized local forces. Late in March the Australian troops which had been long in

service in England and in the Middle East were brought back for the defense of their homeland. Somewhat detached from these developments, but none the less an encouragement to Australian resistance, were two successful American naval raids in February, one on the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, the other on America's own former possession of Wake Island, the object of which was to keep open the route between America and her allies far to the southwest.

More important in the long run than these early military expeditions was the arrival in Australia, March 17, 1942, of General Douglas MacArthur as commander in the South Pacific for the United Nations. He had been ordered by President Roosevelt to leave the Philippines to take this position, and he brought with him all the prestige and popularity of a picturesque career there. He had to leave the closing scene of the defense of Bataan to his successor, General Wainwright. But he continued in his new and wider administrative and military position the same originality and tireless aggressive activity that had marked his work in the Philippines and that up to this time had seemed to be lacking in the East. Behind this appointment, and likewise giving hope of greater success against Japan in the Pacific, was the creation, on March 30, of a "Pacific Council," consisting of representatives of Great Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, Canada, and China, to sit in Washington and unify attempts to win the war in the southern Pacific.

737. The Threat to India. — Further north and westward, in Burma, in the Bay of Bengal, and on the coast of India, things did not look so hopeful; or, at least, the tide of Japanese conquest flowed farther and for a longer period. Although Burma had been attacked repeatedly from the air, as usual, before troops appeared on the scene, its actual invasion did not take place until January 15, almost six weeks after Pearl Harbor, and after Malaya and the Netherlands Indies had been long

under attack. But after this there was a struggle that involved long, doubtful, and destructive campaigns before the Japanese, about the middle of May, approached their farthest limit on the continent of Asia, within bombing distance of the border of India. These four months of conflict, in which Burma was lost, did not involve as large numbers or, perhaps, such critical questions as those in some other theaters of war; yet they engaged Britain in some of the most difficult fighting of the whole war. The Second Burmese War, as it has been sometimes called, included the capture, by the Japanese, of Rangoon, Mandalay, and Pegu, old and romantic oriental cities, and Lashio, the entrance to the Burma Road, which thus was for a time closed to China. It involved climbing and fighting in that wild mountain region known by the intriguing name of the Shan States, occupied by but half-subjected and completely unassimilated peoples, of whom the overlordship was almost purely nominal and not likely to be pressed further. There was in Burma less opposition to Great Britain and less inclination to turn against her than had been anticipated, but the native populations generally were willing to provide for the invaders the invaluable help of guides and fighters used to the mountainous and largely unknown country.

The Japanese were striving to complete their conquest of China from Burma, and at the same time to wrest the possession of the latter from Great Britain. The constant difficulties which hampered the effort of the Allies to give assistance to one another made these campaigns especially long, confused, and inconclusive. The net result was that Burma was, for the time at least, in Japanese hands; and although the Japanese did not then attempt to cross the Indian frontier, they more than once, in the next few months, sent airplanes to bomb points in Bengal and on the southeast coast of India. It was evident that Japan had ships in the Bay of Bengal. On March 25, 1942, she occupied the Andaman Islands, though she made but little use of them as a base and afterwards seems to have abandoned them.

Early in April a more considerable Japanese fleet, including battleships and airplane-carriers, appeared in those waters and on April 5 and 6 heavily bombarded Colombo, Ceylon, and the adjacent Madras coast of India itself.

In March, 1944, three Japanese columns launched from Burma a major attack on Indian soil. For months they threatened the railway and supply depots on which depended the Allied forces, British, Indian, Chinese, and American, fighting in northern Burma to reopen the Burma Road. Not until August were the Japanese driven out of India.

738. The War becomes Global. — With the conquests of the Japanese in the East, the entrance of the United States into the war, and the formation of the United Nations, the war became truly global; its events affected every country in the world. All but a few, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Eire, and two or three of the South American countries, were actual participants: either aggressors, their satellites, occupied countries, or members of the group of countries more or less closely united in their resistance to aggression. In the words of the President of the United States, "It is all one war, and it must be governed by one basic strategy." Whether any particular campaign was being fought in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, or in the distant Aleutian Islands of America; whether it was being fought on land or on the sea, by bombers and fighters in the air, victory was to the advantage of the whole Axis or of all the Allies.

This was the justification for the lend-lease system. Victory over the Axis must be a matter of joint effort, each of the Allies providing what each could best afford. It had been originally an American policy by which abstention from the war could coexist with giving assistance to those with whom America sympathized, but now that she had entered the war she was only the leader in a general policy of world-wide participation in its cost, her contribution in material being only measurably greater than that of Great Britain by the close of the year 1942.

The global extension of the war involved also a greater and greater degree of unity in planning and policy. This was striven for and to a great degree secured by frequent conferences among the heads of the United Nations and among their military and civil representatives, especially those of Great Britain and the United States. Six times before the close of the year 1942 Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had conferred together for periods of some days and there were still more frequent conferences among the military and civil officials engaged in special joint enterprises.

Military operations in one area after another were placed under the charge of a single representative of one or another of the Allied Nations, usually England or the United States. In March, 1942, the British General Wavell withdrew from the command of the Allied forces in the South Pacific, and the American General MacArthur, as already stated, came from the Philippines to take command of the Australians and the Americans who had recently arrived there. A joint air raid on the Japanese naval bases off New Guinea immediately followed and in the following months the Japanese were given no rest in that region.

739. Invasion of Russia. — Next to Britain and the United States, the country which exercised the greatest influence on the outcome of the war was undoubtedly Russia. Her participation in it was not a voluntary one; she was invaded by Hitler. The German armies which marched across her frontiers on June 22, 1941, consisted of about three million men. In addition to these, Rumania and Hungary entered the war as allies of the Germans, or "German satellites," as they were called by the Allies. Finland joined the Germans, against the advice and request of the American government. These countries added half a million men to the invaders. Then, later, Bulgaria joined, and Italian divisions were demanded. Russian troops were at first fewer, but the almost boundless resources of the country gradually became

available, and within the first year the Russians organized and equipped armies that were probably quite equal in number, if not in efficiency, to the invaders. It was a battle of giants. In July the Germans spoke of nine million men being locked in combat in Russia, and this statement was generally accepted. Besides the regular troops the Russian guerilla fighters were numerous. The forests and the swamps, the small scattered villages, and, above all, the patriotic devotion of the population to the defense of their country and the task of expelling or destroying the foreigner, were all favorable to the formation of a second, semi-outlaw army that made the work of the invaders more dangerous and less permanent. For civilian inhabitants of overrun regions, as well as defeated and detached bodies of Russian troops, frequently took refuge in forests and other places of concealment and became guerillas. Any hopes Hitler may have had of a helpful "fifth column" were quickly dissipated. There was no sympathy felt or expressed in Russia for the Germans or their dependent allies. Whatever may be thought of the Bolsheviks, they had undoubtedly secured the fidelity of the Russians to their government. The "Volga Germans" were early removed to Siberia by the Soviet government. In the first two years of the war it was estimated that guerillas had killed 300,000 Germans, including 30 generals and 6300 other officers, had derailed 3000 trains and had destroyed 3200 bridges. Nevertheless, with many retreats as well as advances, and although the Germans failed actually to break through the slowly retiring Russian lines or to capture either of the cities of Leningrad and Moscow, the first year of war saw a large part of Russia in the hands of the invaders, and the total of her losses in men and equipment a staggering one. Indeed the destructiveness to human life of the battles of this war was one of its salient characteristics. Over and over again the results of a battle are reported as "5000 Russians killed," "16,000 . . . left dead on the field of battle," or "Within a week 28,000 were

killed." During one siege of a city Russian losses were calculated to average 6000 a day ; the German losses during the same period were estimated at 2000 a day killed alone. One day's reports include 2000 killed in one operation, 2400 in another, 1000 in another. At the close of the second year the Russians' losses, as acknowledged by their government, were something more than 1,750,000. German losses at the same time were given by Hitler as about three quarters of a million, but this was undoubtedly too low. Not only the losses by death and wounds, and the privations and sufferings following on bombardments and the "scorched-earth" policy which was ordered by Stalin early in the war to be enforced wherever the invaders penetrated, but the capture of prisoners was on an unprecedented scale in the extended operations of the Russo-German war.

The snows of the Russian winter and the mud of early spring in that vast and almost roadless country brought the first year of the war to an end, so far as large operations were concerned. The war followed much the same course when it was resumed late in the spring of 1942, except that until its last month it went even more favorably to the invaders. During that year the danger to Moscow became so great that the capital was removed to Kuibyshev. City after city was captured ; Odessa, Sebastopol, Kiev, Rostov, fell to the Germans. The whole of White Russia, the Ukraine, and the Crimea were overrun. The Russians themselves destroyed the great dam at Dniepropetrovsk, one of the triumphs of their engineering skill and enterprise, rather than let it fall into the hands of the invader.

But the Russians gradually mobilized their huge population and built up new manufacturing cities in the east. The Urals, with their almost unlimited mineral and forest resources, became the center of military supplies. The Germans had to pay heavily for their advances, though these advances were substantial. In October, 1942, Hitler could say of Russia in a speech, "The enemy is already broken and will never rise again" ;

and the chief of the German newspaper press declared, "For all military purposes Soviet Russia is done with." They were mistaken; the battle of Stalingrad had yet to be fought and the long German retreat of the years 1943 and 1944 had to take place before the whole story was written.

The military details of the Russo-German war do not need to be followed here. Overwhelming in importance as the resistance and final victory of the Russians was as a contribution to the victory of the Allies, it was not directly a part of the history of England. No Englishmen fought there; her air forces did not take part in Russian campaigns, in either attack or defense, although a part of her navy was engaged in the protection of convoys bringing to Russia lend-lease or other supplies from Britain or from the United States.

It is the fact that by these events Russia is brought into closer and more friendly contact with England and with the other Allies that makes it necessary to include some account of the German invasion of Russia in a history of England in the war. As an example of the military side of the Russo-German war, a glimpse may be taken of the siege of Stalingrad, perhaps the central point of the invasion and the beginning of Germany's retirement if not of her actual downfall.

740. Stalingrad. — Stalingrad was a great industrial city stretching for thirty miles along the west bank of the Volga River. It was one of the proudest results of the first Five-Year Plan for the industrialization of Russia. It was protected by fortifications extending up and down the river and on its opposite bank and, like all the other cities of Russia, was strengthened by troops falling back on it as the invading hordes of the Germans and their allies gradually conquered the land to the west of it. This conquest had been brought so far by the autumn of 1942 that the invaders were ready to stake not only their advance into the grain fields and almost infinitely rich oil-producing region of the Caucasus but their ultimate success in the war on

the seizure of that bastion of the east. Therefore Stalingrad, by the orders of Hitler, must be captured no matter at what cost.

The German troops and those of their allies which took part in the offensive of which the siege of Stalingrad was the climax numbered about 900,000 men, of whom about 150,000 were armored divisions. They had some 2000 tanks and, after the fall of Sebastopol, 3000 planes, of which 1000 at a time were in service. In the course of the campaign in the east, divisions of Italians, Rumanians, and Hungarians were added to the forces until there were over a million in the attacking armies. Against the city itself there were over 600,000 engaged.

After a long and difficult but, on the whole, victorious campaign in the region along the Don River, the invading armies reached the Volga both north and south of the great city and began their siege by the middle of September, 1942. The besiegers made slow progress against strong resistance from the very beginning. The struggle was a ferocious one. Stalingrad became a great defense area against bombing from above and the advance of ground troops through the streets, which were themselves defended by barricades built from the ruins of destroyed houses. The city was defended street by street, house by house, sometimes room by room. Armored gunboats and monitors on the Volga were used by the defenders. Freshly trained recruits from western Siberia were transported across the river, notwithstanding the rain of German shells.

The invasion of a new suburb of the city simply extended the battle farther and was met by the desperate resistance of the soldiers and the inhabitants. Street fighting was constant. Ruined factories served as fortresses. The loss of life was terrible. In October it was estimated that the Germans were losing 2000, the Russians 6000, a day. Yet Stalingrad refused to fall. General Timoshenko constantly moved up new troops from the east. On November 20 a counterattack was delivered by the Russians from the southeast and caused so much loss to the in-

vaders that little by little they suspended their attacks. The siege became a series of defensive operations by the Germans against Russian offensives.

A great body of the former German besiegers was surrounded and either killed or taken prisoner by the Russians in November, 1942; later encirclements and the recapture of cities in the east of Russia long held by the Germans filled the months of January and February, 1943. In the meantime, on the last day of January, Von Paulus, the commander before Stalingrad, with fifteen German generals, surrendered and the siege of Stalingrad was over, five and a half months after its beginning. It was estimated that it cost more than 300,000 German lives.

741. German Reverses in Russia. The siege of Stalingrad was in a certain sense the turning point of the war. As the spring of 1943 opened, it was evident that the tide of invasion was ebbing. In a score of campaigns in Russia through the summer and fall of the year the Germans were driven back, the great rivers were successively recrossed by Russian armies, the cities recovered, until the border of old Poland was crossed in 1944 and a new set of questions came to the fore.

During the year that followed the annihilation of so large a part of the eastern German forces at Stalingrad, the war in Russia went against the Germans notwithstanding the vast numbers they still brought to bear, their occasional victories, and the constant losses they still inflicted upon the Russians. Their own losses were as great, sometimes greater. In the Ukraine the Russians not only crossed the Dnieper but early in February, 1944, succeeded in surrounding an army of 70,000 or 80,000 German troops in the neighborhood of Korsun. The position of the Germans was hopeless. The Russian commander, on February 8, offered, if they would surrender by eleven o'clock the next morning, to grant them their lives and allow them after the war to return to their own country, to take immediate care of their sick and wounded, to provide them with food, and to

leave them their personal accouterments, including, for the officers, their swords. These terms were refused: the Nazis were determined to fight it out, on Hitler's promise to relieve them. After defeating several German attempts to give the promised relief, in which efforts some 20,000 Germans lost their lives, the Russian troops proceeded to destroy them, and in fourteen days of fighting killed 52,000, besides taking 11,000 who were forced to surrender after all. It was almost a repetition of Stalingrad.

In the meantime, far in the north, Leningrad, which had been under siege for seventeen months, was freed from the besiegers, partly by a Russian army from the outside, partly by its inhabitants. The Russian army thereupon proceeded upon a series of reconquests of Russian territory to the westward and southward to the borders of Estonia and Latvia, until, by the first of March, 1944, they were besieging the old Russian city of Pskov.

By the same date the Russian armies farther southward had penetrated old Poland, raising the political question of the future of that troubled border country, and four days later the Russians recaptured Krivoi Rog, their greatest metal-manufacturing city.

742. Russia as One of the United Nations. — The invasion of Russia by Germany brought up immediately the question of how far Russia could rely on help from the other countries of Europe who were at war with Germany, and from the United States, which was already showing her antagonism to German policy and her sympathy with those suffering from German aggression. There was also widespread fear of Russia's own aggressiveness and dread of her desire to extend her communistic form of social organization over other countries. Russia, on her side, had good reason to know that most other countries were opposed to her form of government and distrustful of her intentions.

Yet the progress of events during the war was one of increasing closeness of relations between Russia and the other United Nations. Although the invasion occurred only on June 22, 1941, an agreement for mutual assistance was entered into between

Russia and Great Britain as early as July 12, three weeks later. In the same month treaties were signed between the Russian government and the governments in exile of Czechoslovakia and Poland by which those half-free foreign governments should form armies in Russia, and many of the old Russian claims against Poland were given up.

In August, 1941, a joint letter from President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill was sent to Prime Minister Stalin of Russia, calling attention to the shiploads of supplies already sent to Russia and promising further help. In September Russia declared her adherence to the Atlantic Charter of August, 1941. In January, 1942, Russia was one of the twenty-six states which at Washington joined in forming the loose alliance of the United Nations.

In May, 1942, the general agreement between Russia and Britain was superseded by a formal treaty, to continue for twenty years. Those two countries agreed to collaborate not only in the task of winning the war but in preventing any later aggressions by Germany or other countries inclined to aggression, and in maintaining permanent peace. Russia and Britain in this treaty declared their intention also of working with one another and with the other United Nations at the peace settlement and during the period of reconstruction afterward in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Russia thus agreed to renounce all ambitions for territorial aggrandizement and to work with the other United Nations for "close and friendly collaboration for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe." This treaty was drawn up and signed in London and was to be immediately ratified in Moscow.

The following month, June, 1942, a similarly liberal, but more cautiously worded, treaty was signed with the United States at Washington. In it the United States agreed to give all possible assistance to Russia in her resistance to her enemies and to continue lend-lease aid; both governments agreed to apply in their

policy the principles of the Atlantic Charter and to promote in all ways productive employment and exchange and consumption of goods.

743. The Demand for a Second Front. — In these various treaties many questions were brought up that required further discussion; some of them could not be settled till the close of the war. The immediate object of all was to strengthen Russia against Germany and help her to drive out the invaders. Russians demanded a "second front," an immediate invasion of German-held territory by the Allies. This would draw off part of the German army and thus make it easier for Russia to resist its constant, overwhelming attacks and apparently irresistible advance. To the Russian government and people it seemed natural and easy for the Allies to send some of their vast number of troops, otherwise unoccupied, to some point on the continent, where the Germans would have to meet them. But the Allies felt themselves in no position yet to undertake any such aggressive expedition in support of Russia. The vast number of vessels required to transport the troops, the military equipment and stores, and the immense air force to protect the landing were beyond what the governments of the other United Nations were yet ready to provide. Therefore, to the dissatisfaction of the Russian government and under much popular criticism, in the Allied countries as well as in Russia, of the delay, the "second front" was postponed till it was in a large measure afforded by the invasion of Italy in the autumn of 1943 and by the landings in northern France which began in June, 1944.

Aid to Russia, however, was generously provided through the American lend-lease system and by the English government, which sent a steady stream of military equipment and all kinds of supplies, chiefly over the long and dangerous sea route to Murmansk, on the north coast of Russia, and by way of Iran. Cannon and packets of food bearing American markings gave the Russian armies tangible proof of American sympathy. Lend-

lease shipments from the United States to Russia began on October 1, 1941, and within two years had furnished Russia with supplies amounting in value to two and a half billion dollars. English sympathy was no less real; it was shown by contributions in kind and by constant support of Russia on the sea.

In the effort to settle the terms of assistance and to continue and possibly to draw still closer the alliance, frequent meetings and negotiations between representatives of Russia, Great Britain, and the United States took place. A four-day conference was held in Moscow in August, 1942, at which Prime Minister Churchill and the British and American ambassadors were present. At this meeting Canada also was represented and agreed to furnish vessels and foodstuffs.

744. The Moscow Conference. — In the later months of 1943, when Russia's military superiority over the Germans began to become manifest, and the day was coming into sight when she should have driven the invaders from her soil, her future policy with regard to conquered foreign territory became a matter of intense interest to her allies. What would she do with so great a victory? A conference of the ministers for foreign affairs of the principal Allied powers to learn her intentions was evidently desirable. Another conference, therefore, gathered at Moscow in October, 1943. On the 19th of that month Mr. Eden, Foreign Minister of Great Britain, and Mr. Hull, Secretary of State of the United States, notwithstanding his seventy-two years, with accompanying officials completed their long journey by air and landed at Moscow. They were received there by Mr. Molotoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Litvinoff, late ambassador to the United States. There followed thirteen days of secret conversations, broken only by the usual formal festivities, including a luncheon at which a hundred high officials were present and fifteen toasts drunk, and a dinner lasting six hours. Long and presumably important conversations took place between Mr. Eden, Mr. Hull, and Mr. Stalin, the Russian Chief of State;

and there were conferences at which the Chinese Ambassador was informed of their determinations and the agreement of Chiang Kai-shek, president of China, obtained.

The outstanding result of this conference was the attainment for the first time of a positive and open agreement on fundamental points. There had always before been a certain amount of suspicion, especially as to the real intentions of Russia. Would she suddenly make a separate peace with Germany, leaving her allies in the lurch? Would she demand as the price of her victory a great accession to her territories? Would she and Great Britain together dominate Europe and the world's future? Would it be possible for Russia to work closely and peacefully with other nations politically when they were so different economically and socially? These and similar doubts were set at rest at Moscow by their agreement on plans for the prosecution of the war to a finish, for the general terms of the peace, for the punishment of the aggressors who had brought on the war, and, as it was hoped, for the establishment of enduring peace and the renewal of world prosperity. The general result of the Moscow conference and a great many of its specific determinations were announced to the world early in November, 1943.¹

745. The Cairo and Teheran Conferences. — A still further and more binding step toward unity among the United Nations followed soon afterward. This was a succession of meetings of the actual working heads of the principal Allied nations, Prime Minister Churchill, President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who could actually commit their respective peoples to the remaining stages of the war and would have an overwhelming influence on other current events.

On November 22, 1943, Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt, and Chiang Kai-shek met at Cairo, in Egypt. The first two were accompanied by a great number of military and other officials

¹ The Declarations of the Moscow Conference are published in *Current History* for December, 1943.

and advisers. It required thirty-four houses to accommodate the gathering, and a considerable body of troops was established in a great ring to guard them. Their formal sittings took place in a great empty hotel known as Mena House, under the shadow



Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill, Teheran, 1943

of the Pyramids. The Sphinx, crouched near by, alone knew what would be the success or failure of the plans there agreed upon.

After four days of secret conferences, two of the principals, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, and many of their company journeyed on eastward and northward to Teheran, the capital of Iran, or Persia. Here they were joined by Mr. Stalin, who, as spokesman for Russia, had not been able to take part in the discussions at Cairo because these were largely devoted to the war of the other three Allies against Japan, with which Russia was still at peace.

There were four days of conference with Russia, as there had

been with China; then followed a third meeting, this time of Churchill and Roosevelt, who again met in Cairo. Before returning to Washington Mr. Roosevelt took the opportunity to visit the battlefields in North Africa, lately the scene of decisive events in the war, and Malta, where he left his written testimony to the gallantry of the inhabitants. Mr. Churchill was stricken with pneumonia, and it was not till many weeks later that he returned to London and made a belated report of the results of his conferences to parliament. In the meantime, on December 1 and 2, 1943, the Allied leaders had issued informal but extremely significant statements. They pledged themselves again to a continuous, united, and relentless prosecution of the war till the whole Axis and its supporters should be completely defeated; they renewed their declarations of support of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, specifically asserting their intention of seeking no accession of territory or other material advantage; they renewed their condemnation of the "brutal aggressions" of Japan and their determination to strip her of Manchuria, Korea, the Philippines, her conquests in China, and her seizures in general since the beginning of the First World War. They welcomed China to membership in the group of free states and promised similar acceptance to all countries agreeing on similar principles. These declarations, made in an atmosphere of friendliness and of a desire to build a future that will be free from the "scourge and terror of war," made the Cairo-Teheran conferences the most hopeful of all the long series of such meetings.

746. The British Victory at El Alamein. — During the period when the Germans were retreating in Russia, after their defeat at Stalingrad, through the remaining months of 1942, a still more decisive defeat and fatal retreat for the Axis cause was taking place in another theater of the global war. This was the defeat of Rommel's army at El Alamein (meaning "The Two Boundary Marks") and its long trek through Libya. On July 1, 1942, as already told, the British army had stopped the victorious march

of the Germans and Italians at El Alamein, the last defensible point on the North African coast road, only seventy miles short of Alexandria. But the hold of the British on this position was precarious. They had needed all the troops, artillery, and other equipment they could gather in Egypt and the Middle East, to stop the enemy, and it was not likely that Rommel would willingly call a permanent halt to his previously victorious advance toward Alexandria and Suez.

Both armies therefore spent the next three months seeking reinforcements. The British received new troops from home, from India, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. The home troops came by the perilous Mediterranean route; the others, by way of the Red Sea. The defending forces were strengthened also by a contingent of French troops, and by tanks and airplanes and their crews from the United States. The Germans also obtained reinforcements, especially tanks, armored cars, and highly improved and effective artillery. A whole Italian armored division also was added. These were sent notwithstanding the bitter need in Russia, and many of them reached their destination only after losses by the attacks of British and American bombers and submarines on their way across the Mediterranean.

North Africa and Russia had become or were fast becoming, as the year 1942 drew toward its close, the two countries where actual fighting was most constant and extensive and where the identity of the ultimate victor in the Second World War would first be indicated.

The British troops were heartened by a visit from Prime Minister Churchill, on his way home from his conference at Moscow. He spent some time with each branch of the service, and as a result of his observations sent General Auchinleck to India and the Far East, and placed in command of the North African troops General Bernard L. Montgomery, "Monty," as the soldiers affectionately called him. He was an Ulsterman, a professional

soldier, son of a bishop, a teetotaler and nonsmoker, a man of constant activity, and a rather rigid disciplinarian, devoted to working out plans of common action among all branches of the service. He was destined to remain commander of British troops through many adventures.

The summer wore away in this reorganization of both armies, in experiments in desert warfare, and in detached engagements, both armies evidently testing one another's strength and preparing themselves for what they both hoped would be a decisive battle. In September, Rommel once attacked the British with unusual vigor, but found that he had not strength enough to break their lines. In the early fall there were indications of a coming crisis. In the first half of October, German air attacks were made almost every night on Malta, with the hope of intercepting British convoys engaged in taking, as an alternative to the long Red Sea route, the shorter Mediterranean route, with supplies for the army at El Alamein. On the other hand, English air fleets at the same time, besides defending Malta, attacked the harbors of Genoa and Naples, the sources of supply for the German and Italian forces in Africa.

The British, at El Alamein, struck first. The Germans had strengthened their position by stretching miles of barbed wire and burying in front of this obstruction thousands of land mines, barely covered in the sand of the desert. On the night of October 23, 1942, the British infantry rushed forward to dig out and destroy the mines and to cut the wire, protected by a barrage laid down by their cannon hidden behind every obstacle the desert afforded. Through these openings drove the British tanks, to enter into conflict with Rommel's first-line troops. In this way the battle was joined and gradually drew in all the forces on both sides, although two divisions of the Italians were soon isolated and made prisoners by the British. The superiority of the British gradually asserted itself, and within two or three days the Germans were in full flight. Within a week they had

reached "Hell Fire" Pass, but fought no battle there and so abandoned the British dominions in Africa altogether, and, as seems certain, permanently. They had lost, by death or capture, at the battle of El Alamein and during the retreat from Egypt in the subsequent week, 59,000 men. The material captured from them included 1000 cannon and 500 tanks. The British had lost 13,600 men.

747. The British Pursuit of the German-Italian Army through Libya. — It is not practicable to follow in detail the long British pursuit and German-Italian retreat along the familiar coast road of northern Africa, through 1300 miles of distance and more than three months of time, till the two armies were in sight of one another in Tripoli. Rommel was a bold and skilful commander and succeeded in holding his army together in all the exigencies of its flight and bringing it at last to junction with the other German troops in Tunisia. His army had the advantage of receiving occasional reinforcements and supplies by sea at the ports of Tobruk, Derna, and Bengazi, and by land from Tripoli. Twice he had to fight engagements with the pursuing British forces, but emerged from both, if not victorious, at least without overwhelming losses or the disintegration of his army.

The British Eighth Army, under its commander, General Montgomery, although it never ceased to pursue the German-Italian army and constantly harried it by bombing from above and by damaging land attacks from the rear, had its own troubles. As the distance from its base grew greater, and disease and skirmishes with Rommel's rear guard depleted its numbers, it was a weakened army that by the end of the year 1942 reached the border of Tunisia.

748. The American-British Invasion of North Africa. — On November 8, 1942, while General Montgomery and the British Eighth Army were closing in on Rommel's defeated and fleeing forces at the border of Egypt and beginning their long pursuit through Libya, the world was electrified by the news that a

great American and British army had suddenly arrived off north-west Africa. These troops were carried on some 500 transport vessels of all descriptions, under the protection of 350 vessels of war; some came from their camps in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, some directly from the United States. They landed, the Americans first, the British a few days later, at various ports along some 1000 miles of the coast of the French provinces of Algeria and Morocco.

The project was largely an American one. Mr. Churchill said in parliament, "The President of the United States is the author of this mighty undertaking and in all of it I have been his active and ardent lieutenant." It had been agreed upon at the British-American conference at Washington, held soon after Pearl Harbor. It was conceived largely as an alternative to the much-talked-of "second front" in Europe, which, as already described, was strongly advocated by the Russian government, and by many individuals in other countries, but considered impracticable by the other Allies at that time.

The secret of the African plan had been well kept through the intervening months by the military and civilian officials who were connected with its planning and preparation. The landings took place at Algiers, Oran, Rabat, Casablanca, and on the beaches near those cities. It was therefore an invasion of French colonies still nominally loyal to Vichy, the capital of "Unoccupied France." Marshal Pétain, head of the French state, therefore protested.

But the feeling had been so widespread that the French government should have retired to its colonies and from there kept up the contest with Germany that those provinces were already disaffected and the French armies there almost ready to join the Allies. American representatives for some time had been engaged in establishing good relations with the French officers and with French and native inhabitants. At the time of the invasion, leaflets were dropped, imprinted with an American flag and a

message in French signed "The Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Force" and declaring that the Allied troops had come to liberate, not to conquer, North Africa, and would leave as soon as that mission was accomplished.

The commander of the American forces and of the whole North African expedition was General Dwight D. Eisenhower, an unassuming officer of long experience and, as it proved, a wise and successful governor. Under him the commander of the British forces was General Harold Alexander. The British troops were known there as the First Army. Many of them were veterans of Flanders and Dunkirk. The American troops were known as the Fifth Army. They were mostly new troops, many of whom had never been in battle.

Admiral Darlan was in command of French North Africa, having been sent over recently by the French Vichy government and having received at least nominal support as governor by all French parties. He offered some slight resistance but after negotiations gave the order to the French troops to cease firing. General Eisenhower accepted his aid, and welcomed his agreement to hand over to the Allies Dakar, the best French port on the western coast of Africa. Even distant Equatorial Africa came into the British-American sphere of influence. Nevertheless, Admiral Darlan had so long been a representative of those Frenchmen who were willing to collaborate with the Germans that many Frenchmen and the world in general were surprised and shocked. President Roosevelt gave his approval to Eisenhower's policy, but lessened its significance by speaking of it as a temporary arrangement. However, the problem of Darlan's fidelity to his new allies was soon disposed of by his unexplained assassination by a young Frenchman. Negotiations with General de Gaulle and General Giraud, representatives of the French Committee of National Liberation, or the "Fighting French," as they were called, soon brought the Americans and the British into full alliance with the French.

Thus, within a few weeks from the invasion, all parties were united and in control of the two provinces of Algeria and Morocco and of all French territory to the south. The only losses had been a few vessels sunk and a few men killed during the confusion of the first few days of the fighting off Casablanca. The Allies were joined later by a detachment of Fighting French troops, poorly equipped and weary, who had marched the thousand miles from Lake Chad, in the south. Notwithstanding the prominence of the Americans in the North African undertaking, and its American commander, it was in the fullest sense a joint expedition and there was complete unity among its participants.

749. The Tunisian Campaign, November 8, 1942-May 8, 1943.

— It had required something more than six weeks for the Allies to overcome the difficulties connected with the occupation of the two North African provinces of Algeria and Morocco. Now in full control of these, they were ready to attack the Germans and Italians in the third. The province of Tunisia, to the eastward of the other two, had been occupied for some time by the Axis powers. The province was dominated by the two cities of Bizerte and Tunis on the northeast coast, and stretched over the coastal plain and a rugged country some 150 miles from east to west and 300 miles from north to south, back to the desert. It was well situated for defense, immediately opposite Sicily, which was only eighty-eight miles away, and not far from the mainland of Italy. The Axis forces in Tunisia amounted at first to some 50,000, but they were being added to daily by reinforcements of men and military equipment, ferried over from Sicily in vessels, transport planes, and gliders, until there were in that province somewhere between 150,000 and 250,000 well-equipped troops. They were under the command of a General von Arnim. There were besides, hastening along the coast road between Tripoli and Tunis, straining every nerve to join Von Arnim before Montgomery and his pursuing army caught up with them, Rommel and his army.

Montgomery's Eighth Army had reached Tripoli, and he was seeking to carry out his old instructions to overtake and destroy Rommel's army, or if this eluded him at least to combine with the British First Army, the newly arrived Americans, and their French allies and together "drive the Germans and Italians into the sea."

They hoped to do this in a short campaign and then press on to an invasion of Italy, the most vulnerable boundary of the



British official photograph

British Soldiers in the Tunisian Desert

Axis dominions. Instead, the struggle lasted through six bitter months of slow advance alternating with baffling delay or even with occasional retreat. The combined Allied forces were more numerous than the Axis armies, but the French were not very helpful because of their poor equipment, and the Americans, as has been said, were raw troops. These suffered many losses. At the first battle of the Kasserine Pass they were defeated, and at the second their progress was so slow as to be a hindrance rather than a help to the experienced British troops. In one battle 2876

of the Allies were taken prisoner by the Germans, and the Axis broadened its Tunisian territory by 4000 square miles. It was not till experience had hardened them that they took a leading part in the struggle. The Eighth Army was for a long time held up while it awaited its supplies, which still had to come mainly all the way from Egypt. The constant torrential rains of that semitropical country and the consequent mud, almost bottomless, were nearly as hard to contend with as the human enemy and the land mines which the Germans were so skilful in planting. The British and American air forces, on the other hand, were almost invariably successful in engagements in North Africa. For the first time in the war they held virtually continuous superiority in numbers and in excellence of performance.

750. The Casablanca Conference. — Early in the Tunisian campaign, on January 16, 1943, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt once more took the world by surprise by suddenly appearing at an entirely unexpected point for conference. On that day, within a few hours of one another, President Roosevelt (by airplane from America) and the Prime Minister (flying from England) landed at Casablanca in French Morocco and immediately began a conference in which they considered all phases of the war in all its theaters. They had brought with them the heads of the military and air forces of the two countries and were joined in Africa by Generals Eisenhower and Montgomery and many of the other officers in charge of active operations. They were successful also in bringing together in at least temporary and outward amity the principal representatives of French military and civil parties, General Giraud and General de Gaulle, and thus doing something to allay threatening discord in the ranks of the Free French. Complete agreement was reached on steps to be taken for the more active prosecution of the war against the Axis. The results of the conference were sent, as they were reached, to Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek and received their approval. It was agreed that "unconditional surrender"

should be demanded of Italy, Germany, and Japan. This was the first time that the expression had been used in connection with the outcome of the war.

Among the British military heads who took part in the discussions with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt at Casablanca in the week of January 16-23 was, as already mentioned, General Bernard Montgomery, of the Eighth Army. His troops at that time were resting in Tripoli, after the expulsion of Rommel at what might be considered the end of the long retreat of the Germans and their pursuit by Montgomery after the battle of El Alamein. It was one of the longest military pursuits and retreats in history, approximately 1300 miles, and had lasted thirteen weeks.¹ Rommel's army was not destroyed. Its remnants, perhaps 50,000 men, held together, survived its remaining struggles and joined the troops of Von Arnim in Tunisia. But the British capture of Tripoli made the ultimate expulsion of the Italians and Germans from Africa inevitable. It completed the destruction of Mussolini's African empire. It gave the British the use of a new port as a naval base and for the entry of supplies, saving the long route around Africa to reach Egypt, the Middle East, and northern Africa; and it did much to give Great Britain complete control of the Mediterranean.

751. Arrival of Montgomery's Army in Tunisia. — There remained the "Mareth Line" to be crossed by the Eighth Army. The Mareth Line was a group of pillboxes, gun emplacements, and fortifications, built to strengthen a natural line of hills and mountains, that made the border between French Tunisia and Italian Libya almost impassable by a military force. Rommel, with his remaining troops, had established himself west of this line.

¹ The retreat of Xenophon's 10,000 Greeks from the Tigris to the Black Sea covered 1500 miles, and the retreat of Charles X to Warsaw was 1000 miles; Napoleon's retreat from Moscow was about as long as the former, and the retreat of the Germans from Stalingrad to the Russian border bids fair to be, on the average, about as long as the latter.

This made his position, between the mountains and the sea, almost impregnable, and passage by that route seemingly impossible. Montgomery and his army were just east of the line, waiting for reinforcements and supplies. By the middle of March these had arrived. Rommel was still so strong that an attempt by Montgomery to force a crossing of the line by a direct attack failed. The British commander, however, had secretly dispatched a small body of troops to make a forced march across two hundred miles of desert around the southern end of the Mareth Line. On March 21 this detachment suddenly appeared on Rommel's flank.

The Eighth Army took this opportunity to surge forward through the Mareth Line and to continue its relentless pursuit of the German-Italian army. That army continued its retreat until its remaining troops were added to Arnim's 170,000. All the German and Italian troops in Africa were at last driven, if not into the sea, at least into a northeastern corner of Tunisia, from which there was no escape except by sea. The Allies were determined there should be no opportunity for an Axis "Dunkirk." The Eighth Army was at last united with the other British, the Americans, and the Free French. They were in a great arc around the Axis troops trapped in a beachhead one hundred miles long and sixty miles deep, and although there was still to be more than a month of fighting, there could be no doubt of the result.

725. Axis Surrender in Africa. — It came with unexpected suddenness. Rommel and Arnim, anticipating attack from Montgomery's forces, added to those of the American general Patton, had concentrated their troops in the south. Instead of engaging them here, the British troops pressed on north and, aided by an overwhelming air force, broke the enemy up into detached parts; a last stand of the united Axis armies in the cities of Bizerte and Tunis was evidently hopeless. One of the last hills was captured by a body of Gurkhas, small dark men

from one of the northern provinces of India, just as at other times it was the New Zealanders, the South Africans, the Berbers, or the home troops from England that bore the brunt of a particular engagement. Similarly the unbroken unity between the British and the Americans, and the loyalty of the Free, or Fighting, French, were maintained throughout.

On the morning of Sunday, May 9, a German staff officer, wearing his Iron Cross and accompanied by an interpreter, presented himself at the tent of a United States general near Bizerte and asked the terms of surrender for his troops. "Unconditional surrender of all persons and property still in Tunisia" was the answer, accompanied by the threat to kill any Germans or Italians who attempted still to escape. These terms, bitter as they were, when reported to German headquarters, were accepted. The surrender was not formal and ceremonious. The Axis commanders in chief doubtless had already left, and perhaps some of their men. But 64,000 men (including 19 generals), 500 cannon, 330 tanks, and 400 trucks were handed over to the Allies. There were some scattered separate surrenders, and a few Italians and Germans escaped in small boats by sea. Such was the end of the Tunisian campaign.

753. The Invasion of Sicily. — The American-British invasion of North Africa and the destruction of the German-Italian army in Tunisia had been only preparatory to the invasion of Italy. But first Sicily, the armed outpost of southern Europe, must be taken. The forces from which men were available for the invasion of Sicily were the British Eighth Army, now a veteran corps, with a Canadian contingent added to its British, Scotch, New Zealanders, South Africans, and Indians; and the Americans, known in Africa as the Seventh Army, under General George Patton, the victor in the late battles in Tunisia. These two armies together may have numbered about four hundred thousand men.

But even earlier than Sicily, for the safety of the Allied in-

vasion fleet, the capture of the two rock islands of Pantelleria and Lampedusa, lying midway in the Sicilian channel, was necessary. This was effected entirely by bombing from the air, the only instance in the war of surrender of a defended area to air power alone. Many cities and whole regions have been devastated, vast destruction and loss caused, and "softening" of the enemy effected; but actual surrender almost never has been brought about without the intervention of infantry. In Pantelleria, on June 11 the garrison of 8000 men signaled to a British air force their surrender and were removed as prisoners of war by naval vessels. There was more bombing of southern Europe in the two weeks preceding the invasion.

Early in the morning of July 9 some two thousand warships, transports, and landing boats covered the hundred miles of open water between Africa and the southeastern coast of Sicily. Vessels of the British, United States, Indian, Netherlands, Polish, and Greek navies took part in the expedition. The control of the air and the recently attained freedom of Mediterranean waters from naval or undersea attack guaranteed the safety of this armada from interference during its short voyage. We know the details of this invasion better than of any other. The first to reach the shores of Sicily were paratroops, who sought and found practicable landing places and crushed their first opponents on the shore. Destroyers stood in as close as they dared and kept up a barrage upon the shore defenses. From still further out cruisers and warships sent their heavy shells to smash fortifications and to make roads unusable to as far as ten miles inland. From among these larger craft and from transports swarmed the landing barges, returning for load after load of men and equipment as they deposited them at points on the shore from Licata around to Syracuse. As beachheads were firmly established and opposition was overcome, heavier equipment, consisting of armored trucks, tanks, and artillery, was landed. This operation of transporting the men and equipment for an

army of perhaps three hundred thousand, with its officers, doctors, nurses, mechanics, and subsistence and transport men, was completed in less than a week, though additional troops and reinforcements continued to be added from time to time. The actual transport and naval operations were under the detailed direction of the British naval officers.

On the first day of the invasion General Eisenhower went across to the coast of Sicily in a destroyer, landed, and rode about in an amphibious jeep to oversee the progress of operations. This was only the first of his frequently repeated visits to the field of conflict in Sicily.

By the third day, Syracuse, on the southeast coast, was occupied by the invaders, and within a week the whole southeastern quarter of the island was in Allied hands. But the hardest part of the conquest of Sicily was still to come. So far, the opposition, especially that of the Italians, had not been serious. By the end of the first two weeks, resistance on the part of the native population had almost ceased. Indeed, for the most part they hastened to surrender and often, as at Palermo in the north and Catania on the east coast, they received their conquerors as their liberators, with cheers and jubilation. Even the Italian troops, instead of showing bravery as in Africa, seemed to surrender gladly. It was said that after half of the Italian Sixth Army had been killed, badly wounded, or captured, most of the other half deserted. With the Germans it was quite a different story. They fought with the skill, the courage, and the tenacity that had become traditional with the German army. More and better German military units came to strengthen and reinforce the troops already there. The country itself became more difficult; the rugged slopes of Mount Etna, the mountainous northern coast, and the interior, almost without roads, all made completion of the conquest slower and more difficult.

754. The Downfall of Mussolini. — On the 25th of July came the fall of Mussolini. Weak as he had proved himself as a mili-

tary and even as a party leader, his disappearance as "Duce" undoubtedly lessened the unity of the Italians and weakened the vigor of their resistance to the attack of their enemy. The downfall of the Duce had long been imminent. The series of military failures, the hardships of the Italian people, the deaths in every family as a result of his warlike policy, the national hostility to the Germans whom he had brought into Italy, the suppression of all freedom of discussion and of expression of opinion, the growing belief that it had been Mussolini and the Fascist party, which he led, that had been the cause of all their misfortune, combined to deprive him of his popularity and to shake any faith in the principles of Fascism the people may have had.

But the actual downfall of Mussolini was brought about not by a popular vote or rising but by opposition from men high in the Fascist party. The voice of the people was to be heard later. At a meeting of the Fascist Grand Council, when a continuance of Mussolini's supreme position was questioned, a majority withdrew their support from him. The king then nominally took control, but immediately appointed Marshal Badoglio to carry on the administration of the country.

Badoglio had originally been an anti-Fascist but had yielded to the influence of the dominant party and had held a military office under the Duce. He now disowned him and formed a ministry for the most part made up of anti-Fascists. A general movement for the exclusion of Fascists from office was initiated throughout Italy wherever Germans were not in control. Mussolini for some time disappeared from view. The Allies stated that he was not and never had been in their custody. It was reported that he was held by his countrymen, at first in one of the Bonza Islands, then on the Gran Sasso in the Apennines. Here, it was rumored, a party of German parachutists rescued him from his captors and took him to Rome, where he became the nominal head of a new Fascist party, under the control of

the Germans. This account of the fate of the Duce after his deposition is all doubtful. The only certainty was that, if still living, he was in bad health and of no political importance.

755. The Fall of Sicily. — On August 2 the armies of the Allies resumed their advance in Sicily, the British along the south and east coasts, the Americans along the north coast, and the Canadians through the center. The British, with the aid of the Canadians, captured Catania; the Americans, Palermo. The hardest fighting was on the slopes of Mount Etna; the famous mountain was captured by August 9. The Germans had by this time lost in Sicily 125,000 men taken prisoners, besides the killed and wounded. They were still retiring toward Messina along the north-coast road, under constant bombing by the British and American navies. During the two days from August 15 to August 17 there was no response from the shore. The Germans had transported as many of their army, supposed to be 40,000 men, and as much of their equipment as possible across the two or three miles of water to the mainland of Italy. On August 17 the British Eighth and the American Seventh Army entered Messina without opposition.

There were no Axis troops left in the island. The conquest of Sicily was complete. It had taken just five weeks and five days to accomplish. It was the first fruits of Allied military success in the south of Europe. It rivaled in importance, if not in extent, the contemporary triumphs of Russia, the great northern representative of the Allied nations. The outer gates, at least, of the Continent had been forced open.

756. The Three Landings in Italy. The first invading troops, the British Eighth Army, under General Montgomery, landed on the mainland of Italy at Reggio Calabria, at the toe of the Italian "boot," early in the morning of September 3, 1943. These troops, veterans of Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Sicily, met little opposition and immediately proceeded inland eastward and northward, capturing from the land or from the sea

Taranto, Brindisi, Bari, and smaller towns. Within less than two weeks they had taken possession of the three great seaports of the south, at least ten airfields, and a wide stretch of territory. They had secured the surrender of all Italian troops they had encountered. The Germans retired northward and into the mountains of the interior.

On September 10 the Bay of Salerno, some 250 miles to the northward on the west coast, was covered with the ships of a convoy still larger than that which had brought the British over. These were the transports and warships of the American Fifth Army, strengthened by certain British and Canadian units. This army was under Lieutenant-General Mark Clark, who had already seen service in Africa. The landing at Salerno was more difficult than the earlier debarcation in Calabria and cost a heavy price in American and British lives. The Germans had been preparing for some weeks to oppose the landing, especially with long-range cannon operating from the hills. But Allied battleships and cruisers from the sea and American and British airplane superiority overhead protected the invading army, and it soon made good its possession of a beachhead some six miles deep and twenty-four miles along the shore. A series of battles followed which gave little increase of territory to the Allies, but made the two armies, which were now joined, into a great single attacking force.

On January 22, 1944, a third landing of the Allies took place, this time at Anzio, as far north of Salerno as Salerno was of Reggio and within 30 miles of Rome. The coming of the Allies to Anzio was a complete surprise to the Germans, and the invaders immediately gained a beachhead, extending some ten miles inland. But with the acquisition of this territory their success ceased, and for some weeks, indeed months, they suffered from bombardment by German cannon on the heights of the Apennines. Indeed at least three times the invaders were almost pushed back into the sea from their narrow beachhead.

The invasion bade fair to become a stalemate. The British, Americans, and French were joined by contingents of Canadian, Italian, and Polish troops; the mountain town and monastery of Cassino were battered into rubble. In May two weeks of hard fighting secured the Allies some sixty more miles of the German defenses, but still the roads to Rome remained blocked.

Finally, however, the dam of German defense gave way; the Allies secured control of the Appian Way and the Casilina Way, and only delaying actions stood in the way of their capture of Rome, the capital of the country and the symbol of Italian nationality. This occurred on June 4. The whole world drew a sigh of relief on hearing that Rome was left practically intact by the Germans. The reconquest of Italy proceeded by gradual advances up the west coast and by yet more gradual ones inland and on the east coast.

The surrender of Italy had long been anticipated and had been under discussion since the beginning of August, 1943. The actual document was signed in Sicily on September 3 of that year, although it was not announced (nor did fighting by Italian troops cease) until the 8th.

The terms imposed upon Italy were, as already laid down for all the Axis powers at Casablanca, unconditional surrender. The requirements made of Italy, the first of those powers to be defeated, were that she should cease all activity hostile to the Allies and withdraw her armed forces from abroad, surrender her fleet, hand over to the Allies the use of all harbors, airfields, and other facilities that might be used against them, return all Allied prisoners of war, and accept such political, economic, and financial conditions as the Allies might ultimately impose. Many of these provisions could only gradually be carried into effect. Italy, like France, Holland, and the north of Europe generally, was now an occupied country; and the Germans must first be driven out.

Much of Italy's sea power, however, of which she had been so

proud and which had been the principal means of her expansion, could be paralyzed or even transferred to the conquerors. On September 9, the day after the announcement of Italy's surrender, the main Italian fleet, consisting of three battleships, six cruisers, and several destroyers, sailed out from Spezia under orders to present themselves for surrender at Malta. On the way they were overtaken and attacked by a fleet of German bombers, and one of the battleships was sunk. From Taranto two battleships, two cruisers, and a destroyer sailed at the same time; later, five Italian battleships, seven cruisers, and twenty-six other warships, all flying black pennants, the signals of surrender, steamed into the same harbor. General Eisenhower and Admiral Cunningham, head of the British Navy, observed the captured ships from a British destroyer off Malta. It was reminiscent of Scapa Flow. The Allies were now supreme in the Mediterranean. The greater part of the French fleet had been sunk to keep it out of the hands of the Germans. The Italian fleet had now disappeared as a fighting force; the Germans had never possessed any naval strength in southern waters. The Mediterranean was now a British-American lake.

757. The Beveridge Report. — The social legislation of 1911¹ had been carried further in the intervening years; but no new principle had been introduced, nor had it been developed into a code. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Second World War there was much interest in social matters, and during its early years the feeling had been growing that the war should lead to some great change to the economic advantage of the common man, as well as to his political progress. To study this problem, the Secretary for Home Affairs appointed in June, 1941, a parliamentary Interdepartmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services. To it were appointed representatives of various ministries. These shared in the researches on

¹ See pp. 696-698.

which was based a report which was presented to parliament in November, 1943. As, however, officials of government cannot sign public reports, Sir William Beveridge, the chairman of the committee and its only member not a government official, signed the report, and it is known under his name.

Sir William Beveridge was Master of University College, Oxford, and a trained economist of long and varied experience. He or other members of his committee held more than two hundred conferences with representatives of various organizations and collected an immense amount of statistics. They now presented to parliament their report, consisting of one hundred thousand words, and containing a number of recommendations. The report created great, almost unprecedented, interest both inside and outside parliament. It was published immediately, and within five hours 70,000 copies had been sold; soon more than 200,000 had been purchased. It had suddenly become a "best seller," so great was the public interest. The government published a shortened form, which sold for threepence, or five cents; a copy of this was given to every officer in the army, in order that he might answer the questions of the men.

The plan which the Beveridge report proposed was a form of compulsory state insurance, providing old-age, sickness, accident, unemployment, and marriage benefits, benefits for the support of children, funeral expenses, and certain other expenses, thus covering the life of every person in England "from the cradle to the grave." It was to come into force in the year 1945. The Beveridge plan had little in common with earlier schemes of social reorganization. It was based on statistics and existing forms of social insurance; it contained no revolutionary ideas except that its universality, applying as it did to rich and poor alike, and its compulsory character, leaving no choice to any individual whether he should come into the scheme or not, were out of line with English traditions in social reform.

The scheme would necessarily be expensive, but not exces-

sively so. It was calculated for 1945 at something more than two and a quarter billion dollars, rising after twenty years to three and a half billion, as against the current cost for public insurance of one and three-quarter billion, and for private insurance of three quarters of a billion. These sums were all, of course, far less than the yearly cost of war. The sums would be paid partly by the government, partly by the persons insured, partly by employers, and partly by interest on investments. There were, of course, many points on which modifications of the plan would be made before it was finally put into force; there were whole classes of persons and many individuals who would be opposed to the whole scheme. It was discussed in parliament and then postponed until the end of the war. But the intense national interest in the Beveridge report and the many favorable expressions of opinion on it made it probable that there would be an early and far-reaching extension of social legislation.

758. The Liberation of France. — In the early dawn of June 6, 1944, the invasion by the Allies of German-held France, long anticipated and prepared for, at last began. Thousands of sea-going craft were employed in this operation — more than ten thousand, it was said. They included battleships and cruisers; vessels loaded with cannon, tanks, jeeps, and ammunition of every kind; transport ships with troops; and landing boats of every description, loaded with men, prepared to struggle through the surf of the French shore. These vessels, almost covering the surface of the Channel for many miles, converged for the most part in five long lines on a stretch of the coast of France, some fifty miles long, lying between the port of Le Havre, at the mouth of the Seine river, and the peninsula at the tip of which lies the famous fortified seaport of Cherbourg. The center of this region was the busy town of Caen, with 50,000 inhabitants, — on the whole, the principal city of Normandy. Toward this center the expedition was directed.

The passage across the Channel, the actual landing on the

beaches, and the dropping of some thousands of men from gliders and by parachute were protected by a ceiling of planes. It was said that there were more than ten thousand of these planes, the result of long and careful concentration. Their mastery of the air was complete; the proportion of the air fleet of the Allies to that of the Germans was calculated at two hundred to one.

Notwithstanding the watchfulness of the Germans, the defenders of the coast, at most points, were taken completely by surprise. The Germans soon responded to the Allied attack; but the British and American losses, compared with those suffered at Salerno, were, in the first landing at least, inconsiderable, and consisted principally of those inflicted by German cannon firing from the shore and by German E-boats emerging from the few harbors of that coast. Within a few days the British and American troops had secured at small cost an area extending some fifty miles along the coast and fifteen miles or more into the interior. On the second day of the invasion, June 7, the Allies captured Bayeux, the city which possessed the famous tapestry picturing the Norman invasion of England.

These early successes were, however, only the first steps in the long journey that must be taken before France was liberated. The Germans were still in possession, and it was only step by step that the country could be reconquered and its people set free. The next two or three weeks were spent largely in a bitter contest for the promontory at the point of which lay Cherbourg, originally fortified in the thirteenth century and by Vauban in the seventeenth century, strengthened by Napoleon in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and equipped with new harbor works and fortifications in the late nineteenth and twentieth. On June 27, three weeks after the invasion, the city, long bombarded from sea and land, its fortifications above and below ground reduced to masses of rubble, at last surrendered. A white flag appeared at the exit from one of the underground

tunnels; the naval and military commanders emerged, followed by some two hundred military and naval survivors; and, after long and obstinate negotiation, the city and its surroundings were surrendered. The next day, at a great popular meeting, the city, its fortifications, and its surroundings were officially and ceremoniously handed over by their American conquerors to the French people, as the first fruits of the war of liberation.

These and the few captures in Normandy in the next two weeks made but a small block on the map of France, but Cherbourg gave the Allies a free and defensible port for the introduction of munitions, supplies, and troop reinforcements and a base from which the whole peninsula was soon freed of Germans. It was as if the old fourteenth-to-sixteenth-century English possession of Calais had come back again. In the other parts of Normandy the Allies, especially the British, had been pushing slowly forward. By June 26, in the first three weeks since the landing, the Allies had captured in France 20,000 German prisoners, had destroyed four German military divisions,—60,000 men,—and held 1000 square miles of French territory. Moreover, from Normandy the Allies were able to overrun Brittany, advance toward Paris, and secure the encirclement of large enemy forces. In August a British, French, and American force invaded France from the Mediterranean. In August also Paris was liberated, largely by the French themselves.

759. The Final Turning of the Tide. — More than once in the year 1943 and the early months of 1944, the Allies and their sympathizers were tempted to count up their gains and measure the losses and weaknesses of the Axis and think that they had practically won the war; but there was always a slight element of doubt. By the end of August, 1944, with more than one half of Italy occupied, its government a member of the Alliance, its fleet in Allied possession, with Germany all but driven out of Russia, Japan losing her outlying groups of islands, British and American armies well within France, her territory all but

liberated, and the Allies gaining strength and the Axis losing it every day, there could no longer be any doubt of the outcome. The tide had turned and was definitely running in favor of the Allies.

In May and June the Russians resumed their offensive, now in White Russia and north of the Pripet Marshes. They penetrated still further into Poland and threatened Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In July they approached East Prussia itself. In August Rumania surrendered to the Allies. In September, Finland and Bulgaria followed suit. In the Far East the great Japanese fleet was being nibbled away by the activity of Allied submarines and aircraft. Japanese settlements on the island groups of the Pacific were gradually being conquered and Allied arms were creeping closer and closer to Japan itself.

760. Summary of the Period 1942 to 1944. — Since the war is still in progress at the time this book is published, it is impossible to give a summary of the period of the war as a whole or even of that portion of it which falls between 1942 and 1944. It is still impossible to know what will finally succeed and what will fail, what is permanent and what merely temporary. At this time it seems certain, barring some great catastrophe to the Allies, that they will win the war. The strength of the German armies in Russia is already broken, and their expulsion from that great land has nearly been completed. Italy has already surrendered to the Allies and declared war on Germany. The invasion made at three points on her shores, Calabria, Salerno, and Anzio, which has since progressed as far as Florence, will certainly be completely successful sooner or later, and all Italy will then be in the hands of the Allies. France has been practically liberated. The invasion of Germany itself, which has now begun, must be followed at no long interval by the surrender of Hitler's deluded people.

The third member of the Axis, Japan, likewise is under heavy pressure. Many severe blows have been dealt her in return for

Pearl Harbor, and she is now being forced to relinquish one after another of her outlying island conquests.

The greatest characteristic of the period, however, apart from their military victories, has been the progressive drawing closer of the members of the group of United Nations, especially of Great Britain and the United States, and of those two countries with Russia. More and more it has become the hope of the world that this union among nations will survive the war and become an essential part of that new and better world to which Great Britain and other countries look forward.

General Reading. — There are few books and little other material of importance belonging only to this latter part of the war except periodical publications, which refer also to earlier periods. Detailed information about the course of events must ordinarily be obtained from newspapers or weekly or monthly journals. A few of each class of works named in earlier chapters which have been published in 1943 or 1944 or refer to current events or more general subjects are named here. MCINNES, EDGAR W., *The War, Third Year*, 1942, and *The War, Fourth Year*, 1944. See note under Chapter XXV. WARD, A. C., *A Literary Journey through Wartime Britain*, 1944, a description of the extent of the damage done by the war to places in England named in literature. MIDDLETON, S., *The Conquest of North Africa*, 1943. MCFARLANE, C. T., *War with the Axis*, 1942. BARKER, ERNEST, *Britain and the British People*, 1943, a small book written by a man with unusually wide interest in the connection of England with European culture as influenced by the war. PACKARD, REYNOLDS, and PACKARD, ELEANOR, *Balcony Empire, Glimpses of Fascist Italy at War*, observations by a couple who had unusual opportunity to watch developments in Rome. SHIBER, ETTA, *Paris Underground*, 1943. Two women, one English, the other American, risk their lives in helping their compatriots escape from Occupied France, until the former is arrested and disappears and the other is deported to America. KOTSCHNIG, WALTER M., *Slaves Need No Leaders*, 1943, represents a large class of writing of this period, a critical historical and international view of education, with a prophecy and plan for its after-the-war position.

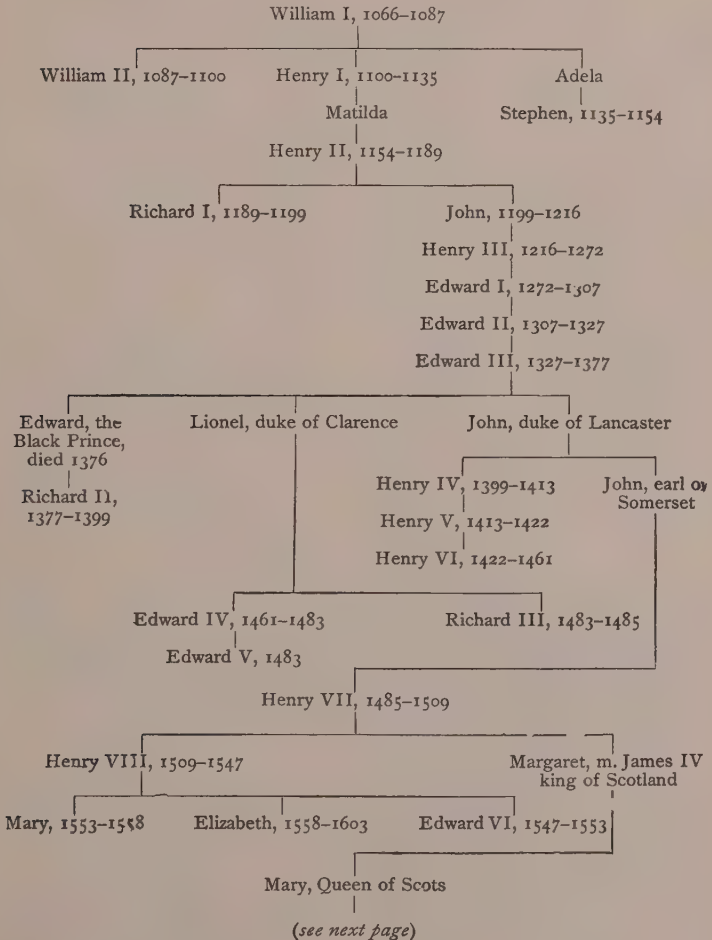
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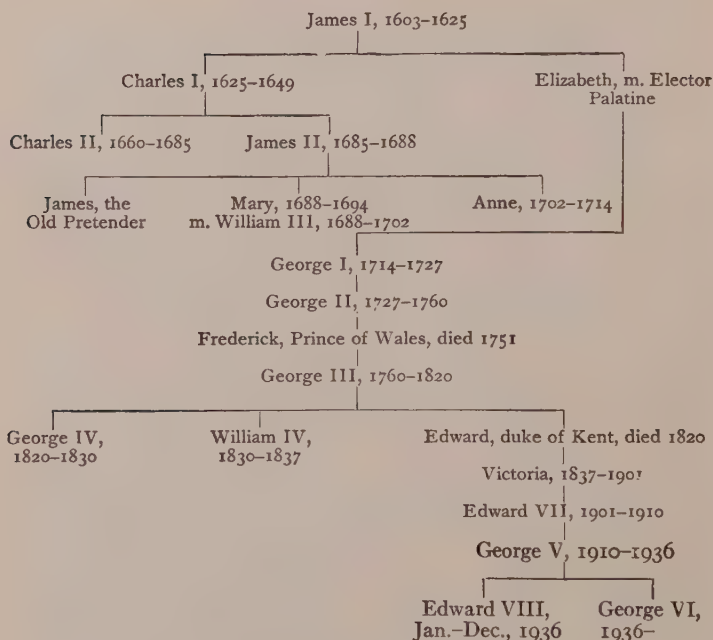
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AN OUTLINE LIST OF ENGLISH KINGS SINCE THE NORMAN
CONQUEST WITH THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND DATES ¹





¹ Names given without dates indicate not rulers but men or women through whom the claim to the crown was transmitted. More generations sometimes intervened between two successive rulers than are here indicated; the circumstances can be found by referring to the proper places in the text, or to the more detailed genealogical tables on pp. 113, 145, 270, 278, 383, 384, 529, 543, and 634.

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